Genre and literacies:
Historical (socio)pragmatics
of the 1820 settler petition

Matylda Włodarczyk

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In the history of English, the Late Modern period offers a chance to observe rapid developments in petitioning practices as growing literacy rates open up potential access to the contemporary models of written request-making. Still the nature of Late Modern literacies complicates the attempts at written composition and participation in literacy cultures. In addition, spatial and social mobility that characterise European communities in the period not only generate more demand for active literacy, but also entail new factors, expectations and constraints on written communication. Thus the ways in which the Late Modern literacies may be elucidated and accessed through the study of petitions remain at the core of this investigation.

The book embarks upon a (socio)pragmatic study of two sets of institutional correspondence surviving in connection to the British government colonisation scheme of the Cape of Good Hope, the 1820 settlement. The data, referred to as the candidate (1819) and colonial collections (1820-25), offer a unique opportunity to observe genre development over a relatively short span of time, to identify the specific aspects of genre change and to connect these to the discourse and language external context. The study focuses on the structural models of petition and issues of authorship, as well as variability of punctuation and aspects of spelling and morpho-syntax in the letters. The analysis makes use of specific digital methodologies, such as the *n*-gram analysis, as well as purely qualitative methods.

KEY WORDS: Late Modern English, petition, genre, literacy, historical (socio)pragmatics

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To Paweł and Bruno

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Arch. ref.	Archival reference number
Cat.	Category
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMC	Computer-mediated communication
CT	Cape Town
Dom.	Dominant (literacy)
GSR	Genre-specific routine
F	Farmer (occupation)
Fq	Frequency
GT	Grahamstown
In-bt	In-between (literacy)
n/a	Not applicable
n.d.	No date
No.	Number (ordinal or quantity)
P	Professional (occupation)
PT	Port Elizabeth
R	Range
RCC	Records of the Cape Colony (Theal 1897-1905)
SA	Skilled artisan (occupation)
T	Trade (occupation)
TNA	The National Archives (Kew)
Trad.	Traditional (petition model)
Vern.	Vernacular (literacy)

Introduction

English historical linguistics has changed profoundly over the last decade (see Taavitsainen and Jucker 2015). Periods that seemed only marginally interesting less than twenty years ago, especially the more recent past, have received a staggering amount of attention. Branches that were only nascent at the turn of the new millennium, in particular historical sociolinguistics and historical pragmatics, have become immersed into the broader discipline and are now among the leading paradigms. Sociocultural and situational conceptualisations of how communication might have worked in the past have provided a broad contextual framework for the study of linguistic items and functions, which are at present rarely viewed in separation from their circumstances. Historical pragmatics, understood as the study of language use in the past (Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007: 13), is what undercuts such efforts. According to Taavitsainen (2012: 1463-1464), historical pragmatics has its roots in the philological tradition, the painstaking analysis of historical texts which involves not only a full expertise in the structure of the language in a given period, but also a focus on all the levels of the context and historical background of the stage at which the analysed text was produced. At the same time, this approach clearly differs from traditional philology when it comes to data sources: historical pragmatics studies a much wider array of texts, also of the so-called utilitarian kind, and does not involve a preference for literary or religious works. In this branch of study, linguistic phenomena are analysed not for the sake of illuminating language structure, but to gain insights into a range of social, cognitive, cultural and ideological constructs that may have been relevant for a specific set of data. Now, as the growing awareness of variation and change in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century English(es) has exposed the fallacy of the relative stability of the period and a number of so far unexplored or uninteresting datasets have become relevant for historical linguistic study, historical pragmatic analyses are particularly welcome.

The new developments in English historical linguistics have thus created a perfect setting for the study of a specific mode of everyday communication – the epistolary genre of the petition, the institutional letter of request. Petitions are requests made in writing: they aim at evoking a response or action of the addressee. In this sense they offer a fascinating opportunity to observe universals of human interaction. Petitions involve attempts at influencing others to fulfill our own needs and to confirm that we deserve interpersonal and social merits and appreciation. Such attempts are underpinned by insecurity and tension, while potential failure renders request making a double risk for the initiating party: not only is their own insufficiency and lack of independence exposed, but the independence of their addressees is also threatened. Requesting is thus an action that carries disruptive potential. The complexity involved in making requests and responses to these have thus been one of the favourite topics of pragmatics, while historical pragmatics and speech act theory have given more attention to directives than to other speech acts (see Culpeper and Archer 2008 for an overview of the relevant literature). This line of research has focused on the issues of power and asymmetry, degrees of imposition and ways of mitigation, i.e. the assessments of politeness (Fitzmaurice 2002b; Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008a; Bax 2010; Nevala 2010; Kohnen 2011) as well as the conventionalisation of speech act specific realisations over time (Culpeper and Demmen 2011).

The question of conventionalisation extends beyond speech act pragmatics to the realm of discourse analysis and the processes of development of discourse structures over time as well as genre continuity and change (Kohnen 2001; Lehto 2010; Held 2010; Peikola 2012). From the earliest records of request making in English (Chancery petitions in the fifteenth century), when models and conventions were relatively transparent (Kohnen 2001), onwards, through the Early Modern printed statutes, when technologies left their mark (Lehto 2010), and through the age of patronage, when the ceremonial private epistolary request developed into an art (Whigham 1981; Fitzmaurice 2002b), to the Late Modern times, when petitioning started to be practiced across the social spectrum (Sokoll 2000), discourse structures and strategies have accumulated and expanded under the influence of other forms of communication. Petitions are well attested for different periods, thus not only language change, but also external processes of historical, social, institutional, cultural and interper-

sonal nature may be discerned by studying this material over time. Such developments surface through the dynamics and change of the genre and this by far the most appealing aspect of studying the petition lies at the centre of this book.

The Late Modern period in particular offers a chance to observe rapid developments in petitioning practices as growing literacy rates open up potential access to the contemporary models of written request-making. Still the transitional nature of newly developed Late Modern literacies that characterise the social circles where literacy is a novelty, complicates the attempts at written composition and participation in literacy cultures. In addition, spatial and social mobility of the contemporary communities not only generate more demand for active literacy, but also entail new factors, expectations and constraints on written communication. Thus the ways in which the Late Modern literacies may be elucidated and accessed through the study of petitions also remain at the core of this investigation.

Literacies and literacy systems in the Late Modern period underwent profound changes and this is a descriptive challenge in itself. In research conducted so far, the emphasis has been placed on the interconnected processes of change in language on the assumption that the sociocultural consequences of mobility, dialect contact and adaptation are not only far and wide, but also relatively rapid. Thus language change in connection to literacies in the Late Modern period has been studied within historical sociolinguistics (Nordlund 2013; Laitinen and Auer 2014; Rutten and van der Wal 2014; Laitinen 2015). According to this line of research, the practices involved oscillate between the limitations imposed by rudimentary skills of the mechanics of writing and the very narrow spectrum of compositional choices and the attempt at conforming to or imitating the so-called intended supraregional standard. The latter issue has been investigated closely from the perspective of the norms of grammar as codified by the available contemporary standards, their relevance and availability across the social spectrum (e.g. Fairman 2007).

As I would like to argue here, the notion of intended standard, although it is grounded in structural analyses, opens a perspective on the Late Modern petition which has not been pursued so far. The approach proposed here incorporates the notion of genre literacy viewed as the relevant discourse models, pragmatic strategies, as well as reflections of

some other literacy types. Just as the notion of intended standard in the realm of spelling, grammar or morpho-syntax requires a revision in the light of recent research into the Late Modern letter (Allen 2015; Pietsch 2015) and emerges as a site of negotiation in a micro community determined largely by the local conditions, the models of discourse involved in the practice of petitioning may be viewed as having been determined by similar factors. In order to build a narrative of Late Modern literacies through an analysis of the petition, the continuity, dynamics and change of the genre need to inform our exploration. Moreover, not only genre development, but also the local practice needs to be viewed here as a pragmatic phenomenon: both variable and negotiable. Although the Late Modern petition is studied here largely through the lens of discourse structures, practices and language features, its contextualisation extends beyond the process of composition and the act of writing to a close analysis of communal petitioning strategies and scribal mediation. As we shall see, such an approach allows linking some linguistic means to the complexity of the practice which is conditioned by user literacies in a range of intricate ways. At the same time, petitions remain firmly grounded in their historical, social and cultural environment.

Obviously, when reading and working with historical texts, we encounter the absence of context(s) and, as researchers, we respond to this with a need for a reconstruction. It is only an individual choice, however, to which extent and in what ways to approach this challenging task. Clearly, no past context may be revoked in its totality, thus any such endevour is essentially selective. In this study, I make multiple attempts at reconstructing a range of micro and macro context(s) that I understand as being strictly bound to the notion of genre. It is the genre indeed that remains the predominant thread of all the analyses I conduct and perhaps steals the limelight from some other phenomena that may appear of greater interest to fellow historical linguists. However, the fixed focus of this study, as I would like to argue, may offer a useful viewpoint on the Late Modern petition in particular, and on rapid change in writing practices that characterises the period in general. Its implications, as I hope this study shows, are not limited to the dataset that I analyse or to the specific subdiscipline in which this study may be positioned. Understanding the intricacies of genre and writing practices at an interface with Late Modern literacies is a prerequisite for making substantial advances re-

garding the more conventional topics of historical linguistics. The study conducted below articulates the need to acknowledge this fact. As I state at the beginning of this Introduction, the field of historical linguistics has changed profoundly and it is this transformation that has enabled conducting this study in the first place. The contribution that this book intends to make is to give due recognition to the shifts that have taken place in English historical linguistics and to indicate some new directions for research in the future.

Chapter One

Data and theoretical frameworks

1.1. Introduction

As I have indicated in the Introduction, a ubiquitous everyday form of writing, the petition, poses fascinating research questions related to the communication of the past and, in particular, to the Late Modern period. One of the multiple historical and institutional contexts in which the petition may be mined is a British government emigration scheme: the 1820 settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. The British occupation of the southern tip of Africa goes back to 1795 when Britain seized the territory that had been occupied for nearly 150 years by the Dutch. In 1803, the Cape of Good Hope returned briefly to the Franco-Dutch Batavian Republic, but in 1806 the period of the so-called second British occupation started. The British presence in the Cape Colony was strategic in military and trade terms and was initially not conceived as a civilian settlement (Lester 1998: 4). However, over the next decade the perspective has changed. In the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars which ended in the Treaty of Paris in 1815, Britain fell in economic crisis and social turmoil. In 1819, British Parliament attempting to ease the social tensions over unemployment and poverty, granted £50,000 to a permanent settlement of c.1,000 families in the Eastern Cape in the Colony's interior. The money was allocated to cover the expenses of sea voyage and some basic articles required for establishing an agricultural settlement on the frontier with the Xhosa tribes, in the Albany district. Politically, the scheme was, on the one hand, no more than a propaganda move with no real consequences for the unemployment rates and the scale of poverty in Britain. On the other, the emigration plan was designed to insulate the British military headquarters in the town of Grahamstown against the attacks of the indigenous tribes (see Thompson 2000: 54-55 for further details). Notwithstanding the initial failure of the settlement, its significance for the foundation of the state has been viewed as fundamental in the historiography of South Africa (Brunger 2003).

In July 1819, the Colonial Office, a British government agency for international affairs, embarked upon selecting a number of people to organise

the so-called parties of at least ten settler families volunteering to emigrate to the Cape Colony. Parties were the very basis of the emigration scheme and their leaders, referred to as heads, made the necessary arrangements with their prospective party members on the one hand, and with the Colonial Office, the institution responsible for executing the scheme, on the other. For instance, heads of parties were obliged to collect information on the candidates, including their names, ages and occupations, and to secure financial deposits for their emigrant groups (see Nash 1987: 11-17 for further details). Such bureaucratic measures surrounding the scheme resulted in an explosion of correspondence between the party leaders and the clerks of the Colonial Office. Apart from the organisers of emigrant groups, individual candidates representing the entire social spectrum also wrote letters of application addressed to this institution in order to be considered for the 1819 emigration scheme (see Woods 1968, Chapter 2 for further details). These letters, henceforth, the candidate letters, both from party leaders and individuals, amounting to c. 2,000 items (Tosh 2012: 35ff),[1] constitute a fascinating collection that has not been studied before by linguists (except for my own work). Most importantly, just like the heads of parties, some individual applicants were accepted for the scheme. These selected volunteers became the so-called 1820 settlers and wrote further letters to the colonial officials in South Africa and Britain in the years that followed. The correspondence in the Cape Colony covered a range of issues related to the general organisation, legal regulations and the opportunities and setbacks that the 1820 settlers faced in the teething settlement. As in 1819, the heads of parties were the most prolific correspondents; e.g. William Parker addressed the authorities at least 98 and Thomas Wilson 63 times between 1819-27 (Włodarczyk 2015: 162). The colonial letters, i.e. the sample used in this study and covering 1820-25, provide important evidence for the widespread epistolary practice and neglected, though not straightforward, evidence for the input into an emerging colonial variety, i.e. South African

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[1] Historians have claimed that the number of application letters recorded by the Colonial Office ranged between 80-90,000 (Leśniewski 2008: 222; Lester 2001: 48-49; cf. also Wirgman 1901: 405 and Campbell 1897: 38), but it is highly unlikely to have been the case. Most probably, these numbers refer to a rough estimate of the total of the emigrant volunteers listed in, or represented by, the applications. Such lists of entire families were included in the applications on behalf of large groups of people. However, county archives may have preserved further local correspondence in connection to the scheme (Tosh 2014: 36ff).

English. Even more importantly, the 1820 settler colonial letters, when read in connection to the candidate applications from the year 1819 (in particular those written by the same people), constitute a window on the change in the practice of addressing institutional, usually socially superior, addressees by letter in the early nineteenth-century Britain and the Cape Colony. The main aim of this study is to investigate this as yet largely unexplored record of correspondence.

This endevour is based on the assumption that this archival record represents the epistolary genre of the petition, the label used in a rather arbitrary fashion above. A terminological clarification is in place, although the term is subject to probing and critical examination throughout this study and the concept unfolds in the course of its narrative. Provisionally, the view of genre applied here involves both language external and language internal features. Genres may be identified in many different ways: historical texts, first and foremost, offer grounds for metatextual analysis of the terms and designations employed by their users. The next frequently used criterion is the major illocutionary purpose of a given text. The communication directed by citizens in need to an institution responsible for distributing funds that aim to secure their social welfare is viewed as a request, in its macro speech act understanding (van Dijk 1977b). Thirdly, genres are also defined by similar communicative situations. The analysed data comprises letters with similar functions that were exchanged between similar interactants in two different points in time in similar social configurations (writing upwards) and involved comparable power differentials. In these letters, the labels *petition* and *memorial* are the metatextual clue to genre identification. From the perspective of genre continuity, a range of similar datasets exist in the British cultural and language settings in different points in more and less distant past. This opens a diachronic perspective on the analysis and on the attempt at an understanding and interpretation of the data under study.

The 1820 settler data, first and foremost, offer a unique opportunity to observe genre development over a relatively short span of time, to identify the specific aspects of genre change and to connect these to the discourse and language external context. Secondly, as the addressee variable remains constant in many respects in both settings, the data justify focusing in greater detail on the production side of the practice and exploring the relevant discourse structures and practices against the fixed frame of communication from social inferiors to social superiors. Thirdly, the 1820 settler petitions involve linguistic reflections of Late Modern mobility and

the changing literacy systems. The latter in particular constitute the sociocultural background of the individual and communal discursive practice and everyday citizen-institution communication in the early nineteenth century. These special features of the 1820 settler database are pursued in a discourse-oriented and (socio)pragmatic perspective of this study (see Section 1.3.). On top of these, the relevance of the 1820 data for historical sociolinguistics and dialectology of early colonial varieties of English testifies to its significance and value. This investigation provides a thorough insight into the 1820 settler data and critically evaluates its suitability for more conventional analyses of dialect input into the emerging variety. However, analysing dialect input based on the 1820 data is beyond the scope of this study and requires a series of differently focused analyses that can only be fruitful if they cover a larger span of time and are based on extended samples of material.

In a sociocultural perspective, the 1820 settler petition is a genre at the social grassroots, a form of citizen-institution interaction, potential locus of political disturbance, social control, institutionalised dominance, power and contemporary ideologies. The colonial reality of the 1820 settlement has provided an extremely fertile ground for tension within the community and between the community and the colonial institutions. Already in 1819, the preparations for the settlement involved clashing economic interests that resulted in short-lived alliances and long-term conflicts. In addition, entrepreneurs of various creeds saw the emigration scheme as an opportunity to exploit the naivety of those desperate to leave. The long sea voyage left some parties split and many individuals, families and settler groups antagonised. The existing social boundaries gradually shattered to the detriment and despair of those of high social status, albeit paving the way to potential advancement of social aspirers (Lester 2001; Marshall 2008). On top of adaptation difficulties, the initial years brought a series of hardships as natural disasters magnified the unfeasibility of a settlement based on the cultivation of European character in the Eastern Cape. Failure of crops, floods and insufficient colonial infrastructure left many settlers dependent entirely on themselves at first, and finally forced them to resort to government or charity support (e.g. from the Committee of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Settlers; Marshall 2008: 20). The tension between the community and the authorities culminated in some limitations on civil rights in the Cape Colony, for instance a ban imposed by the authorities on the right to public meetings (Proclamation of May 24th 1822; Campbell 1897: 94). At

the same time, citizens engaged in petitioning actions that were advantageous and successful in executing the community's wishes, such as submitting the so-called Great Memorial to the British Government in the same year (Campbell 1897: 95-97). The Great Memorial voiced the grievances of the 1820 settlers and testified to their disobedience towards the despotic governor, Lord Charles Somerset (in office between 1814-26). Moreover, some further, not only collective, but also individual grievances expressed by means of petitions resulted, in 1826, in his removal (see Thompson 2000: 54-63; Marshall 2008: 117). These events indicate that the colonial petition functioned as an effective means of bottom-up social action with political implications in the Colony, as well as in Britain. There is no denying the fact, however, that in an individual dimension, 1820 settler petitions tend to reflect an attempt at, rather than successful exercise of civil rights and provide ample evidence for the difficulty in executing any legal liabilities of the authorities. For these reasons, my previous work on the 1820 settler petition has included themes of community conflict set against social and political background (Włodarczyk 2010b), power relations and effects of petitioning on the colonial institutions (Włodarczyk 2010a, 2013b and 2015), as well as social roles (2013b) and community building and maintenance (2013c). These themes invite the perspectives of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995; see Wood 2004 and 2009 for a CDA study into historical letters), a fascinating direction of study into petitions in general. However, my focus in this investigation is narrowed down to the description and analysis of petitioning as a social and individual practice, not as politically meaningful citizen action. In this task I follow up on the issues related to the modes of petitioning and their social materiality undertaken in Włodarczyk (2013a) and I aim to incorporate the candidate petitions written in 1819 into the discussion in order to zoom in on the issues of Late Modern literacies (Włodarczyk forthcoming).

In the remainder of this Chapter, I illustrate the challenges posed by the 1820 settler database with some examples and I describe the procedures that I followed in the digitisation of the manuscript data (Section 1.2.). Section 1.3. introduces the theoretical frameworks for the study, the variables and methodological tools. The primary aims here are to show the special character of the data for the themes indicated above and to explain to what extent the 1820 settler petitions yield to historical (socio)pragmatic investigations, as well as what tools and methods may be employed to this end. Section 1.4. outlines the layers of context relevant to the analyses con-

ducted in the study. In this section a cognitive perspective on rapid genre change observed in the transition from Britain to the Cape Colony is proposed. The final Section 1.5. gives an overview of the remaining chapters.

1.2. 1820 settler database: Overview and challenges

The letters in the collections offer versatile linguistic evidence of the early nineteenth-century English used in institutional correspondence. Consider the following examples:

(1)   13 Gt. Smith Street. Westminster
        13 Aug 1819
        My Lord
        In consequence of the declared intention of Government
        to colonize the Cape of Good Hope, I beg leave to submit to your
        Lordship the following Statements. I have been liberally educated
        and brought up to the profeſsion of a Surgeon. (…)
        my situation at this time is truly distreſsing under
        the circumstances I have ventured to solicit your
        Lordship's kindneſs to afford me your sanction in emigrating
        to the Cape of Good Hope as I am informed the whole
        of the patronage rests exclusively with Y^{r}. Lordship's. (…)
        Waiting your Lordship's pleasure
        I have the honour to be My Lord
        Your Lordship's most obd^{t} hb^{l} sev^{t}
        Chas. Caldecott
        (CO48/42/193/Caldecott, Charles)

Charles Caldecott wrote his letter in August 1819. He and his large family were ultimately accepted for emigration and sailed to the Cape of Good Hope from Deptford, on board the Brilliant in February 1820. Several weeks after arrival at Algoa Bay, in July 1820, Caldecott died.[2] In June 1822, his widow, Mary Caldecott wrote, most likely from Cape Town, to Colonel Bird, Deputy Colonial Secretary in the Cape Colony:

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[2] A source on medical history claims that Caldecott walked 9 miles to visit a Christian mission station and died on his return to Port Elizabeth, most probably of overheating (Tonkin 1976: 1222). This, however, contradicts his wife's account (Example (3)).

(2)   49 Lange S^t. 17 June 1822
       Sir
       Enclosed is a Memorial which I have
       addreſsed to the Governor praying that the Rations
       I have hitherto Received may be continued which I
       pray you will be so good as to lay before His Excellency
       and I think Sir the Situation in which I am placed
       with a family of Six Children and five of them
       entirely unprovided for altogether depending on
       me for Maintenance & Support will induce you
       to recommend My application to His Lordships
       favorable Consideration
       I am Sir
       your very humble Servt
       Mary [Caldecott]
       Colonel Bird
       & & &
       (CO178/122/Caldecott, Mary)

The letter was written in haste, albeit in a trained hand, on a relatively small sheet of paper. Strikingly, although it communicated Mary's request, it was at the same time just a means to introduce the actual petition and to secure the local official's support for her case. The petition itself was addressed specifically to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset. The petition, or *Memorial*, as the widow referred to it, was written in a different, much more careful handwriting, on a sheet of paper of a larger size.

(3)   General Lord Charles Henry Somerset
       Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope
       Memorial of the Widow Mary Caldecott
       Humbly sheweth
       That her late husband M^r. Charles Caldecott, with
       herself and their six Children, the youngest of them not four
       years of age, left England in February 1820 as Surgeon
       to Mr Seftons Party, with the view of settling in the Interior
       of this Colony. That they arrived at Algoa Bay on the
       15th of May following but to the great grief of the Memorialist
       and her Family her husband in consequence of illneſs contracted

by the heavy Rains which fell for some time afterwards
whilst they were lodged under Canvass or some other Cause
departed this Life on the 24th of July in the same year, leaving
Memorialist and her Six Children without any other
Support than that supplied by the Bounty of Government:
(…) The Memorialist prays that your
Excellency will be pleased to take her Case into
Consideration, and humbly hopes that your Lordship
will have the goodnefs to permit the Rations with
which she has hitherto been favored to be continued
All which is most respectfully submitted
Mary Caldecott
49 Lange street
17 June 1822
(CO178/122-123/Caldecott, Mary)

Most probably, Mary Caldecott had a professional writer prepare the Memorial for her, although she did sign it herself. The same signature stands at the bottom of the introductory cover letter and resembles the handwriting there, so it is fair to assume that Mary was literate and even fairly experienced in letter-writing.

Charles Caldecott and his wife Mary did not approach the authorities to whom they directed their requests in the same way. To indicate just one difference, Charles wrote to *Your Lordship* (Colonial Secretary or Deputy Colonial Secretary in London), while Mary addressed the local official as *Sir* (Deputy Colonial Secretary in the Cape Colony) in her letter and the recipient of the memorial (Governor of the Colony) as *His Excellency*. When set against Charles Caldecott's candidate letter in particular, and the 1819 applications in general, the 1820 settler data, such as Mary Caldecott's letter and memorial, pose a number of questions. Why did Mary submit two separate pieces of writing to forward her request to the authorities in the Cape Colony? Why did she decide to hire a professional scribe to prepare the document directed to the Governor? Did she participate in the process of the composition of the memorial? Was it written down from dictation? What writing conventions may be observed in Mary's letter and memorial? What are the sources of these conventions? Do the modes of writing recurring in the 1819 letters surface in the letters from the period of the early British settlement in South Africa? Whose language does the material represent?

Leaving these questions aside for a while, let us proceed to a different type of data mined from the 1820 settler database. Consider the following letters:

(4)   gentlem
        this [is] To Let you know
        that vere out of all maser
        of Employ And as vere Single
        young men ve shoud be very
        glad to go over to
        the cape of good hoepe
        ghon ready aged [21]
        And Barnard - [murray] No 15 Bird
        No 15 oxford [aged] 20
        Buildings Street
        oxford street oxford road
        (CO48/45/507/Ready, John)

(5)   July [th] 26 1819
        Sir Seeing an advertisement in the paper
        of going to the Cape of good hope i should
        be very happy of the Oppertunity of Going
        i am Sir a Single young man a Gentleman Servent
        i Lived in my last Situation Nine years
        if you pleese my Directions
        is at No 17 Rathbone place
        at Mr. Delafons _
        i am Sir your Humble
        Servent
        Sammiell Quilter
        (CO48/45/434/Quilter, Samuel)

Caldecotts most likely represented the English middle class of the period and their letters point to a fairly extensive educational background. In their samples quoted above in Examples (1)-(3), educated, or standard written English, of a fairly formal type is represented. The 1820 settler database, and the candidate letters in particular, reflect and represent the language of informants with diverse social backgrounds and education levels, as the Ex-

amples (4) and (5) show. John Ready and Samuel Quilter, both unemployed, most likely unskilled labourers, have written "not so well educated" letters. Their limited first-hand experience with the written word is reflected in the spellings of first person pronouns (*ve* for "we", *i* for "I"). The address in Ready's letter (*gentlem*) is not conventional, while Quilter's sample includes an instance of the lack of subject-verb concord (*my Directions is*). Their letters, and other similar petitions, apart from the questions related to the involved epistolary practices and the pragmatics of interaction, beg a different approach which would focus on the specific features of language on the orthographic and morpho-syntactic level (e.g. *h*-dropping, *r*-dropping, variable subject verb agreement, etc.). Such features may be placed on an axis of standard to nonstandard. In previous studies nonstandard forms extracted from a sample of colonial letters were used as the basis to characterise "Proto South-African English" (Mesthrie and West 1995). In connection to this, in addition to its main focus on the practice, this investigation verifies the relevance of the data for an analysis of nonstandard morpho-syntactic forms. As the density of such forms varies greatly in the database, I propose that their frequency may serve as a basis for a classification of the involved informants on the relevant axes of literacies.

The question as to the value and relevance of the 1820 settler database for the analysis of nonstandard[3] forms in Late Modern English and early English in South Africa is of fundamental significance to historical linguistics. This study illustrates the complexity of connecting specific language features to the informants (issues of authorship) and their linguistic performance to conventional variables of socio-economic status (reliability of historical evidence). At the same time, the focus of the study is not on the nonstandard forms or the 1820 settler input into the colonial variety per se and the analyses of such features are selective,

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[3] Although the term *nonstandard* requires a much more in-depth treatment, my own understanding of it follows secondary literature on specific forms of spelling or morpho-syntax. The use of control corpora could provide a useful point of reference in this respect. However, the relevant sources are mostly print-based, which effectively rules them out. Moreover, recent research into Late Modern epistolary communication suggests that individual letter collections involve local "standards" which are best extrapolated inductively and may involve very little input from the contemporary standard language, the latter viewed as a product of specific ideologies and elite practices (Pietsch 2015). Despite that important reservation, the standard vs. nonstandard distinction remains of chief significance for historical studies into epistolary discourse.

focusing mostly on the under-researched aspects of historical manuscript letters. Still, the study underlines the fact that ultimately only a carefully selected sample of the 1820 settler data actually permits a more conventional analysis of the contemporary nonstandard grammars due to the overwhelming influence of genre constraints on linguistic expression and the embedding of the petitions in a complex systems of transitional literacies.

1.2.1. Data selection and transcription

Between 2006 and 2013 I collected images of c. 800 letters written in Britain (1819; TNA, London) and in the Cape Colony (1820-25; South African National Archives, Cape Town) with a view to compiling an electronic database. The data have been collected in three stages. First of all, I conducted archival research in the Cape Archives (2006, 2008 and 2011): the first selection of data was random and involved a very small sample of letters (Włodarczyk 2010a and b). My preliminary work established the distinction into two different generic models of the 1820 settler petition, which differed with regard to a range of textual features. The *traditional* model was described as a highly conventionalised type of writing, with a variety of constraints on language use. For this reason, in the second stage of data collection (2008 and 2011), the selection was biased towards the *new* model. As a result of my archival research in South Africa, c. 400 letters for 1820-25 were collected. 300 of these were transcribed, while 245 were used for the analyses conducted in this study.

In the next stage (2013), I selected material from TNA, i.e. covering the letters from 1819. The basic criterion of selection was authorship: the authors of the letters in the Cape Archives data were given priority. Overall, I have collected c. 400 candidate letters (1819), of which 164 have so far been transcribed (see Włodarczyk forthcoming). For the purpose of the analyses presented here, I have used 298 letters from 1819 (qualitatively), including 58 transcripts (quantitative and qualitative analysis). These transcripts include the letters of the informants active both in Britain and the Cape Colony. From the perspective of the colonial genre practices, these constitute the most relevant sample of the candidate data.

Authorship was the central criterion followed in the compilation of the database (see Chapter Five for the identification procedures). Following the distinction into the individual as opposed to the communal practices of letter writing, the database includes an autograph sample and a scribal sample (Table 1.1). The autograph sample comprises a set of letters from the informants who were active both in 1819 and 1820-25 (the so-called overlapping autograph writers; 48 informants who wrote 58 candidate and 68 colonial letters) and a set of those who only petitioned in the Cape Colony (61 letters from 60 informants). The lump number of autograph informants is 108. Overall, the database includes 303 transcribed letters from 206 informants with the total word count of c. 90,000.

Table 1.1. 1820 settler database (transcripts)

Data	Scribal	Autograph	Totals	Word counts
1819	–	58	58	13,099
1820-25	113	132	245	77,200
Letters	113	190	303	
Word counts	41,799	48,500		90,299
Informants	98	108	206	

The data samples described above allow different types of linguistic analysis and involve a range of limitations. Most importantly, the scribal letters resulting from the communal writing may not be viewed on a par with the verified autograph letters. Although the central focus of this study is on genre-related variation, the potential bearing of sociolinguistic variables on the practice of petitioning, both communal and individual, is not excluded. Therefore, the analyses conducted here indicate and evaluate the relevance of the external sociolinguistic variables (age and socio-economic background) for the genre literacy of the authors and of some linguistic variables for the changing practices of petitioning. Obviously, in the case of nineteenth-century institutional communication the representativeness of the corpus with respect to gender is strongly biased towards men. This is true in particular for the 1819 applications, where the institutional requirements on applicants excluded women, as their legal status did not allow them to become potential party leaders.

1.2.2. Transcription conventions

The transcripts in the 1820 settler database may be described as diplomatic versions of the letters[4] (see Table 1.2 for the conventions). Clearly, many decisions had to be taken in the course of transcription. I have preserved the original letter shapes (e.g. long *s*) where these were distinctive, but in the case of <z>, rendered as regularly as <ʒ> in the manuscripts, the marking of it was considered superfluous. I have not marked idiosyncrasies like, e.g. the reversed e, i.e. <ə>. Moreover, I have not included multiple consecutive dashes or full stops. I have marked upper case abbreviations, but have not included all the punctuation that the use of digits (dates, etc.) involved. I have marked contractions as they were indicated in the manuscripts, either by means of an apostrophe or superscript. Initially, I marked words broken across a line boundary, but I have decided to exclude these from the examples quoted in the study. I have also marked line boundaries, primarily to facilitate visual consultation of the manuscript in the course of multiple revisions, but such marking was excluded from most examples presented in the study. Still, line breaks proved of some importance for the study into self-corrections. The capitalisation and word divisions were rendered faithfully. Material features of letters, such as, for instance, details of layout or font sizes, have not been marked. The database has not been systematically coded for linguistic features and the analyses were performed by means of word lists, concordances, collocates and *n*-grams tools in *AntConc* 3.4.3 (Anthony 2015).

The metadata on the letters and individual informants are preserved in excel files (presented selectively in the Appendices). Regarding the TNA data, the references used in file naming follow the archival filing in the following order: reference name, volume number and the letter filing number, e.g. CO48/x/x/Surname, Christian Name. As the "CO" abbreviation, which stands for the Colonial Office, has also been used for filing purposes in the South African archives, I have discarded this element in naming the transcripts of the colonial petitions. Thus the CO element equals a letter from the candidate sample written in 1819. For the colonial

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[4] At this point, all transcripts are in plain text files (http://wa.amu.edu.pl/ 1820settlers_petition_letters). I am currently working on the xml versions, which I consider to be the most reasonable format to introduce systematic tagging. An analysis of text files by means of *AntConc* poses some technical difficulties, such as for instance the need to erase some of the marking.

letters, the numbers of individual volumes in the Cape Town archives (i.e. 136/ for 1820 – 34 letters; 158/ for 1821 – 19; 178/ for 1822 – 14 letters; 201/ for 1823 – 13 letters; 223/ for 1824 – 39 letters and 249/ for 1825 – 13 letters) followed by the letter filing number have been used (e.g. 136/x/Surname, Name). As these references are unique for the individual years, I have not added dates to the quoted examples. Both for the candidate and colonial letters, the informant name is the last element of the file name. When referring to these, I have usually used both surname and name (or the initial(s)), but sometimes, for the sake of economy, only the surname has been included.

Table 1.2. Transcription conventions

Notation	Designates
\ /	superscript
/ \	inserted correction
[ ]	underlined
{ }	correction/strikeout
#	illegible erasure
*	illegible
wo=rd	line break through a word
>>word<<	overwriting to a word
/	line break
//	virgule
>	new page
&	&
8+	£
s+	ſ (long *s*)

1.3. Theoretical foundations and methodology

In line with a recently commonplace development in historical linguistics, i.e. the need for integrating different research frameworks and methods, this study adopts a pragmatic view on language. Pragmatics has for a long time not been considered to be a specific theory of language use but a research perspective (Verschueren 1999; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013). In the 1980s this mostly involved posing questions that extended beyond the study of linguistic structures per se, to cover performativity, implicature

and referentiality. In the late 1990s, first revisions of Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory modified the interests of the field. The processes of meaning generation were viewed in connection to the underlying social principles, rather than as an independent object of inquiry. The preoccupation of pragmatics with the contexts and functions of language, as well as with social norms and conventions, resulted in a sociocultural turn in the perspective (see Taavitsainen and Jucker 2015; cf. Culpeper and Nevala 2012 for a discussion of the term "culture"). This shift enabled successful applications of a pragmatic perspective to historical texts. The realisation that "all linguistic phenomena can be investigated pragmatically" (Verschueren 1999: 203) started to permeate research into the communication of the past and its relations to the micro (immediate, local, situational) and macro contexts (social, cultural, historical). This has contributed significantly to elucidating research questions posed by historical linguistics.

The pragmatic perspective adopted in this study has at its core the features of variability and negotiability (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2014: 8). The former is understood as a set of choices in a specific moment of interaction (Verschueren 1999: 59), while the latter captures the contextual sensitivity of these choices, the involved context(s) being dynamic and newly created all the time. In relation to this view, the analyses presented in this study aim first and foremost at an understanding of the practices of making requests to an institution and their contextual sensitivity. The specific focus falls on the potential factors that may have affected the structural and linguistic choices of petitioners and on how the changes in these factors were reflected in language over a relatively short time span. This approach foregrounds the importance of the notion of genre, hence, as I argue in greater detail below, it is most aptly described as (socio)pragmatic.

1.3.1. Historical pragmatics, historical (socio)pragmatics and context

The (socio)pragmatic[5] nature of historical linguistic analysis undertaken here needs to be viewed in relation to the broader discipline of historical pragmatics. The earliest delineation of the scope of historical pragmatics is provided by Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 11-13) in the volume which

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[5] The prefix *socio-* is put in parenthesis to indicate that the social underpinnings of interaction in the past are only one among many contextual layers pursued by historical pragmatics (Irma Taavitsainen, personal correspondence).

marked the consolidation of earlier research efforts as a new emerging branch of historical linguistics (Jucker ed. 1995). Here, the strands called pragmaphilology, studying contextual aspects of historical texts synchronically, and diachronic pragmatics, focusing on comparisons of pragmatic units discerned in different synchronic slices, were distinguished. In the initial delineation, diachronic pragmatics involved two methods: form-to-function mapping (e.g. development of discourse markers over time) or function-to-form mapping (e.g. development of the questioning function over time). The dual synchronic vs. diachronic scheme, however, soon expanded, with a variety of research efforts in the rapidly developing field (Culpeper 2009: 182). In a special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* (2009), a context-oriented approach embedded in the philological tradition that would allow both synchronic and diachronic investigations, was proposed: historical sociopragmatics (see Section 3.4.). Within historical pragmatics, historical sociopragmatics is distinguished by the preoccupation with context and interfaces with discourse analysis. However, different links of the subfields of historical pragmatics to other branches of historical linguistics have been emphasised and different terminology has been used. For instance, Mazzon, in her analysis into Middle English dialogues in drama, places pragmaphilology and sociopragmatics within historical discourse analysis (2009: 1 ff), Brinton's term roughly overlapping with historical pragmatics (2001).[6] Following Archer (2005), Mazzon states that pragmaphilological studies do not take into consideration the context to such an extent as sociopragmatics does. Kopaczyk (2013) views pragmaphilology in a way similar to Mazzon, as an essential ingredient of historical discourse analysis, and a way of studying dependence of discourse functions on external conditions and she places great emphasis on these very conditions. Kopaczyk's investigation focuses on formulaic legal language and the processes of its standardisation in Scots

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[6] Brinton's view of historical discourse analysis distinguishes three subfields: historical discourse analysis proper (synchronic; equal to *pragmaphilology*), diachronic(ally) oriented discourse analysis (corresponding to *diachronic pragmatics*), and discourse-oriented historical linguistics (covers pragmatic factors in language change and in discourse practices) (2001: 139-140). Brinton's approach, sometimes referred to as the Anglo-American tradition, is more formally oriented (e.g. towards discourse markers) than the broader European view of pragmatics and does not focus on negotiability of meanings in interaction (e.g. politeness). Still, historical discourse analysis and historical pragmatics overlap in many respects.

viewed against a thoroughly sketched background of the involved professional communities and discourse specific conventions. Regardless of the central attention paid to context, Kopaczyk places her own study within pragmaphilogy. This suggests that the distinction into pragmaphilology and sociopragmatics is not the question of the extent to which researchers pay attention to context, but of what exactly is understood as context. Moreover, this also relates to the specific aspects of its study used as a background for research into discourse or language, regardless of specific academic positionings within historical pragmatics or historical discourse analysis (see also Archer forthcoming).

Overall, context is by far the most complex notion in communication studies while the discussion above suggests that internal divisions within historical pragmatics have been viewed in relation to context. It appears that it is the quality, i.e. the specific view of context, such as for instance, synchronic vs. diachronic, that appears of central importance to historical pragmatics, not whether or not a lot of space or attention is devoted to the notion. Context is in principle limitless thus any approach to context is essentially selective, while the notion relies on the interrelations with many categories, some essentially fuzzy and elusive. Hence, some terminological and theoretical clarifications are in place prior to establishing some specifics of context. Below I clarify the understandings of text, discourse(s) and genre as they are employed in this study.

1.3.2. Texts and contexts, discourse(s) and genres

Texts are realised in different modalities and perform different functions. Texts involve different levels of interpretation: formal, thematic, functional and material and they communicate through these different layers. Texts communicate meanings; hence they usually entail structured, or at least organised, flow of language tokens that forms a comprehensible whole. Language tokens out of which we construct texts, i.e. textual units, involve thematic and semantic relations which tie them together, i.e. cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976). Cohesion does not run unbroken throughout a text, and this forms the basis for its segmentation. To achieve comprehensibility, however, coherence relations, which rely on text cohesion among others, are necessary. According to van Dijk, coherence is a "semantic property of discourses, based on the interpretation of each individual sentence relative to the interpretation of other sentences"

(1977a: 93). Text is a semantic unit also to Halliday (1978: 135), while van Dijk views text in terms of an abstract macrosemantic sum of its propositions (1977b). In both views, coherence enables seeing texts as unified wholes. Obviously texts only communicate if their users are able to make sense of them, relate them to their knowledge and appreciate their overall (global), as well as segment level (local) coherence (van Dijk 2014). The how and why of the basis for text unity, i.e. its textuality or texture, has been the central occupation of text linguistics (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Halliday 1978; van Dijk 1977a, 2014).

However, as much as it is a unified whole, text is rarely a stand-alone concept. Hanks (1989: 96) lists and discusses some interconnected concepts, such as co-text, meta-text, con-text, pre-text, sub-text and after-text to indicate the multiple overspills of text and its embedding in other textual and text external entities. This interdependence of text on other texts and text aggregates, as well as variously defined configurations that involve the participants and their communicative setting is broadly understood as discourse. Although the concept of discourse is sometimes used synonymously with text, and sometimes in opposition to text, I choose to follow the abstract and general interpretation of discourse described in the previous sentence. The plural form, the discourses, are more tangible, as these tend to be defined chiefly in terms of thematic and domain specific conglomerates of texts, i.e. medical discourse as opposed to media discourse, is of greater utility to this investigation. Here I assume that an aggregate of texts pertaining to correspondence, including the letters and metadiscussions on the practice found in other texts, as well as the involved participants, constitutes epistolary discourse. In relation to this I use the terms discourse structures and models in my analysis.

Discourses hinge upon given social realities and so do individual texts. The social embedding of texts and their pragmatic and sociocognitive nature, i.e. the link between the linguistic matter and the interactional features of texts is captured by the notion of genre. Alongside text linguistics, decades of study within different areas of the humanities have been devoted to the delimitation of analytical units of text and discourse (Miller 1984; Swales 1990; Bazerman 1994; Devitt 2004; Moessner 2001; Taavitsainen 2001; Bhatia 2004; Biber and Conrad 2009; Prior 2009; Taavitsainen 2010; Claridge 2012). In particular, historical linguistics and pragmatics have more recently seen a shift in perspective towards cultural frameworks and sociocultural processes and the way these may work as useful frames for

the study of interaction through language (Culpeper and Nevala 2012). Within these, genres have been primarily cultural rather than linguistic constructs (Claridge 2012). Text linguistics, however, also recognizes this aspect of genre: Hoey (2001) understands genres as sites of interaction between the addressees and their recipients so their nature is first of all social. In much text linguistic and discourse analytic scholarship, genres have been defined as schemes, scripts, frames and scenarios of essentially cognitive nature (2001: 141). The by far most frequently quoted definition of genre in historical pragmatics relies on this cognitive conceptualisation and underlines the connection of these to culture, i.e. their sociocultural rather than just social nature: "[g]enres are inherently dynamic cultural schemata used to organise knowledge and experience through language" (Taavitsainen 2001: 139-140; cf. Taavitsainen forthcoming). The popularity of this definition also shows that historical pragmatic investigations have drifted increasingly towards the sociocultural underpinnings of genre. This is indeed where the more conventional text linguistic inquiry per se appears of lesser applicability than the social view of text and genre, i.e. its interpretation as a part of context rather than just a set of structural elements. For instance, Görlach's proposal for "componential text-type analysis" (which effectively meant the analysis of genres) has not gained too much ground within the discipline. The view involved different branches of linguistics feeding into the centrally placed "text-type linguistics". The branches were "pragmatics offering the situation-related explanation; sociolinguistics correlating text types with sociohistorical reality; and English for special purposes accounting for the specialized registers" (Görlach 2001: 14) among others. Historical genre studies have been more oriented towards the social, cultural and cognitive views of genre.

Genres are fuzzy and elusive and no autonomous internal measures may be applied to define them. It is, however, important to understand that a combination of bottom-up and top-down criteria is essential to discuss these (see Cap 2011: 54-55). Situational context determines linguistic choices and decisions encoded in texts, as well as recipient expectations. However, texts may relate to the recipients and the situations in a range of different ways. Such connections are often unpredictable within a given genre viewed as a sociocognitive construct. Nevertheless, even the most unexpected and unorthodox texts may achieve comprehensibility even if this involves crossing or extending the schemes of individual genres. This is where the top-down view of genre (e.g. its conventional and expected

function) meets the bottom-up potential of construing text coherence in a successful way regardless of whether or not communicating via a text remains strictly within the realm of genre preconceptions (e.g. in terms of conventionalised linguistic means or functions) or not. In other words, "both local and global coherence presupposes the activation of situation models and generic knowledge that establish relations between sequences of propositions" (van Dijk 2014: 227). Still, in order to enable both types of inference and comprehensibility a reliance on macro-structures is essential (van Dijk 1977b and 2014). Such macro-structures of semantic, pragmatic and generic nature allow comprehending the gist of a text inasmuch as they form the basis for its segmentation on the one hand, and perception as a whole, on the other. In this view, texts are acts of communications, but it is impossible for them to communicate if they are not framed within the relevant sociognitive macro-structures, and among them, genres.

The view of genre proposed in this study is first and foremost local in the sense of its reliance on the sociocultural background of the informants and the communicative situation. Secondly, this approach involves an extended view of practice set against this background. The practice is a local realisation of the involved sociocognitive schemes and the employed resources of both linguistic and sociopragmatic nature. These resources include the structural models which are variously related to contemporary normative discourse and this is a top-down angle of the analysis. The bottom-up interests for the particular genre instantiation also involve some attention paid to language tokens on various levels of hierarchy (punctuation, spelling and morpho-syntax). But these resources may, in turn, involve scribal mediation and their application is by and large underpinned by the participant literacies. The importance of the latter is demonstrated both on the level of discourse models and language tokens.

Evidence for a broad range and complexity of literacies coexisting in any historical period needs to be recovered from first hand material, i.e. manuscript data, which reflect the practice most directly. This constitutes one further understanding of text that is central to historical linguistic analysis: texts are material objects and need to be seen in a documentary context with a focus on their physical properties, paratexts and modality. Indeed, present day historical linguistics views manuscripts as communicative objects in their own right lending themselves to pragmatic analysis (Pahta and Jucker eds. 2011). Not only are historical written texts viewed as legitimate instances of communication, but also manuscript evidence

has become an independent object of study. Nevertheless, the relationship between text and artefact in a given act of communication is of crucial importance. Therefore, in the studies into historical communication, texts and the meanings that they encode are rarely separable from their material format. Manuscripts are artefacts, as much as they are records of different textual histories and interactions. Moreover, they involve an array of participant roles, both on the production and reception side. They include first hand clues to the external spaces of communication, historical, physical and pragmatic. Manuscripts are essential to conceptualising a given communicative situation, which is indispensible to understanding utilitarian texts, such as letters. Features of handwriting, layout, spacing and script types are variables here. Manuscripts record textual histories, which are essential to the understanding of literary, scientific and news texts produced in the past. Finally, manuscripts themselves are highly variable and much less controlled and controllable attestations of historical interaction than printed texts.

1.4. 1820 settler petition and the contexts

In connection to the significance of the quality, rather than the quantity of contexts, as a measure of historical pragmatic analyses, this section specifies the contexts relevant to studying the 1820 settler petition. Figure 1.1 visualises the contexts. Starting with the innermost entities, the petition involves a range of language and discourse resources whose application is embedded in several contexts simultaneously. These resources are directly underpinned by user literacies (e.g. writing and composition skills), their aims (e.g. scope of request), pragmatic decisions (e.g. accounting for or not for the degree of imposition) and addressee expectations (e.g. formal and procedural requirements). Moreover, these resources belong to the broader situational context that involves, genre frames and specific situational factors such as, for example, time and space constraints. Genre frames clearly encompass the tokens of language and discourse, as well as specific situational frames of interaction which are typical for a given illocutionary purpose. The next level of contextual embedding comprises the local context, which I understand as the social materiality of the genre. Finally, the most general level that is characterised, in the case of the 1820 settlers, and possibly for the Late Modern period in general, by the fluidity of conventional social variables, the changing value systems, as well as

shifting loci of social (and linguistic) prestige is the social context. The individual chapters of this study are devoted to a step-by-step reconstruction of these contexts (see Section 1.5. for an overview). The most important and immediate of these is the direct context of interaction, i.e. the situational context. A characterisation of this context is a prerequisite for further discussion, so I present it in greater detail below.
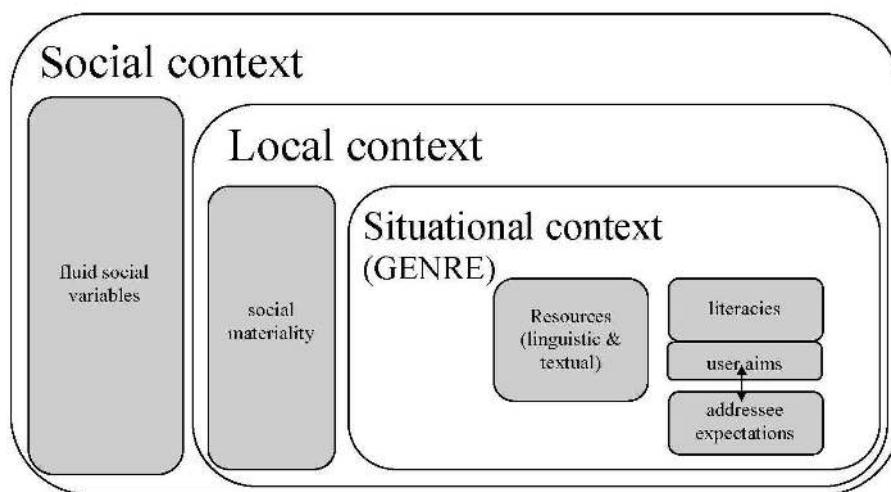
Figure 1.1. Contextualisation of the 1820 settler petition

1.4.1. Texts and context reconstruction

On July 28th 1819, Thomas Bainbridge, a tailor from Soho, compiled a list of names. The list found its way into a letter, inserted between an introductory formula and followed by an epistolary ending:

(6)   The following are the persons which have agreed to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope under the care of Mr. Thomas Bainbridge.
Thomas Bainbridge, a tailor, aged 39 years
Elizabeth Bainbridge, wife, aged 36 yrs
(…)
The abovementioned names are strong, able and most industrious men willing to work and by their own consent submitted their names to this paper for the Emigration of the Cape of Good Hope.

I remain your most humble servant
Thomas Bainbridge
Leader
(CO48/41/263/Bainbridge, Thomas)

Over the following months, Bainbridge prepared three more texts, each of them containing further names and personal details (CO48/41/431, 476, 563). The difference between his first and the subsequent letters is, however, quite striking. The three letters start with *In/With compliance to* and included an address *Sir/My Lord*. In the second letter, dated August 24th, *My Lord* was repeated two more times to start a new indented line: (1) following the list of names and (2) preceding the conventional closing formula *I remain your Lordship's Most Humble and Devoted Servant* (CO48/41/431). The three later letters, despite bureaucratic content (lists of names, ages and addresses), abound in contemporary epistolary conventions, while the first one only includes the closing formula, date and signature as possible epistolary clues. It fails to name, or even less directly indicate, the addressee. It does not seem to be written with any other purpose in mind but for that of conveying information. Unlike in the later letters, Bainbridge does not recommend anyone "under His Majesty's council", nor does he "begg leave to submit to your Lordship the list" (CO48/41/431). These differences aside, it is important to notice that the recipient responded to each of his letters. Moreover, Bainbridge along with his family was granted a free passage to the Cape Colony, went there on board the Ocean in December 1819 and became a settler in South Africa.

Another composition from 1819 (most likely August) by one Robert Mallum was filed alongside Bainbridge's letters.

(7)   5th * 1819
        Ro[bt] Mallum
        Taylor
        Rezidense N[o] 20
        Queens gardens Bromtton
        A Single man Aged 24 years
        (CO48/44/565/Mallum, Robert)

The sheet of paper on which the details of Mallum's address, his marital status and age were written bears a clerical stamp with the reception date (Rec[d]. Aug. 9.) and the note "Ans" in the top left hand corner. This indi-

cates that the recipient responded to Mallum (see Włodarczyk 2013b and Włodarczyk forthcoming). From these few details, it may be assumed that the recipient was able to infer Mallum's intention and decoded it as being similar to that communicated more explicitly by Bainbridge. Although Mallum's fate cannot be established beyond any doubt, it is most likely that, unlike Bainbridge, he failed to go in the Cape Colony.

In this section, it is my aim to show how and why the instances quoted above provide a challenge to a historical linguistic analysis. Having briefly explained the unconventional character of these letters, I would like to show that such context-deficient and generically undefined cases render pragmatic approaches to communication of the past indispensable. Moreover, such more problematic cases may illuminate our understanding of the ostensibly less challenging instances and open new interpretations. A close reconstruction of the layer of the context that is most immediate to interaction, the context of situation, is a prerequisite for such interpretations. I approach this task from a cognitive perspective on genre change and I propose two different communication cycles of the petition for Britain in 1819 (candidate letters) and for Cape Colony between 1820-25 (colonial letters). A proposal for a well contextualised (socio)pragmatic reading of Bainbridge's and Mallum's letters closes this section.

1.4.2. Petitioners and addressees: A cognitive conceptualisation

Communication involves at least two parties. Thus in studying communication the processes of encoding and decoding a text demand equal attention, especially in the case of historical data that are far removed in time and space. The data analysed here, however, only attest to the encoder's side of communication, while recovering the exchange dyad in its entirety is fraud with difficulty, as is the case in most historical settings. Nevertheless, it is feasible, based on the situational clues, to illuminate some aspects of the reception process and to link it to the composition. To this end, I apply a cognitive conceptualisation of the exchange between the petitioners and the addressees based on Bach (1992). This involves posing the following questions: What inferences can be made on the recipients' expectations? What are the differences between the two pools of data in terms of these and in terms of broader context?

Bach (1992) conducts an analysis of historical genre change of wills by comparing a sample of Puritan to pre-Reformation data. In a rare cog-

nitive approach to historical genre studies, Bach assumes that text construction aims at clear comprehensibility, which is a common sense premise, in particular in the case of utilitarian data. Comprehensibility, ultimately, is the domain of recipients, i.e. their successful inference of text semantics and its functions, i.e. the process of comprehension. However, the model assumes that producers of texts may control this process by means of different strategies of comprehension management and guidance, thus the comprehension is not exclusively the domain of the recipient. Even in the physical absence of text producers, meanings and their decoding are thus negotiable. At this point the notion of genre superstructures or schemes comes into play. Because texts are only meaningful in reference to genre superstructures, producers manipulate and modify these and that affects the process of comprehension. Moreover, modification of such superstructures determines text functions and may result in genre change. For instance, the use of religious elements in the Puritan wills to the extent that considerably supersedes the space devoted to the listings of bequeathed items may be viewed as a modification of the will's macrostructure. According to Bach, this serves the purposes of popularising and bestowing the elements of Puritan ideology to the audience to which the will is presented. Bach's cognitive approach to the changes in the genre of wills (1992) provides the background against which I construct a conceptualisation of the analysed petitions as cycles of communication. On this basis I show that due to their embedding in two different sociocultural settings, the writers of the candidate and of the colonial petitions, as well as their recipients, may have relied on different sets of assumptions pertaining to the exchange. For instance, the expected scope of new as opposed to old information are important distinctive criteria and so is the scope and nature of some constraints that the addressee and the situation impose on text producers (Section 1.4.4.3. and Table 1.3). A cycle of communication is understood as a sequence of initiation, activation and comprehension, which may be recurrent if the original addressee decides to respond. Cognitively, cycles of communication are initiated by a specific stimulus, as a result of which some discourse and language resources are activated on the side of the encoder. In reference to the most relevant frames or macrostructures, i.e. genres, the encoder produces a text that the recipient needs to manage in order to infer the involved meanings and functions. For the cycle to continue, recipient response needs to be generated.

1.4.3. Colonial Office in Britain and Cape Colony

In both communicative situations, in Britain and in the Cape Colony, the Colonial Office was the addressee of the petitions. The Colonial Office was a government agency created in 1801 to replace the Board for War and Colonies. Its competence was to control the affairs of the empire beyond Ireland and British India. The head of the office was the third Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (Laidlaw 2005: 41). In the 1820s, Earl Bathurst occupied this position (until 1827). However, his deputy, an under-secretary of state, Henry Goulburn,[7] was effectively in charge of the agency's operation between 1812-21. Goulburn was definitely the highest official of the institution directly involved in the execution of the Cape of Good Hope emigration scheme and was responsible for overseeing the correspondence with the settler candidates. In practice, lower clerks dealt with the majority of the letters related to the emigration scheme, although multiple notes by Goulburn are evidence for his active involvement. The Colonial Office in Britain was a well-established institution and its operation relied on efficient management of large volumes of internal and foreign correspondence. Woods suggests that between 1806 and 1824, the bulk of correspondence that the institution had to manage had quadrupled to over twelve thousand, but that number covers external letters only (1968: 5). The agency had at its disposal an army of clerks who were professional letter writers and were not only well versed in spontaneous correspondence, but first and foremost very much in the habit of applying routinised procedures of document filing, management and circulation (Laidlaw 2005: 49, 63). Traces of these procedures are amply attested in the candidate letters (see Mallum's letter in Example (7)). Most of these bear a dating stamp or note in the top left hand corner to indicate when the letter was received. If a reply was sent, another note was made ("Ans" or "An^d" for answered), usually accompanied by a date. This indicates that the dating of the reception and despatch was of primary importance to the institution.

As for the organisation of the agency in the Cape of Good Hope, it was headed by the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset. In 1820 it consisted of 17 staff, nine of whom were clerks (*RCC* 12: 204). Colonial administration had been present in the Cape of Good Hope since the second British occupation

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[7] Goulburn was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and he later became Chancellor of the Exchequer (Jenkins 1996).

in 1806, but it was only since the arrival of the 1820 settlers that the officials and clerks had to exchange letters with their subjects regularly. This was a novelty, as prior to the 1820 settlement, British presence in the Colony was limited to the administration and soldiers. Compared to Britain, the responsibilities of the local representatives of the Colonial Office in the Cape Colony were relatively narrow and the modes of managing external correspondence were not as rigorous. As for the procedures involved in correspondence, as I have shown before, it was only in September 1823 that instructions to implement some strict regulations of correspondence, known to have enabled smooth operation of the institution in Britain, were sent to the Cape Colony (Włodarczyk 2013b: 401). Prior to that point it is likely that the operation of the agency in South Africa was much less routinised than in Britain. The responsibilities of the agency were local only, while the demand for speed and efficacy, especially regarding the correspondence with the citizens, was not critical. However, as colonial officials were educated and trained in Britain and have usually had considerable experience in public positions prior to their appointment for the colonies, it is likely that they knew and employed practices similar to those of the Colonial Office and other government institutions at home. For instance, almost every petition includes a summary scribbled perpendicularly in the top left hand corner. Summaries were sometimes extensive and were most likely provided by the lower clerks to facilitate the work of the higher officials. On the other hand, apart from the numbering that followed the order of receipt, no other basis for filing or organisation of the incoming citizen letters was used. Dates of reception were not noted, so if a petitioner did not include the date in a given letter, it has become impossible to place it in time precisely. Moreover, the institution did not indicate whether or not a reply letter was sent. There are not many clues to confirm that the control over the operation and the correspondence of the Colonial Office in the Cape of Good Hope, especially in the case of citizen-institution communication, was as consistent as in Britain. Overall, the differences described above may have had some bearing on the circulation of the petitions in Britain and in the Cape Colony and provide a starting point to characterising the expectations of the addressee.

1.4.4. Cycles of petitioning in the candidate and the colonial letters

The candidate and colonial letters were written in the context of British government institutions that offered welfare programmes to the citizens. These

programmes provided incentives for communicating with the providers and launched a communication cycle. Offers of aid activated specific resources available to the users, i.e. the response to these programmes occurred by means of a legal and practical instrument available to them, i.e. the petition and by means of a related macrostructure of the genre. Petitions were not constructed around the phatic function, while the response that their producers expected was very practical. The petitioners wished for an execution of their request, not for the establishing of interpersonal bonds, or even for a continuation of the exchange per se. Obviously, citizen rights could have only become effective if their requests were interpreted as viable, legitimate and worthy of acknowledgment. On the recipient side, ideally, an authoritative resource of legal or regulatory nature that specifies the prerequisites for the decision-making process was consulted to this end. Thus in petitioning, on top of the addressee's ability to comprehend the text, some external conditions came into play between text comprehension and request execution.[8]

1.4.4.1. Exchange in 1819

In the specific situational context of the data under analysis, the candidate petitions need to be seen as responses to the government circular letters issued by the Colonial Office in July 1819. Two of these were published in newspapers (e.g. *Times*, July 17th 1819; cf. *RCC* 12: 225-29). The metatextual label suggests that the textual form that publicised the scheme was, in fact, epistolary. The circular letters, designed as replies to the citizen applications (see Włodarczyk 2013d for more details on the letter writing protocols of the Colonial Office), open and close in a conventional way and involve other epistolary features, such as for instance, the post script.

"I have to acquaint you in reply to your letter of the ___ that the following are the conditions under which it is proposed to give encouragement to emigration to the Cape of Good Hope" "I am your most obedient humble servant"

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[8] Obviously, additional factors involved in granting a given request such as personal connections, clerical mistakes, bad publicity of a petitioner, coincidence etc. may have come into play. One settler openly states in a letter from 1824: "(…) that He was personally Known to and patronaged for 12 years by the Dowager Countess of Liverpool, through whose interest He obtained His Grant in this Colony" (223/146/Turvey). These are not discussed here as the available evidence only allows speculation (Nash 1987 and Marshall 2008 provide information of this sort on a number of settlers; see also Włodarczyk forthcoming).

The first of the circulars, which I refer to as the Official Circular Letter, was a point of reference for the remaining ones, which frequently mention its content and present it as a comprehensive and authoritative source of information, i.e. the "Circular Letter which states the conditions" of the emigration scheme. The Official Circular Letter was the authoritative regulatory source for the selection process and the decisions made by the Colonial Office. Similarly, it provided a central reference point also to the candidates and their letters, and later also to the colonial petitions, as it lay the legal foundations for the practicalities of both the emigration scheme and government assistance in the Cape of Good Hope. However, apart from this groundwork document, the Colonial Office produced four further printed circular replies to the prospective applications, but only the Official Circular Letter and Circular (2) were published in newspapers (*RCC* 12: 229-32):

– (Circular 1) "in reply to Applicants desirous to emigrate"; a letter of acceptance communicating the decision to grant a plot of land and forwarding the call for the details of the prospective party. It included a printed "Returns" form to this end.

– (Circular 2) "in reply to Applicants for information"; focused on the details of location and further fundamental matters that had not featured in the Official Circular Letter, but at the same time referred the interested parties back to that letter. This circular was published in newspapers alongside the Official Circular Letter.

– (Circular 3) "in reply to Applicants desirous of emigrating singly" was a refusal to an individual application as, according to the scheme, groups, i.e. emigrant parties only, could have qualified.

– (Circular 4) a reminder letter to a prospective candidate for the lists of prospective settlers and for the payment of the deposit expressed in a blatant manner, bordering on a threat:

> I am directed by the Earl Bathurst to acquaint you that he cannot take
> into consideration the wish you have expressed to be allowed to settle at
> the Cape of Good Hope, unless you transmit to this Department a de-
> tailed Statement of the Number, Names (…) (*RCC* 12: 232)

The circulars were effectively printed forms, or templates, with gaps for addressee details, dates, etc. that supplemented the Official Circular Letter and tackled some issues and doubts that the Colonial Office expected could be raised in the applications. It is likely that the Colonial Office issued these forms based on their predictions as to the type and nature of the applications prior to receiving any, i.e. adopted a bureaucratic procedural approach to the candidate petitions. It did not intend to engage in "spontaneous" exchange and relied on a set of pre-planned replies. Secondly, the institution conceived of a very specific path to implement if they decided to execute a request: accept (Circular 1) – demand details (Circular 2) – issue a reminder (Circular 4), if the details were not delivered. Alternatively, if the Colonial Office decided not to accept a petition, a refusal was communicated (Circular 3). The clerical notes such as "No. 1", "No. 2", "Letter" or "Circular" found on many candidate letters thus refer to the specific forms that had been prepared in advance to be sent in reply to individual petitions. The cycle would usually close if no response occurred, or the response involved a denial (Circular 3) to execute a petitioners' wish based on the authority of the Official Circular Letter. If correspondence continued, usually as a result of a favourable decision, however, new communicative circumstances occurred for any individual exchange. In an extended cycle, each and every initiation and response could be viewed as legitimate new points of reference: layers of interpersonal exchange thickened and a unique communicative space was created between the petitioner and the addressee, even if the latter remained a collective, institutional entity. Such extended and more spontaneous correspondence, in particular with party leaders was not exceptional, but a limited number of candidates were involved in it. As I have shown before, each and every such case requires a detailed analysis in its own right (Włodarczyk 2015).[9]

Overall, the most common procedures employed by the Colonial Office in Britain to manage the applications reveal an important aspect of recipient expectations: the publicised Official Circular Letter remained the ultimate point of reference for the clerks, and its "conditions" provided specific guidelines for action and regulated the mode of response.

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[9] The study shows that in individual cases routinised procedures may have failed to apply and the clerks and officials of the Colonial Office engaged in strategic and expressive exchange with some correspondents (Włodarczyk 2015: 159-160).

Regarding the decision-making, in a way, the Colonial Office imposed on the petitioner the need to know the demands and constraints on the emigration scheme published in the Official Circular Letter and emphasised their decisive importance for petitioners being or not being eligible to be "considered for emigration". If an applicant showed in their petition that they had not comprehended the published Official Circular effectively, or had not been familiar with its contents, for instance by asking detailed questions or by applying individually, they were referred back to the published document. Following from this, we may claim that the Colonial Office assumed that in this communicative situation the applicants, having had access to the Official Circular, shared some very specific background knowledge with the addressees.
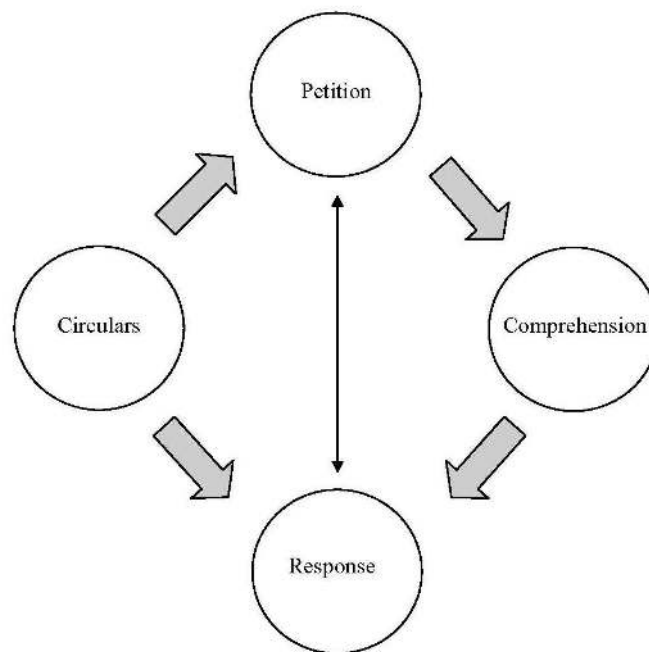
Figure 1.2. Communication cycle of the candidate petition in Britain

With this background in mind we can now discuss the model of the petitioning cycle. In 1819, petitioning was initiated by the published Official Circular Letter. This is indicated by the arrow connecting the Circulars to the Petition in Figure 1.2. It is important to note that, from the perspective

of the Colonial Office, the amount of knowledge that the applicants shared with the institution was considerable and that the published Circular remained the central viable source of instruction to them. The arrow connecting the Circular to the Response illustrates this fact. To the petitioner, however, the published Circular may not have been the direct stimulus: they may have relied on hearsay or private advertising bills or prospectuses[10] as the publicity that the scheme received was astounding.[11] Thus, the applicants may not have possessed the knowledge that the addressees assumed was shared. In producing a petition, applicants undoubtedly provided new information to be comprehended by the addressee, the Colonial Office. However, on receiving a petition, the institution employed a pre-arranged, complex and constrained scheme of assumptions and a finite set of related responses. Thus the reply may have been shaped as much by the new information included in a petition, as by the content of the Official Circular Letter, i.e. old and shared information. Bearing in mind the routinised practices of the institution, it is likely that the latter took precedence in the execution of the decisions over the former. In other words, the recipient was not sensitive to new information per se, but was more interested to know whether a given candidate qualified for the scheme. The cycle thus limited the scope for pragmatic creativity of the petitioner, because, in principle, request execution was based on independent variables only. The addressee expected the applicant to know what the "conditions" for the scheme were. Such constraints left only little scope for negotiating the execution of a request. Thus, in writing their application, the petitioners may have and would have adapted the relevant language resources to their own ideas of comprehensibility, but the addressee would have nevertheless relied on a constrained set of assumptions in order to reach a decision. The decision that was made would have in turn determined the specific choice within the highly routinised modes of response (i.e. the circulars). The Colonial Office thus guided the prospective applicants to provide the institution with specific content in order to establish whether or not they were eligible for the scheme. If exchange continued, the institution imposed some formal constraints on top of content guidance: it called for candidate lists to be entered

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[10] These are not visualised in Figure 1.2 as the cycle reflects addressee assumptions.

[11] A drawing by a contemporary satirical artist, George Cruikshank, testifies to the heated social debate on the scheme. Its title is: "A strong proof of the flourishing state of the country, exemplefied in the proposed emigration to the cape of forlorn good hope! Or Honeymouth building castles in the air on the new land of promise!!" (1819).

into a printed Returns form that the clerks attached to a reply (Circular 1). Initially, however, no clues as to the formal requirements on applications were to be inferred, thus the candidate petitions appear to have been fairly spontaneous individual replies to the Official Circular Letter, or to a call for volunteers that were constructed within a macrostructure of the genre of petition. Even if within this framework the producers (petitioners) attempted to guide the comprehension process, the recipients (the Colonial Office) were unlikely to have been sensitive to such guidance. In other words, whatever the form of the petition was, as long as its contents were even least relevant, a set of preconceived expectations governed the inference process. Effectiveness of comprehension guidance on side of the petitioners in Britain was thus seriously hampered by the circumstances and the narrowly specified addressee expectations. Effectively, the petitioners were guided and constrained by the Colonial Office expectations rather than the other way round.

1.4.4.2. Colonial exchange

Petitioning in the Cape Colony was initiated in response to the documents regulating migration, the Official Circular Letter still remaining an important point of reference. Apart from these, a range of aid programmes were offered locally and many regulations were introduced by the colonial government. Such regulations mostly involved the distribution of plots of land, food ratios and loans. In addition, there were a range of bureaucratic constraints, for instance on the right to move freely within the colony, on the separation from settler parties, on the licences for trade, etc. Permits regarding these were only attainable upon written application. The 1820 settlers were not allowed to move freely within the colony or outside as they were legally bound to the land and their parties. Therefore, the so-called colonial passes, i.e. permits to move freely within the colony, were by far most common reason for petitioning the Colonial Office (see also 5.5.3.). As the failure of agricultural pursuits forced many settlers to seek employment in towns, the interest for colonial passes, as well as for return passes to England, was so wide that the Acting Governor, Rufane Donkin,[12] issued an official proclamation in order to limit the number of

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[12] Donkin was in office between 1820-21 when Governor Somerset had his leave in Britain.

applications and the distribution of the passes (May 14th 1820, *Cape Government Gazette*). Despite the fact that the proclamation had been made publicly available, this and other guidelines regulating the legal and bureaucratic matters in the Cape Colony were not disseminated as effectively as the Official Circular from 1819. For this reason, the colonial authorities did not stop at the proclamation: a circular letter directed specifically "to the heads of parties on granting passes" was issued just over a week later by the Deputy Colonial Secretary, Henry Ellis:

> [A]pplications for permission to quit the party must in the first instance be signed by the head of the party, then transmitted to the provisional magistrate, by whom the same will be forwarded to the colonial office, from whence the permanent permission, either for residence in the district or the colony generally, as the case may be, will be issued." (May 23rd 1820; *RCC* 12: 200)

This shows that although governor's proclamations were published regularly in the government mouthpiece, the officials had to resort to more direct ways to ensure that the regulations were publicised and put into practice. Morevoer, the *Cape Town Gazette* was viewed with some suspicion as a tool of the autocratic rule of the Colony's Governor (see for instance *RCC* 22: 251) and this, too, may have limited the effectiveness of the publication.

Overall, not a single document, but a wide range of potentially authoritative sources became relevant to petitioning. In principle, everyone qualified to change the plot of land initially allotted to them, to leave their party, to obtain food ratios, to get permission to travel freely or to obtain a loan. In external correspondence, the local government rarely specified transparent criteria as to citizen eligibility for a given type of aid or legal permit, although they have clearly put a lot of emphasis on the involved procedures of application and the bureaucratic path, as in the case of the colonial passes mentioned above. However, in reality the procedures and criteria of dealing with citizen petitions were not quite what Rufane Donkin envisioned in his proclamation. Many letters remained unanswered as the petitioners themselves indicate (e.g. 223/077/Hockly, 223/245/Vallentine). The colonial officials were more concerned with evading responsibility if outcomes of institutional neglect became clear than with the consequences of the initial fiasco of the settlement. The following extract from a letter by Robert Godlonton, a local district official

(lower clerk) to the Landdrost,[13] Harry Rivers, makes frequent reference to the other parties involved in a case of a settler whose misery and complete lack of support from the Colonial Office was exposed and widely discussed (see also Section 6.5.). Godlonton described the actions of a petitioner, Maria Harden, in this way:

> [S]he got a person to write to you for assistance, but getting no reply, she requested Mrs. Wakeford to ask me about it, and (…) I informed her I had spoken once or twice to you on the subject, but had received no answer: - with reference to which, I beg to state, that Mrs. Harden never informed me that you had been written to on the subject ; that the communication received by me was not a verbal one, but a letter signed by W. Harden, and written, as I have been lately informed, by Thomas Rowles, and which I immediately upon receipt thereof, handed to you, as stated in my letter in the printed Correspondence. (*RCC* 22: 283)

The statement made by a lower to a higher official and the intricate line of defence that he employs illustrates that the decision making process regarding citizen requests was unregulated, and largely based on third party recommendations and hearsay. The case shows also the lack of a clear division of competence and responsibilities between the involved officials. Two colonial representatives on two levels of the colonial government failed to respond to requests for help from, despite external interventions. Godlonton's claim that "Mrs. Harden never informed me that you had been written to on the subject" indicates that information on citizen petitions was not exchanged between the officials.[14] Moreover, there was no clear division of competence regarding the distribution of the aid to the

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[13] Under Dutch East India Company rule, the Landdrost was "the magistrate and chief administrator of a district or 'drostdy' and chairman of the board of Heemraden" (Silva 1996: 413a). The British have initially preserved Dutch administrative divisions although reforms started in 1821 after Somerset's return from Britain (see Coates 2009: 12-15 for further details). Harry Rivers became landdrost of the district of Albany in December 1821, but was not very successful.

[14] There are cases of officials lying bluntly about citizen petitions. For instance, in connection to the floods which pestered Albany in 1823 and left many houses literally washed down, Harry Rivers wrote to the Governor: "I am happy to say I have had few or no applications for relief, in consequence of sufferings or loss, from the late bad weather: but should you know of any case of real distress, where you think assistance would be well, and ought to be afforded I shall be obliged by your informing me, that I may, if in my power, procure relief" (*RCC* 22: 273).

settlers, while the interest of the officials for their welfare was low. In effect the settlers tried different paths and options within the institutional realm and outside (e.g. personal connections, patronage).

Overall, in the Cape Colony, the practice of the institution provided a dynamic source of inferences as to the decision making process: this practice was largely random and much less transparent than in Britain. The lack of a specific authoritative source of local regulations to which petitioners may have appealed is clear: the published Official Circular was still mentioned as a point of reference for some requests to support petitioner demands (158/082/Goodwin). Otherwise, petitioners referred to the law in general or to the laws of England or Britain (136/070/Hockly; 249/294/Carney), the Colony (178/115/Carlisle) or even the Dutch laws (158/216/Patrick) and were unable to relate to a specific regulation to support their claims. Similarly, the colonial officials may have potentially employed a broad range of reference points to justify their decisions. However, they rarely did so, apart from frequent references to the authority of the governor or other officials in position of power as in Godlonton's letter quoted above. With these issues in the background, despite some shared knowledge, little common ground information may be assumed in the citizen-institution communication in the Cape Colony. This has a bearing on the cognitive processing of the petitions by the addressee. It must have been difficult for the Colonial Office to make predictions as to what specific type of aid or bureaucratic matter a given petition may have concerned. Thus the scope of new information included in the colonial petition became potentially unconstrained: the petitioner needed to present their request in greater detail than it had been the case in Britain. Moreover, the institution did not rely on a fixed reference point in justifying their decisions, or even in choosing whom to respond to. In the absence of transparent external criteria, the execution of the request became a negotiable decision. Thus the scope for petitioners' pragmatic creativity was greater than in the case of the candidate letters and so was the scope for effective guidance of the comprehension process, provided, obviously, that the colonial officials actually got down to the processing of a petition and the papers have not been "mislaid", as settlers often euphemistically referred to the unanswered letters (158/009/Ames), or "laid under foot" (O'Callaghan 223/073) to put it more bluntly. Any aspect of the petition, including its form, may have been a means to negotiate the chances for the execution of a given request. Submitting a petition was no longer an "anything goes" enterprise, but all its aspects bore some significance. The colonial petition thus opened more

scope for comprehension guidance on the side of the petitioners. As the preceding paragraph has suggested, more room for increasing the petitioner chancers of success appeared outside of the institution, within the social realm of the community. Thus all the potential opportunities were most willingly embraced, even by the settlers at the lowest social levels, to increase the chances of their cases.

1.4.4.3. Communicative cycles and the practice

The fundamental difference between the petitioning cycles in Britain and Cape Colony, however, lies in the fact that in 1819 these were often short-lived and mostly limited to the petitioner-institution dyad. As such they had no potential implications for the practice within a broader community (also for space and time reasons), because no site existed to discuss or popularise successful patterns of application. Viewed in the cognitive framework of a communication cycle, the candidate petitions did not entail a potential to develop into a *local practice*. In the Cape Colony, however, the involved social networks provided a site where the emerging patterns of petitioning may have been propagated and used as models, for instance through the activity of social and professional scribes and via metadiscussion within the community. Regarding the petitioning in the Cape Colony, every exchange may potentially have had a bearing on the future instantiations of the practice. The community's social networks allowed the dissemination of information on success rates and metadiscussion on anticipations concerning the expectations of the recipient. In the absence of clearly defined external criteria for request execution, or its form, a closely-knit local community was likely to seek effective solutions and such solutions were likely to feed into the future ones. This unique aspect of the petitioning in the Cape Colony is visualised in Figure 1.3. Dark horizontal cylinders illustrate individual exchanges between the petitioners and the Colonial Office. The arrows on the dark cylinders designate the mutual influences between the petitioner and the addressee in a single petitioning cycle. The exchanges are framed within a triangle that conceptualises the new practice: with time the practice has become closed to external influences, because the cycles involved a relatively closed set of participants who functioned within a local community. The cycles are viewed as contiguous, but their scope has narrowed down with every instantiation, i.e. the set of assumptions as to the addressee expectations

takes a more specific shape based on the effectiveness of the individual petitions. In this setting, some pragmatic strategies and formal features may have gained prominence over others and grounds may be provided for quick conventionalisation of successful solutions. Undoubtedly, the involvement of the social and professional scribes as a popular social institution in the Cape Colony is also a factor to be taken into account. Thus petitioning in the Cape Colony emerges as a collective, self-contained and self-perpetuating practice that has gradually grown less and less dependent on non-local resources and models. Bearing the above considerations in mind, we may conclude that unlike the candidate petitions, the colonial petitions reflect a local practice and provide a promising site for a (socio)pragmatic analysis undertaken in this study.
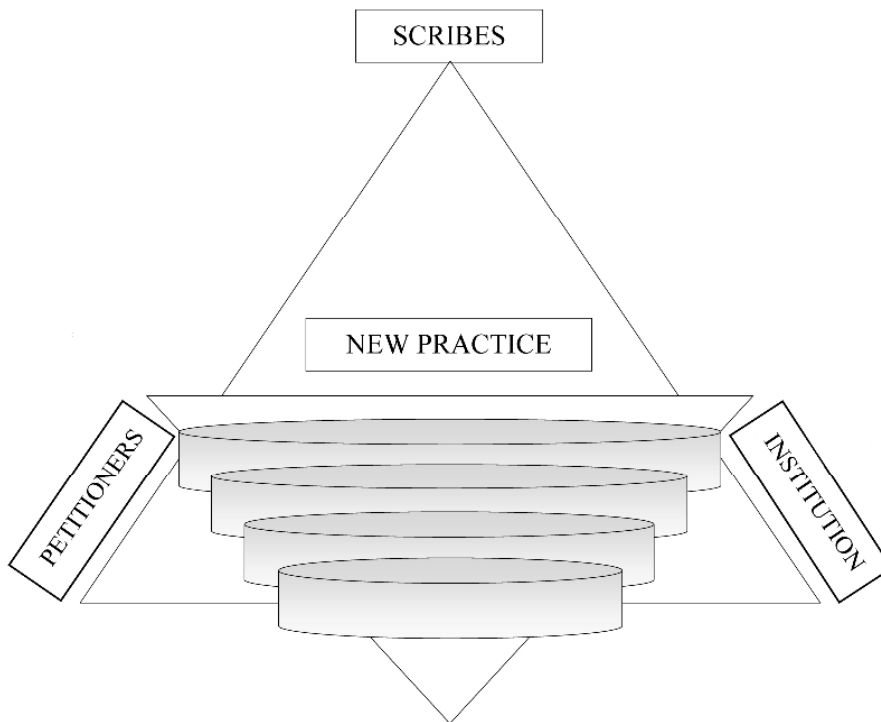
Figure 1.3. New practice in the Cape Colony

The discussion above has presented two communication cycles of the petitions with some cognitive underpinnings that allowed reconstructing some aspects of addressee expectations. Table 1.3 presents some criteria relevant to the practice: the amount of old vs. new information, the reference point(s) for decision making, the range of (the dissemination of) the practice and the involved formal requirements. Apart from the range criterion, the remaining ones relate to the addressee expectations and cover the aspects of the practice that are not attested directly in the analysed data. The two contexts of exchange show some differences with respect to these criteria. For 1819, we have inferred that the initiation of the exchange does not assume including a lot of old (shared) information, as only one welfare scheme is available in a given window of time and the legibility for emigration is fairly well defined. This also means that the nature of new information as expected by the addressee is very specific and narrow. In the Cape Colony, the situation changes: there is a broad range of matters that a petition may address. Thus the scope of old information that is shared by the parties involved in communication is limited. Consequently, the scope for new information becomes broad and unspecified. Whereas in 1819, the core pragmatic effect of the candidate petitions, the execution of the request, relied largely on the guidelines provided by single source document, or a small set of documents. In the case of the colonial letters, the sources for the process of decision-making were numerous, while their scope was not exactly transparent or well-defined. In effect, the execution of a request in the Cape Colony emerged as a random procedure and its mechanisms could have mostly been inferred from the actual institutional practice over time. Regarding the range criterion, in 1819, the potential for disseminating some instances and models of the practice was low. Negotiation that must have occurred within the domain of individual exchanges was not likely to extend to the communal level, also because of time and space constraints. In the Cape Colony, however, (positive) implications of individual exchanges were much more likely to extend beyond the individual practices of the involved parties. The range of the practice may be related to the next criterion, the formal requirements. No specific formal requirements on petitions may be conclusively reconstructed based on the analysed material, because the Colonial Office issued no explicit instructions in this respect either in Britain or in the Cape Colony. Nevertheless, the communication cycles presented above indicate that if some local constraints on the practice

were to develop, this was more likely to have happened within a small and relatively close-knit community of the 1820 settlers in the Cape Colony. That is why, as the cognitive framework employed above predicts, the communal cycles of the colonial letters offer more scope for a pragmatic analysis than the individual cycles of exchange in Britain where multiple and individualised models of practice met with the rigid constraints of addressee expectations. The question marks in Table 1.3 below set the direction for further study: the nature of the formal requirements followed by the petitioners is unknown and not easy to predict, but it may be illuminated through a close investigation into some formal characteristics of the petitions, although the data primarily attest the petitioner choices. The communicative cycles suggest that that a study into the practice needs to focus primarily on the colonial petitions, with the candidate letters used as a background source of information on the development and dynamics of the local and increasingly self-contained petition in the Cape Colony.

Table 1.3. Constraints on the candidate and colonial petitions

Criterion	1819	1820-25
OLD information	Assumed maximal	Assumed minimal
NEW information	Narrow and specified	Broad and unspecified
Reference point(s)	Single/published/transparent	Multiple/practice-based/random
Range of practice	Individual	Communal
Formal requirements	?	?

1.4.5. Reading unorthodox petitions

In an etic perspective of a researcher who tries to make sense of Bainbridge's and Mallum's letters quoted above (Section 1.4.1.), the illocutionary point of their compositions and the meanings these communicate only become accessible if their letters are carefully contextualised. In other words, some formal features that identified the genre of the petition, which were obvious in the case of the Caldecotts' letters presented in Examples (1)-(3), do not seem to be essential for texts to communicate effectively to the addressee. At the same time, there is no denying that Bainbridge's letter is as informative as it is petitionary, i.e. in the process of his application for the scheme it foregrounds the makeup of the prospective party, not the issue

of his own eligibility. Thus, the unconventional form of his petition may lie in its collective character, or the fact that he was the party leader who addressed the Colonial Office on behalf of the interested individuals or families. The fact that he signed as a party leader indicates that Bainbridge must have petitioned the institution before and that his letter of the 28th of July 1819 was not the first one in a series of exchange. Having already been accepted as a party leader, it is likely that Bainbridge did not necessarily need to foreground the application for the scheme: the letter was petitionary as if "by extension". It is also likely that the letter presented above was a response to the Colonial Office Circular (1), i.e. the official acceptance for the scheme and included the institution's demand for further details on the prospective party.

Moreover, the list of names compiled by Bainbridge referred to above (Section 1.4.1.) lends itself to more detailed pragmatic readings in relation to the Colonial Office circulars. Although the list of names of prospective emigrants lies at its centre, the situational context provides an incentive to look for other aims, while the epistolary frame of communication suggests a potential for a range of functions that go beyond the transmission of information. These clues may be used to make some inferences based on the italicised parts of the extract below (my italics):

> The abovementioned names are *strong*, *able* and *most industrious* men *willing to work* and by their own consent *submitted their names* to this paper for the Emigration of the Cape of Good Hope. July 28th 1819 (CO48/41/431//Bainbridge, Thomas)

If the adjectives *strong*, *able* and *most industrious* are read as the qualifying characteristics required of a prospective settler, it becomes clear that the text is not only informational, but that it also emphasises the eligibility of the named individuals for the emigration scheme that have been emphasised in the Official Circular:

> [T]he government have determined to confine the application of the money recently voted by Address in the House of Commons, to those persons who possessing the means will engage to carry out, at the least, Ten able-bodied Individuals above eighteen years of age, with or without families. (*RCC* 12: 226)

Confirming eligibility, with a view to my earlier move analysis of the data (Włodarczyk 2010a: 11-12) is a strategy that assisted the core move of request, the principal component of the petition, i.e. its central illocutionary point. Bainbridge's letter, however, suggests that although the request itself may remain formally invisible, it may nevertheless still be inferred from the text by means of specific contextualisation clues, the historical context being one and the conventionalised frame of a communicative situation being another. In other words, the discussion of the situational context conducted above suggests why and how the addressee of Bainbridge's petition was able to comprehend it.

Similar considerations apply to Mallum's composition, although the redundancy that it exhibits is striking. Formally, it hardly qualifies as a letter, while its function is enigmatic to say the least. However, if read in the context of the Official Circular, it follows the guidance of the Colonial Office in that it does provide some relevant information on the petitioner: his age and marital status (see "*submitted their names*" in the extract from the official circular presented above). The text only makes sense if broad common ground between the parties in communication is assumed. The new information that Mallum provided is minimal, while no preconceived genre or situation frame, in terms of the language or the structure, appears to have been applied here. Still, we need to accept that Mallum's letter did in fact speak to the addressee who issued a response to it, thus its comprehensibility was as fitting as that of elaborate petitions submitted by the Caldecotts (Section 1.2.). Minimal letters such as the one from Mallum are not frequent, but they provide fascinating evidence for the importance of the act of communication in itself rather than of its linguistic realisation in the particular situational context of the candidate applications. Interestingly, no such letters may be found among the colonial data. This may be related to the nature of the involved communication cycles and the broad scope for new information in the colonial as opposed to the candidate letters.

It needs to be underlined that, apart from the unconventional petitions discussed above, both pools of data contain rhetorically crafted requests that attest to pragmatic creativity of the users. Moreover, such petitions, not the unorthodox or minimal ones, are more frequent. This shows that many petitioners applied their own ideas of comprehensibility to writing and have not followed the guidance discussed above. This however, does not mean that rhetorical or persuasive resources employed by the users

had a real effect on the process of comprehension by the Colonial Office clerks and officials, especially in 1819. In terms of the decision making, proving a direct bearing of the petitions' rhetoric is, similarly, next to impossible, beyond a statement that their formal features may have been more significant in the Cape Colony. Taken the facts outlined above, the persuasiveness and rhetoric of the petition may only be seen as one among multiple factors that fed into its ultimate outcome. However, in the case of the candidate petitions, the addressees relied on fixed ideas of petitioner's eligibility for the grants. Overall, the conceptualisation of petitioning as communication cycles allows explaining the viability of minimal petitions or unorthodox letters and their effective comprehension by the Colonial Office.

1.5. Overview of Chapters

This study reflects the integrationist approaches to historical communication embraced by historical pragmatics in general, but individual chapters and strands of analysis relate to its specific subdisciplines (Section 1.3.1.). First of all, the language and discourse resources used in the analysed petitions are viewed as forms with relatively stable pragmatic functions (Chapters Four, Six and Seven) and this direction of investigation is pragmalinguistic. The selection and use of such resources are sensitive to the local conditions of epistolary communication as evidenced, for instance, in the dynamics of user choices regarding the structural models, punctuation and the use of nonstandard forms (Chapters Six and Eight). This particular focus of the study is sociopragmatic. However, the preoccupation of the study with the personnel involved in petitioning, with the setting of the practice and with the aspects of composition beyond the linguistic form and function constitutes its pragmaphilological dimension (Chapters Five and Seven) and so does its focus on the most general sociocultural context of the historical period (Chapter Two). Moreover, the fact that the relevant contexts are studied in two points in time adds the sociophilological perspective to the analysis (Chapters Four and Eight; see Section 3.5. for the term). Of these labels, (socio)pragmatics appears to be best suited to capture the general aims of the study, as this reflects the view that many contextual layers are relevant for the understanding of historical interaction. Thus its social conditioning, crucial as it is, is just

one such layer (see Footnote 5 above). More specifically, such a designation is broad enough to account for the import of literacies on the conceptualisations of the genre, as well as the connections of literacies to social structures and resources. In other words, the social transformation taking place in the colonial setting on the level of the most general social context underpins the involved dynamics of the genre. Here the social networks have provided a vehicle for a linguistic conventionalisation of petitioning within a self-contained domain of the practice in the Cape Colony (see Pietsch 2015) with the maximalised formal requirements stemming from the recognition of the nature of the local establishment, disseminated and strengthened by the institutions of social and professional scribes (Chapter Six). However, apart from the social context, the local and situational contexts prove of major significance for the practice.

Chapters Two, Three and Four provide the preliminaries for a historical pragmatic study of the 1820 settler petition against a broader background of the Late Modern period and Late Modern English. Chapter Two outlines the Late Modern period in English historical linguistics and presents contemporary sociocultural contexts that may be relevant to the analysis of the petition. Here, the significance of studying ordinary writings in general, and petitions in particular, is foregrounded. The discussion also focuses on the available and the yet unexplored pools of data that could be pursued with this focus in mind. Chapter Three outlines recent developments in English historical linguistics focusing in particular on historical pragmatics and historical sociolinguistics. Some interfaces between the two disciplines are emphasised and the development of historical sociopragmatics is traced in greater detail. In Chapter Four, devoted to the analytical units applicable to historical correspondence, I provide an overview of the developments of the petition in the history of English. In particular, I attempt to tackle the terminological maze of the analytical categories used for the analysis of text groupings in epistolary discourse. Three categories of description, the communication form, the discourse tradition and genre are employed to this end. The categories differ in terms of their degree of generality, fixedness, variability of functions, integrity and universality and they show complex synchronic and diachronic interfaces.

The background chapters are followed by the analytic part of the study. In Chapter Five the focus falls on the issue of authorship which is

central to studying Late Modern epistolary data. First, I present the procedures used to filter scribal letters in the 1820 settler database. Next, the social and occupational profiles of the involved scribes and the petitioners using their services are presented. A preliminary assessment of the literacies of petitioners who used scribal assistance shows that the majority were technically literate. Thus, the ubiquity of scribal mediation not only brings to the forefront the question: whose language the data represents, but it also calls for a conceptualisation of the genre that accounts for frequent employment of scribes in the first place. Explaining this phenomenon is of major significance in particular if the lack of basic writing competence had not been the petitioners' central motivation. In connection to this, in Chapter Six I characterise in greater detail the basic conceptualisations of the 1820 settler petition by means of the notions of communicative genres and projects. This entails the view of the petition that underlines a historical (socio)pragmatic perspective of the analysis. I also conduct the analysis of genre hybridity in relation to the authorship variable and the employed discourse models. Chapter Seven is devoted to a close analysis of the practices of two professional scribes, John Carter and William Howard. The analysis traces the patterns of the involved procedures of collecting information by the scribes and specific techniques of composition. I also investigate the degree of routinisation in ther compositions, as well as some instances of more spontaneous production. Moreover, some features of visual pragmatics are studied qualitatively and some quantification of self-corrections and routinisation is employed to discern the most common patterns. This Chapter also illustrates the usefulness of *n*-gram analysis as an auxiliary tool that may be used to capture routinisation in small data samples.

In Chapter Eight the focus shifts from scribal to autographed data. Firstly, I analyse letters by the so-called "overlapping informants", the group who petitioned in Britain and the Cape Colony in order to capture different aspects of their literacies. This chapter recognises the fact that the study into the epistolary data from the past needs to focus more on handwritten material. In particular, the use of punctuation in manuscript material remains under-researched and Chapter Eight seeks to redress this gap. Moreover, some specifically linguistic aspects of literacies, such as the use of nonstandard spelling and morpho-syntax are also addressed. These are viewed in connection to the socio-economic background of the

involved informants, although relevant information is only partially re-trievable based on the surviving historical record. Still, to the extent to which it may be reconstructed, the socio-economic background of the 1820 settlers is viewed as just one aspect of the fluid system of Late Modern literacies. On top of this factor, such literacies incorporate the as-pects of genre structure and intra-language variation in terms of prag-matic, visual pragmatic and morpho-syntactic variables. Such *literacies on the move*, as I refer to the phenomenon involve a complex of circum-stances that this study attempts to analyse. In Chapter Eight the proposed system of Late Modern literacies enables placing the individual autograph informants on a scale between the vernacular and the dominant pole. The classification reveals a relatively low number of informants whose technical literacies are nonstandard. Concluding remarks close the study and summarise the findings of the joint perspective of *historical (socio)pragmatics* and *literacies on the move* applied to the 1820 settler database.

Chapter Two

English(es) in the Late Modern period: Sociocultural background and data

2.1. Introduction

Research into nineteenth-century English, the proverbial Cinderella of English linguistics,[1] has recently been subject to some revived interest. Designed as an introductory overview of the Late Modern period[2] and the nineteenth century, as topics of linguistic study, this Chapter focuses on some of the main areas of recent research. Special attention is given to the availability and nature of the surviving data, including the existing corpora as well as some gaps in their coverage. Furthermore, some recent trends in historical linguistics of the Late Modern period and their emphasis on the thus far neglected sources of data are discussed in order to underline the significance and relevance of studying genres such as the petition and of exploring linguistic data both in the established varieties and the newly emerging English(es) in the colonial contexts (Section 2.2.5.). According to Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg, studying English in the nineteenth century offers "the possibility of correlating short-term linguistic change (…) with the many important sociopolitical developments that took place during this period" (2006: 3). As the authors continue, this century is "a vital period for researchers interested in genre and cross-genre studies from a synchronic as well as a diachronic perspective" (2006: 4). This shows that in the nineteenth century language external contexts correlate with short-term linguistic change on the one side, and the parallel developments affecting genres, especially those of

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[1] The term comes from Jones (1989: 279), who talked about both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, i.e. the Late Modern period, as "Cinderellas of English historical linguistic study".

[2] Both the delimitation of late modernity and the understanding of the nineteenth century as an "isolated" era or historical period are mere attempts at facilitating historical enquiry (Oesterhammel 2010: 89-116; cf. Hobsbawm's trilogy on the long nineteenth century 1962, 1977, 1989 covering 1789-1914 and the idea of "twin revolution").

writing, on the other. This interface may be unique to the nineteenth century and it requires a rather eclectic perspective to linguistic research. This Chapter proposes that such an approach should draw on the most recent advances in the study of linguistic history as a predominantly social, cultural and textual phenomenon. This is because the developing or transitional literacies (to use the term from Lyons 2013: 8) recorded in the Late Modern period involve and shape the unique writing and scribal cultures where new identities and roles, personal and social, are constructed through language. Thus linguistics has an important part to play in illuminating the history of writing practices and through these, the sociocultural history of the period (see Lyons 2012).

Among the array of specifically nineteenth-century developments, two phenomena that bear special sociocultural relevance for the study are singled out: the growing mobility of the lower social strata and the incipient democratisation of literacy. Although as research shows, these processes may have had even more significant consequences later in this century in Europe overall (Lyons 2013), their import is to be observed relatively early in Britain. First of all, the loss of the American colonies led to the new impetus for the British colonial expansion starting as early as 1783. To mention just two instances: the 1820 settlement of the Cape Colony was one consequence of it and the 1840 colonisation of New Zealand was another. The aftermath of the War of Independence was also a direct push for establishing English of American origin in Ontario and English of British origin in the penal colony in Australia (Beal 2004: 11). With further colonial advances, English diversified even more, and, along with the appropriation and adaptation of British or American models codified in writing and the contemporary normative discourse, the colonial transplantations of the speakers and their varieties also resulted in a progressing indiginisation of the input varieties. The emigrant letter is one category of writing that resulted from overseas mobility and the need to mitigate separation from close family and friends. Here, growing diversity of English as a result of the processes of language contact and development of new varieties may be attested. Secondly, many socio-historical processes in the British Isles resulted in internal migration. As a result of the Industrial Revolution and its economic opportunities, mobility in the search for labour was on the increase and, as its aftermath the standards of living stagnated between 1750 and 1820 (Sokoll 2000: 21). Gradually opportunities changed into the bare necessity to be mobile

in order to find employment. This type of mobility not only led to dialect contact and the related processes of language change, but also articulated the need and attempts to imitate some supraregional models of language use, i.e. the available standards. This pertained in particular to the exercise of writing, for which there was also a growing need. Thirdly, the Old Poor Laws (1601-1834; see Jones and King 2015 for a recent overview)[3] in Britain and Ireland had a complex, though not always easily discernible effect on short-distance migration, specifically between the parishes. On the one hand, poor relief was granted by home parishes, which meant that the pauper who resided elsewhere and applied for relief had to be removed to their original parish to obtain it.[4] The second option was that they could receive the so-called non-resident help, which proved cheaper for both the home and the host parish. The English pauper letters, an important archive of the experience of poverty in the Late Modern period and a challenging linguistic resource, have come exactly from the out-parish pauper who applied for relief in a written form. The 1820 settler petition, which is one of topics of this book, does not represent pauper or emigrant letters per se, but it still belongs to ordinary writings (see Lyons 2013) and has originated in response to social welfare programmes addressed at the underprivileged strata. In this sense, it is also a product of the Late Modern social and cultural circumstances and mechanisms of top down political control, as much as it constitutes and reflects bottom up efforts to use these mechanisms effectively at the grassroots of society.

Most importantly for the interests of this study, in so far as the epistolary endevours undertaken in connection to mobility or social welfare programmes had spread across the social spectrum in the nineteenth century, they came to reflect the developing or transitional literacies. Moreover, I agree with Lyons (2013) that these and similar realisations of the epistolary form, whether they were personal,

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[3] As Jones and King indicate, British Poor laws were not unique and similar welfare systems were a European practice (2015: 2). However, as the contrasts between the surviving German and English records suggest, the latter involved the poor in exercising literacy to a much wider extent than the former (Gestrich and King 2013).

[4] On the other hand, prior to the nineteenth century, the poor, under certain conditions, could be granted a settlement in another parish, and this way of "exporting" claimants was used by willingly by the so-called overseers, i.e. unpaid parish officers (Sokoll 2000: 22-23).

institutional or both, may be related to what Whyman describes as a "popular epistolary tradition" which goes back at least to the eighteenth century in England (2009: 218; see also 2009: 9-11 on the concept of epistolary literacy). At the same time, much of the record of these Late Modern epistolary practices shows their essentially institutional nature (see Section 2.2.), thus both the linguistic and epistolary standards and models used by the better-educated are relevant to the understanding of such practices. Whether or not these provided actual models for imitation, their influence on the expectations of the addressees may have been more direct. In terms of the contemporary printed sources that were followed by the writers themselves, alongside the specialised letter-writers of the day, also cheap etiquette books should be mentioned here (Lyons 2012: 5), as these would have been easier to access by the underprivileged groups. Nevertheless, the encounters of new writers with the epistolary culture of the day were as different to the experiences of the higher social strata as can be. Historians have shown that for working class and artisan writers, on top of the unavailability of proper writing instruments, two basic constraints limited active literacy: first of all, the lack of suitable space and shortage of light due to poor housing; and, secondly, the rigid rhythms of industrial work (Lyons 1999: 339-340). The latter explains the relatively low numbers of egodocuments, such as diaries or autobiographies, that were written by nineteenth-century workmen and a greater success rate in this respect of craftsmen and artisans. Undoubtedly, writers of lower social status whose writing exercises were less regular and of more practical nature, such as migrants and petitioners, composed and scribbled their letters under similar circumstances.

2.2. The Late Modern period

The historical background of Late Modernity, or more specifically, the nineteenth century, that may be relevant for the themes of this work is immense. The social transformations described under the labels of industrialisation, urbanisation, colonisation, growing mobility, improving literacies and incipient democratisation and globalisation are among the most obvious landmarks of the period. None of these remain unrelated to linguistic developments, while uncovering the nature of individual links provides a fascinating challenge for the humanities in general. Some of the external contexts of the period are discussed at different points in this book

and the depth of exploration depends on their relevance for the specific linguistic developments presented here. There is, however, one specific contextual aspect of the period that needs to be singled out. Some historians propose that the enhanced self-observation and self-reflexivity of the nineteenth century distinguish it and constitute its novelty relative to what came before it (Oesterhammel 2010). In addition, the growing presence of the media in everyday lives naturalised the idea of a constant perspectivisation of the social and cultural life. Enhanced self-observation resulted in the need for consistent records. It was in this century that the idea of organised memory in the form of museums, archives and libraries was widely popularised. Oesterhammel (2010: 27), refers to these as "institutions of representation" and emphasises that they were largely nineteenth-century inventions. So too were empirical methods of scientific inquiry (e.g. social surveys) and tools (e.g. "Sozialreportage") developed for the purpose of understanding and describing the society (2010: 45). As part of this trend, consistent scientific, philosophical and social study focused on the real conditions of the life of the ordinary people, including the underpriviliged social strata. A broad range of first-hand material and linguistic data further removed from the source linguistic act (e.g. observers' notes, etc.) were collected to satisfy this interest (see Section 2.2.4. for details). Next to the institutions of "organised memory", such as archives, used by linguists and historians on a regular basis, the sources created and preserved as a result of the enhanced need for self-observation in the nineteenth-century are still a much unexplored treasury. Among these treasures is the petition, a written request illustrating self-observation at work and a statement of individual needs relative to the institutional aid on offer at a given point, or a statement of civil rights in general. The petition as a ubiquitous form of communication provides extant fascinating material at the crossroads of poverty studies, research into social and geographical mobility, educational standards and literacies and, most importantly, linguistic practice. Although there are many sides to any linguistic practice, understood as the patterned or partially routinised use of language, the most important aspects selected for greater scrutiny in this work are unique to the linguistic study of the nineteenth-century. Our focus is on short-term genre change in the language practices of ordinary people as conditioned by a specific event of transatlantic emigration and their encounter with the colonial reality. It may be hard to estimate how typical the linguistic developments in the 1820 settler petition might have been, but there is little

doubt that the experience of emigration and new life in a foreign country were common to many generations in nineteenth-century Europe and beyond. Similarly, the institutionalised nature of the record of this experience might have been fairly widespread. In many cases, the genre tradition of the petition, which may be traced in the surviving records, would be another similarity. It is thus possible that, viewed as yet another artefact of self-observation and self-reflection of the nineteenth-century, the petition as an object of linguistic study is a relevant source of unique data not only for the study of English(es), but for the histories of other languages as well.

2.2.1. Periodisation issues

Periodisation of the history of English has been a hotly debated issue (e.g. the volume by Taavitsainen et al. 2000, and Lass 2000 in particular). The idea of the distinctiveness of Modern English, however, the term popularised by Sweet (1873-74),[5] has probably been questioned less frequently than the linguistic reality of other periods. As for Old and Middle English, whether they are viewed as specific varieties in time or as bunches of varieties spoken in artificially delineated time spans, the dividing line between these obscure languages and the oddly familiar English of the last five centuries seems clear for a user of English today. What seems less clear, obviously, is the exact delimitation: when does the Modern era start in terms of dates and what kind of internal divisions may apply? In a recent overview of periodisation in the history of English, Curzan underlines that the boundary between Early and Modern (or Late Modern) English is canonical (2012: 1246, 1250), but a hard one to draw based on purely internal criteria. Beal, however, is of a different opinion and states "whilst it may be fair to say that the strictly 'linguistic', i.e. structural, foundations of Modern English had been laid down by 1700, the socio-linguistic foundations were the product of the later modern period" (2004: 12). Beal's study and a range of other works devoted to the eighteenth and nineteenth century English(es) (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade and van der Wurff 2009: 10-13 for an overview) have established the beginning of the Late Modern period at 1700 and its end at 1900 (see

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[5] Compare Curzan (2012: 1237) on the importance of James A. H. Murray for establishing Sweet's periodisation.

Dossena and Jones 2003: 8). As Beal, Fitzmaurice and Hodson put it: "[t]he term 'Late (or Later) Modern English' refers to a period stretching roughly from 1700 to 1900, but including part of the twentieth century for some scholars" (2012: 202ff; cf. Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006: 1). This probably means that the now no longer maturing (Tieken-Boon van Ostade and van der Wurff 2009: 9), but mature discipline, i.e. studies of Late Modern English, has moved past the stage of periodisation debates.[6]

In the fairly recent past, towards the end of the twentieth century, however, the received view would have been to set the dividing line between the Early and Late Modern period at the time of the American Revolution (1776; cf. Blake 1994; Romaine 1998). This view was not only authoritatively strengthened by the monumental *Cambridge History of the English Language*, but had clear pedagogical implications: for example *A Reader in Early Modern English* (Rydén, Tieken-Boon van Ostade and Kytö 1998) included the eighteenth century as well. That this view should have changed so quickly (cf. the volumes edited by Dossena and Jones 2003; Tieken-Boon van Ostade and van der Wurff 2007; Dossena and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008; Beal 2004; Beal, Fitzmaurice and Hodson 2012 and, most recently, Auer, Schreier and Watts 2015; Dossena 2015; Hundt 2015) testifies both to the scope and the significance of the work conducted on the eighteenth and nineteenth century English(es) over the last two decades. In the most recent work, moreover, another internal boundary has emerged: that between the eighteenth century as the age of the prescriptivism and codification of polite language (volumes by Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008; Hickey 2010) and the nineteenth century as the era of the development and standardisation of many extraterritorial Englishes (cf. Hickey ed. 2004 and Hickey ed. 2012a). This is not to say that the spirit of prescriptivism did not permeate the nineteenth century, but that the processes of standardisation and the subsequent codification, complete by the beginning of the nineteenth-century in Britain, affected some extraterritorial Englishes gradually (Hickey 2012). At the same time, as a parallel development, the well-established varieties, such as American or Canadian Englishes increasingly diverged from the British varieties and

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[6] Multiple periodisations show that beyond pedagogical purposes, scholars may be justified in foregrounding specific data-driven criteria, apart from the internal and external ones, in introducing temporal divisions.

new local standards developed and underwent codification. Other transported Englishes, in the Southern hemisphere in particular, only emerged in this century, which thus saw their formative years and generations (Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006: 4). In the study of the history of English, the English(es) in Britain have received more attention from scholars interested in the eighteenth century, while the study of the nineteenth-century requires more focus on the colonial varieties and their roots in the well-established varieties of English.

2.2.2. Gaps in linguistic resources and research into nineteenth-century English(es)

Growing literacy rates and more frequent survival of the data have contributed to the unprecendented scope of sources attesting nineteenth-century English(es). Moreover, due to the nature of surviving data (e.g. dialect writing; see Bailey 1996: 271; for more academic interest in dialects and the representation of dialects in literature see Taavitsainen, Melchers and Pahta eds. 2006), variation in nineteenth-century English presents itself as more layered and complex than in any other historical period (Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006: 3). Additionally, this variation is multiplied by the growing numbers of emigrants from Britain and their linguistic encounters at the peak of the colonial expansion. Moreover, the written texts bear witness to a steadily growing divergence of formal as opposed to informal registers, indicating a rising need for the study into text-types and genres (Biber 2004). Finding a way through to grasping nineteenth-century English(es) among pieces of evidence for dialects, social varieties and increasingly specialising texts is a challenging task. On the one hand, the electronic databases continue to grow and improve in their coverage of the Later Modern period, which is an invaluable technological advantage that we have over those who investigated it even a decade or two ago. On the other hand, there are obvious limitations on the extent to which corpora cover variation, and on the corpus compilers, who are rarely able to rely on manuscript data for this or other periods (Grund 2012). These "corpora issues" point to the necessity of expanding on our sources in both respects. In terms of coverage, the so far neglected informants, understudied varieties, and obscure genres should be placed at the centre of linguists' attention (Elspass et al. eds. 2007). Manuscripts, although they may be harder to access and usually require more specialist insight, while their

analysis is much more time-consuming, similarly, should be researched more frequently, in particular in the era when interdisciplinarity is the buzzword. Frequently, a comprehensive con-textualisation of a linguistic object of study is impossible if textual histories, not only of manuscripts but also of early printed works, are neglected. To bridge this gap, there has been a growing emphasis on the materiality of texts as objects of study (Daybell 2012; Caroll et al. 2013). This, as well as some other recent perspectives and research directions, some of which are discussed below in more detail, have shaped the hybrid of the most recent studies into the historical linguistics of nineteenth-century English(es) in the new millennium.

Despite a wide range of studies and book-long accounts devoted to nineteenth-century English (e.g. Bailey 1996; Görlach 1999; Beal 2004, Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009; cf. Beal 2012: 17-18 for a recent overview of the Late Modern period), the picture is still full of blank spaces (Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006: 1-2; Mugglestone 2006; Fanego 2012: 101-102). Not only areas such as the language of the lower social classes or developments pertaining to specific genres deserve a more comprehensive investigation, but also a range of structural aspects of the early stages of English varieties in the British Isles and around the world, as well as the paths of their development, remain understudied (but see Schneider 2007). Gaps in description include the broadly understood regional and social diversity of input dialects concerning pronunciation, morphology and syntax, as well as externally induced language change (Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006: 1; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 16). These gaps have become easier to bridge thanks to the theoretical and typological implications of consolidated research into contemporary varieties of English (Schreier et al. eds. 2010; Hickey ed. 2012b) or into contact in the history of English in general (Kastovsky and Mettinger eds. 2003; Schreier and Hundt eds. 2013) and standardisation and codification of specific varieties of English in a historical perspective (Hickey ed. 2012a). Nonetheless, the early nineteenth century, in particular, is still a largely unexplored area.

As for the sociohistorical perspective, which is crucial to this study, it has so far not been applied to many varieties of nineteenth-century English (Fitzmaurice and Minkova 2008: 8; cf. Section 2.2.4. below). In a recent overview of the effects of corpora on advancing our knowledge of the Late

Modern Period, Beal (2012)[7] shows how studies into earlier periods may inform our insights into Late Modern English and help solve some widely-accepted beliefs, such as, for instance, the influence of prescriptivism on the development of English. Here, Beal refers to the groundbreaking study by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) into the Early Modern English (rather than Late) syntax (multiple negation) and the social interfaces of variation (Beal 2012: 21). This clearly shows that similar studies are still lacking for the less distant past (with some exceptions, e.g. Smitterberg 2005 on the progressive). A number of reasons for this neglect may be named, one of them being nothing other than the limitations of the existing corpora despite their growing in numbers over the last decade. Indeed, the corpora we have do facilitate historical investigation into synchronic and diachronic aspects of language change, but only to a very limited extent account for the heterogeneity of English in modern times.

Despite the advances in the development of historical corpora for the study into the Late Modern Period (Beal 2012: 15, 16; cf. Davies 2012: 121-122), the machine-readable, open- or scholarly-access collections are still patchy in terms of the extent to which they cover language variation in the period. For instance, *ARCHER* (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*; Biber and Finegan 1997), though broad in scope, includes only some nineteenth-century material. Secondly, there is the *Corpus of Late Modern English Prose* (1861-1919; Denison 1994) which does not cover the first half of the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the *CONCE*[8] (*Corpus of Nineteenth Century English*; Kytö and Rudanko forthcoming), which is the only linguistic database devoted entirely to the period in question, has a gap between 1830-50. One other database, *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, a compilation of the sources digitalised in the *Project Gutenberg* and *Oxford Text Archive*, covering c. 15 million words of printed text is also available (De Smet 2005). What these corpora have in common is that on their basis researchers may provide mostly descriptions of upper class or standard English local to the British Isles. The fairly recent addition to the family of British English

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[7] Although I agree with Beal on the role of corpora in the study into the Late Modern period in general, it is still important to notice that it is the eighteenth century in particular that is much better covered by the existing corpora than the first three decades of the nineteenth-century.

[8] At the moment of writing (July 2014), *CONCE* is only available to researchers in Uppsala and Tampere (Merja Kytö, personal correspondence).

corpora is the *Old Bailey Corpus*, based on the printed proceedings of the most important London criminal court (Huber 2007), which aims to cover 131 million words and provide speech-related data. For the purpose of facilitating study into English dialects, Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* was digitised (Markus et al. eds. 2010). There are some further corpora of different sizes and scope attesting transported varieties of English in the nineteenth century: the *COHA* (*Corpus of Historical American English*; Davies 2012), *A Corpus of Irish English (CORIECOR*; McCafferty and Amador-Moreno 2012), *Corpus of Scottish English* (Dury 2006; Dossena 2006); the *Corpus of Oz Early English* (Kytö and Pahta 2012: 130); the *Corpus of Early Ontario English* (Dollinger 2008), and American Civil War letters (Dylewski 2013) that bridge some gaps in the scope of the electronic resources available for the study of Late Modern varieties of English (see Aarts, López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2012 for further references).

The large and small corpora mentioned above have opened a host of new themes and have informed many fruitful studies into extraterritorial Englishes and their nineteenth-century developments. Still, many questions are left unanswered and many resources remain unexplored. In many cases, histories of colonial varieties are simply not well documented and little can be done to overcome the lack of data. In other cases, the documentation is simply beyond convenient access and involves starting from scratch. For South African English, a large and ostensibly well-known variety of English, some underresearched as well as brand new data are available, i.e. the 1820 settler letters in the colonial and 1819 candidate collections (see Section 1.2.). By the former, I understand the already known, but understudied material (Mesthrie and West 1995 and my own work). The new data pertaining to the South African variety (the 1820 settler candidate letters, 1819), as I have pointed out before (e.g. Włodarczyk 2013b: 214), have only been discussed in my own work and have even escaped the attention of some historians (Richards 2006: 62), despite the substantial size of the collection (c. 2,000 letters have survived in TNA). The 1820 settler data, and the wider archival record of the application process, are important resources that may elucidate study into the beginnings of English in South Africa. It is then regrettable that neither the 1820 settler candidate nor the colonial data attesting to the language of the early British permanent population in the Cape Colony have been widely recognised. This is primarily due to the fact that they

had not been available in a machine-readable format. This case of "invisible" manuscript data is most likely not be unique to the early South African variety. It remains to be seen how many resources of comparable significance to the large extraterritorial and the lesser known Englishes remain to be mined in both the popular and obscure archives around the world. As Fens-de Zeeuw and Straaijer (2012: 327, 333) show in their discussion of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century orthography in manuscript letters, there is a need to create new corpora from manuscript sources to help researchers cover this and other linguistic aspects of variation in the Late Modern period (cf. also the volume by Pahta and Jucker 2011 on the significance of returning to manuscripts in general; cf. Grund 2012). This is the only way in which research into nineteenth-century English(es) in the new millennium may live up to the standards postulated by some presently thriving frameworks.

2.2.3. Alternative language histories

Linguistic research in the last decade or so has displayed an increasing interest in the data from informants whose prominence appeared less significant for linguistic history in the twentieth century. The general aim of such studies has been expand the coverage of linguistic variation in history (Claridge and Kytö 2010). This has largely entailed reducing the amount of scholarly attention devoted to standardised written texts or the language of famous historical personae. Instead, the necessity of providing language histories 'from below' has been advocated recently in the field of historical Germanic linguistics (cf. Elspass et al. eds. 2007; Rutten and van der Wal 2012). This involves a postulate of a greater use and emphasis on the "texts 'below' the surface of printed language" (Elspass 2007a: 4; cf. Davies, Langer and Vandenbussche 2012: 11). In one way, the writing of such histories entails incorporating data from the lower social strata and requires developing a new relevant methodology. Within the field of English historical linguistics, this trend may be compared with the focus on "alternative histories of English" (Watts and Trudgill eds. 2002; cf. also Watts 2012 for a reconsideration of the term) or the lesser known varieties of English (Hickey ed. 2004; Schneider 2007; Schreier et al. eds. 2010 on contemporary varieties). For the early nineteenth century, however, the evidence for the language of the lower social classes or for early colonial varieties appears hard to find (but see

Fairman 2000; Laitinen and Auer 2014). One exception to the rule may be the petition letters analysed in this work. As Elspass underlines, petition letters are likely to contain material relevant for the new paradigms (2007a: 5). Most importantly, letters of petition are abundant: they are a nearly bottom-less mine for nineteenth-century history in general and language history in particular, not only of the English language, but far across the linguistic space of Europe and beyond (van Voss ed. 2001; Lyons 2015).

2.2.4. The most overlooked genre? The Late Modern petition

For Late Modern English scholarship an interest in the linguistic material drawn from petitions should only be natural. First of all, it should stem from the wealth of linguistic variation provided beyond the written standard offered by the sources similar to pauper letters (Fairman 2000; Sokoll 2000). Secondly, petitions are characterised by an intrinsic tension between the official/public and the personal/private in their structural and linguistic aspects (Włodarczyk 2013b; Chapter Four below). Escaping clear-cut classifications in this respect, the petition as an object of systematic study may shed more light on the divergence of formal and informal registers in the nineteenth century (Pahta et al. 2010: 18). Linguistics has so far not devoted enough space to the study of the petition. One explanation for this state of affairs is that the term itself may evoke a wrongly conventionalised association with the language of legislation and, in particular, its regulatory functions. These, as it is believed, are frequently frozen constructs bearing hardly any relationship to the reality of the constantly changing language.

Petitions in the Late Modern period have received increasing attention from historians, in particular within the framework of histories 'from below' (on the term see Hobsbawm 1997 and his earlier work; see Nobels 2013: 4 for a brief review of the framework in history and linguistics). One line of historical research, which is particularly relevant to our understanding of the significance of the petition as a source on nineteenth-century and Late Modern English in general, placed an increasing emphasis on the issues of poverty (Gestrich, King and Lutz 2006; Jones and King 2015). Studies into poverty have coined the term "pauper narratives" or "narratives of the poor" (Snell 2012) comprising, among others, letters and petitions, and a wealth of other,

usually institutionally preserved, archival material. Lyons talks more broadly about "ordinary writings" (see Lyons 2012: 1 on the origins of the concept) to refer to the well known and widely studied historical sources such as autobiography or private correspondence (2013: 6). The petition as a product of transitional literacies undoubtedly belongs here as well.[9] The first two terms seem to be more adequate to the specific object of study, which is ultimately retrieving the attitudes and strategies of dealing with the experiences of the poorest who have been silent for centuries. First and foremost, as a recent overview (Snell 2012: 2-3) shows, the letters of the poor have survived in large quantities and the existing research has only scratched the surface of the wealth of data (see TNA MH 12; for instance, for the period after 1834, the Poor Law Unions correspondence includes a large quantity of documents from Wales). Even contemporary newspapers, which are a fairly easily accessed resource, published the poor's letters regularly. Apart from such direct accounts from the poor themselves, there are also other sources. For instance, imprisoned debtors in London petitioned for mercy (Scott 2012: 12) and the documents surrounding the process help reconstruct accounts of individual cases. Not only prisons and courts but also hospitals offer records which are invaluable to the historian (Bennett 2012) and linguist alike. Here the petitions by mothers to the *London Foundling Hospital* begging for admission or repeal of their children are worth mentioning (Outhwaite 1999; Snell 2012). Archives of charities are an important source here as well. For example, King employs the narrative testimonies of those seeking entry to the *London Refuge for Destitute Women* (2006). Such charities as the *Philanthropic Society* (est. 1788) and *Refuge for the Destitute* (est. 1804) may not have preserved the original petitions, but an abundance of contemporary petition summaries have survived (Snell 2012; Webber 2012). These are only one 'filter' away from the better sort of data, a linguist's ideal, and do not seem to differ in this respect from witness depositions, which have received so much attention in historical linguistics. Applications in relation to the 1845 Scottish Poor Laws allow to recreate the fate of the Irish poor in late-nineteenth-century Glasgow based upon the pauper

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[9] The availability of this type of data increases dramatically after 1860, as Lyons shows in his book: "[t]he problem is not that ordinary writings are scarce and ephemeral: rather there is such an abundance of ordinary writing that the historian hardly knows where to begin" (2013: 7).

record sheets, containing individual and family entreaties for welfare (Gordon and Gründler 2006). Most recently, TNA have contributed a fully indexed resource for the study of petitions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (TNA HO sections 17 and 18). Paxman, who has worked on the indexing of these records, has recently used these for picturing the story of child convicts sent to Van Diemen's land (Paxman and Heather 2013). Petitions on behalf of the convicts have played a decisive role in reconstructing these stories. Apart from these, there are a range of colonial collections of petitions from the Late Modern period. These include Loyalist and later petitions from Upper Canada (1800-1850, Johnson 1995; Wilton 2000); petitions related to the transportation of the Irish to Australia (National Archives of Ireland); supplications for rural poor law relief in colonial South Carolina (1712-1776, Lockley 2005); weavers' petitions in colonial India (1770-1820, Swarnalatha 2001) and petitions in colonial Nigeria (WWII, Korieh 2010). Apart from the above, archives in the Anglophone world store numerous petitions submitted in relation to social and political reform in the nineteenth century and beyond. These reflect social upheavals that arose around women's rights, the abolition of slavery and indigenous groups' rights in the colonial domains. For example, on the intersection of linguistic history, genre studies and the ethnography of communication, Aboriginal petitions have recently been investigated by Pawling (2010) and Lyons (2015). It would be extremely difficult to predict the scope of linguistic issues that could be elucidated based on the petitions referred to above. Although institutional archives are by far more rewarding in retrieving Late Modern petitions, a range of private archives also provide a wealth of still poorly researched material (Bourne 1987; Zaret 2000; How 2003; Knights 2005; Laidlaw 2005). The records referred to above are probably just the tip of the iceberg of the Late Modern petitions written or composed in Britain and the colonies which have so far not awakened enough linguistic interest.

2.3. Summary

From the point of view of historical linguistics, the sociocultural relevance of "the transformation of the world" that took place in the nineteenth century (Oesterhammel 2010) lies chiefly in the outcomes of the increasing mobility on language variation and change and the influence of the

democratisation of literacy on discourse variation and change. Chapter Two presented, selectively, the essential background on the Late Modern period and on the sources of data for the study of nineteenth-century English(es). In the course of the discussion, I have suggested that some specifically Late Modern developments should have consequences for data selection decisions made by historical linguists in the twenty first century. I have also emphasised the importance of reaching out for different historical contexts in which the particularly fascinating, yet somewhat neglected, source of data, the petition, may be found. Petitions are an epistolary form and as such they present a source of temporally and spatially situated data for language historians. Obviously, historical correspondence in general has been highly valued as a site of data extraction and, over the last two decades or so, we have seen growing theoretical and methodological advances in the area. These have taken place largely within the frameworks of historical sociolinguistics and historical pragmatics (see Chapter Three). Nevertheless, linguistic study of Late Modern petitions constitutes a theoretical and methodological challenge to be addressed in the Chapters to follow.

Chapter Three

Research frameworks

> Historical pragmatics has developed quite considerably from its beginnings in the 1990s and from more incidental earlier work; and this history reflects developments and paradigm shifts in linguistics in general. (Jucker 2012: 510)

3.1. Introduction

Since the mid-1980s, there has been an increasing insistence on non-modularity and integrationist approaches to the language of the past. The growing recognition of the importance of social, historical and cultural contexts has prompted linguists to search for and employ paradigms from sociology (e.g. Berger and Luckmann 1966; Goffman 1967; Layder [1997]2003; Agha 2007) and social history (Burke and Porter 1987; Burke 2004; see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 30-43 for further references). Linguists have cooperated closely with historians of law, science and medicine in the massive task of compiling specialised corpora of electronic data (e.g. *Old Bailey Corpus*, see Huber 2007; or *Corpora of Early English Medical Writing*, see Taavitsainen and Pahta eds. 2004). At present, interdisciplinarity is the order of the day for research in the humanities.[1] The following discussion aims to describe recent shifts in the sociocultural context-oriented approaches to language histories prompted by the integrationist frameworks in linguistics. These shifts do not indicate that modular frameworks have lost their ground or that compartmentalisation in linguistics, or humanities in general, is a superfluous descriptive exercise. Still, some changes have been significant enough to reconsider more traditional disciplinary fences. In many studies into language history over the last two decades, a single

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[1] See for instance Bell et al. (2014) and the references. The paper is an overview of "Mind the gap", a recent UK based project under the auspices of the Science and Heritage Programme focusing on identifying hindrances and enablers in interdisciplinary collaboration between academics and more practice-oriented communities of researchers in the areas of linguistics, anthropology, education, information theory, organisational management, conservation science and archaeology.

conventional label falls short of comprehensively describing the research questions, the theoretical background and the applied methodologies.

This Chapter provides a background for the pragmatic perspective adopted in this study by discussing relevant research frameworks in linguistics and historical linguistics. In particular, the integrative nature of the most recent developments in the field is discussed in relation to some disciplinary shifts and the development of new subfields of study. Jucker's illustrative statement is worth quoting at length:

> [pragmatics] starts to colonize more and more of what used to be subfields of linguistics. Research interests and research methods of earlier subfields of linguistics were extended to encompass a pragmatic perspective as well. And at the same time, pragmatics extended its scope to encompass research questions and research methods that had earlier been used by other fields of linguistics. (Jucker 2012: 511)

This, however, has not emerged out of a void. The disciplines "colonised" by pragmatics, historical linguistics and sociolinguistics in particular, have in fact for a long time invited usage-based approaches, at least within some lines of research (see Section 3.3. for details). This is also true for other disciplines, such as dialectology, which has come closer with pragmatics to propose a variational pragmatic framework (Schneider K. P. and Barron 2008), or corpus linguistics, which proved useful for studying pragmatic change over time taking place on different linguistic levels (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2014). These developments supplement pragmatics (and historical pragmatics) and offer new research opportunities and challenges to linguistics in general (Jucker 2012: 512).

3.2. Historical pragmatics

In general linguistics, at least from the 1960s, a range of developments occurred which have eventually left a lasting mark on the field of historical linguistics. In a recent textbook, Jucker and Taavitsainen summarise these "paradigm shifts" (2013: 6-9; see also Jucker 2012). First of all, the emphasis shifted from the study of core areas that concentrated on individual modules of language and a new focus was placed on sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Secondly, the attention in linguistics was shifted from homogeneity to heterogeneity, i.e. to the variability of language. In connection with this, the empirical approach

has changed: internalised language or competence is no longer of much interest while real life data are preferred. Introspection in particular lost its ground as a reliable method of inquiry, while technological advances, i.e. the corpus revolution, have guided linguistic study. In relation to the emergence and sophistication of corpora, diachronic research started to gain more and more ground. Finally, linguists became aware of the discursive dynamics of features and variables which were viewed as fixed and stable in the earlier periods. In broad terms, this has involved an increased search for the relevant discursive constructions negotiated by participants in interaction. The development of individual disciplines has been affected by these shifts: for example, sociolinguistics started to view "members of the speech community as social actors, even agents, rather than abstract clusters of demographic and socio-economic parameters" (Tuite 2005: 254) while "English historical linguistics is no longer homogeneous in method" (Markus 2012: 9).

Historical linguistic study has been going through the pragmatic turn in particular over the last two decades or so. Paradigm shifts have resulted in a growing awareness of the significance of contextual information, macro as well as micro, leading to the emergence of new fields of study, such as historical sociolinguistics (Romaine 1982; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003), historical pragmatics (Jucker ed. 1995) and, most recently, historical sociopragmatics (Archer and Culpeper 2009). The multiplicity of theoretical frameworks within these areas of study is ample evidence for the integrationist, if not interdisciplinary, nature of the now leading paradigms in historical linguistics (see Jucker and Taavitsainen eds. 2010). The focus of the transformed field of historical pragmatics is now as broad as language-in-interactions (Culpeper and Nevala 2012; see Section 3.3.). What exactly does this mean? One obvious theme here is that of the theoretical frameworks such as historical (im)politeness (Kádár and Culpeper 2010; Bax and Kádár 2011) and attempts at capturing the discursive negotiation of identities, power relations and ritual in interaction. Secondly, approaches informed by the social theory of CDA (Fairclough 1995) are also very much interested in individuals and their historically determined access to linguistic resources as well as the impact of such access on the nature of historical data (Wood 2004, 2009). This type of analysis may be particularly successful if the communicative exchange takes place in a well-defined institutional setting, such as that of the courtroom (Archer 2008; see also Cecconi

2012). Similarly, the Goffmanian self-presentation, performance and audience design in connection to the more general identity-shaping and identity expression through language are only recoverable in communicative exchange (Palander-Collin 2002; Nevala 2009; Jucker and Pahta 2011). Analysis of linguistic data from the past has increasingly become linked to the practical and social activity resulting in the act of composing a message (Nordlund 2013; see also Jucker and Kopaczyk 2013: 6). This has given rise to comprehensive analyses of specialised discourse from the perspective of its individual genres in relation to issues of multimodality as well as the fluid boundary between the private and public (Valle 2004; see also Włodarczyk 2013b) and the inherent hybridity of inevitably all kinds of the best of 'bad' data (Martineau 2013).

As Taavitsainen (2012: 1461) puts it "[l]anguage change is the core area of historical linguistics, and historical pragmatics shares it, but the emphasis is somewhat different: language-internal motivations become foregrounded in the former while the meaning-making processes are prominent in the latter, as historical pragmatics takes language users into account." Recently, in another line of study, historical variationist linguistics has become occupied much more with language users. For instance, the recurrent questions of language transmission and the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence, have been addressed from new angles, in particular the one of personal interaction (Nevalainen 2009). Nevalainen's findings, based on an analysis of six on-going linguistic changes in seventeenth-century English, contrary to the expected sociolinguistic patterns, show that the letters of a mother to her son are not marked by a higher occurrence of supralocal features than her letters to an adult family member. Language change in adulthood, similarly, has been viewed from a perspective of idiolects recorded in Early Modern English letters (Raumolin-Brunberg 2009). Stable variation has been studied in interactive settings (Raumolin-Brunberg 2002). As for the features undergoing change, an analysis of morpho-syntactic variables in the eighteenth century conducted by Sairio (2008) was based on forty years of correspondence of a member of the Bluestocking circle, Elizabeth Montague. Combining corpus tools and sociolinguistic perspectives, Sairio's study was cast against the background of the reconstructed social networks. A well known topic in English historical linguistics, variation between *you* and *thou* was studied anew by Walker

(2007). Three different speech-related genres provided the basis for analysing some sociolinguistic (external variables of sex and gender, age and rank) and pragmatic (genre variable) aspects of the rivalry of the two pronouns in Early Modern English. Here, corpus methods and pragmatic theories (politeness) were employed to elucidate the variability and distribution of the two pronouns. Such studies clearly show the relevance of Taavitsainen's statement that "[r]ecent developments in historical pragmatics and historical sociolinguistics have brought these subfields of historical linguistics closer together. The borders have become indistinct and there are overlaps" (Taavitsainen 2012: 1458). Below the discipline of historical sociolinguistics is presented with a focus on its intergrationist nature and potential for overlaps with historical pragmatics.

3.3. Historical sociolinguistics

In its pursuit to describe the language of the past, historical sociolinguistics is essentially a field of disciplinary crossings (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 27; Table 3.1). Viewing historical sociolinguistics more as the real-time dimension of sociolinguistics in general than as a field of historical linguistics proper, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg underline the impact of the following subfields of general linguistics on historical sociolinguistics:

- genetic linguistics, contact linguistics, comparative linguistics
- histories of individual languages through grammars, dictionaries and text-books
- sociopragmatics involving identities, social roles, politeness and attitudes
- discourse studies involving genre studies, rhetoric, text production and consumption

Although the discipline differs in scope from historical pragmatics (Nevalainen 2012: 1441) the cross-disciplinary overlaps with sociopragmatics and discourse studies prove corresponding interests (Taavitsainen 2012). The overlaps are multiple also with regard to the type of data used in both sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies (e.g. speech-related genres, grammars, etc.), as well as in terms of methodologies (corpus studies, diachronic approaches, etc.). Historical

pragmatics has for a long time been preoccupied with the data problem and the need to acknowledge a variety of filters involved in the study into speech-related genres that represent levels of embedded communication. Most recently, historical sociolinguistic studies into epistolary correspondence have also underlined the complexity of addressing the question whose language historical material represents (Bergs 2015). Manuscript data rather than printed sources have aroused renewed interest (see Auer, Schreier and Watts eds. 2015). Consequently, not only large representative corpora enabling quantitative investigations are valued, but also essentially small-scale qualitative studies based on handwritten material are gaining ground. In terms of theoretical underpinnings, undoubtedly, the four major sociolinguistic paradigms, i.e. the sociology of language, social dialectology, interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication[2] (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 31; Nevalainen 2012: 1440), with their objects of study as well as types of descriptions and explanations, are successfully employed in both sociolinguistic as well as pragmatic studies of the past (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Sociolinguistic paradigms (after Nevalainen 2012: 1440)

Paradigm/ Dimension	Sociology of language	Social dialectology	Interactional sociolinguistics	Ethnography of communication
Object of study	status and function of languages and language varieties in speech communities	variation in grammar and phonology; linguistic variation in discourse; speaker attitudes	interactive construction and organization of discourse	patterned ways of speaking, sociolinguistic styles/ registers
Describing	norms and patterns of language use in domain-specific conditions	the linguistic system in relation to external factors	organization of discourse as social interaction	situated uses of verbal, para- and nonverbal means of communication

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[2] Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2005, 2012) also claim that based on the surviving data and the need for contextual information, the earlier periods of the history of English are more likely to be approached from the perspective of the sociology of language (Old English) or social dialectology (Middle English). It is for the periods which are abundantly attested, such as the Late Modern period in particular, that interactional sociolinguistics (and ethnography of communication) has more application.

Explaining	differences of and changes in status and function of languages and language varieties	social dynamics of language varieties in speech communities; language change	communicative competence; verbal and non-verbal input in goal-oriented interaction	Functional appropriateness of communicative behavior in various social contexts
Periods that can be studied	Mod. English Middle English Old English	Mod. English Middle English	Mod. English (Middle English)	Mod. English

Table 3.1 presents four sociolinguistic paradigms and is an expanded version of an earlier diagram from Nevalainen and Raumoling-Brunberg (2005: 36) that only included three such paradigms. In all of these, as the authors argue, the variationist framework became the standard method of inquiry. The specific fields of historical linguistic study covered by each paradigm are discussed in a chronological order by Nevalainen and Raumoling-Brunberg. For Late Modern English (2005: 44-45), within the sociology of the language paradigm, the authors mention prescriptivism (ideology of politeness and standardisation) and its influence on the new (especially transported) varieties of English, as the central themes. Social dialectology covers research within social networks theory, while its correlational subfield focuses on relating speaker variables to language variation and change. Interactional sociolinguistics is designed to study the language of individuals, and mostly draws its data from epistolary exchange to investigate politeness strategies and the sociopragmatics of communication by means of letters (2005: 45). Ethnography of communication is not mentioned in the paper (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2005), but is added in the more recent account (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012; Nevalainen 2012). Due to the nature of data, ethnographic approaches are limited to Modern English, and they expand both on the sociology of language and interactional sociolinguistics paradigms. In particular, the interest in "patterned ways of speaking, sociolinguistic styles/registers" and the "norms and patterns of use in domain-specific conditions" (Nevalainen 2012: 1440) indicate that genres are a recurrent theme in the sociolinguistics of the past. On the whole, the fact that Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012) and Nevalainen (2012) view ethnography of communication as a distinct approach, on a par with the

more conventional paradigms from Dittmar (1997), testifies to a rather rapid broadening of the field. Most probably, this additional sociolinguistic paradigm reflects a growing attention that has been devoted to the Late Modern English data (see Chapter Two) in historical linguistics. On the other hand, as ethnography of communication is close in theoretical terms to pragmatics (multimodality of communication and politeness theories, in particular), the state-of-the-art account provided by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012) may be taken to indicate that the overlap of historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics has clearly increased in significance since the earlier paper (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2005). Moreover, a couple of decades ago scholars such as, for example, Thomas (1995: 185; see Culpeper 2010: 75; cf. Culpeper 2009: 180-181) distinguished between sociolinguistics as focusing on relative stable and fixed social variables, as opposed to pragmatics, as focusing on the changeable features of an individual or interaction. Today, there is a growing awareness of the discursive dynamics of all linguistic and social variables, as Jucker and Taavitsainen underline (2013: 9). The line of division that has separated the two fields has receded, both in the study into contemporary and historical language.

3.4. Historical sociopragmatics and sociocultural processes

The term socio-pragmatics has been around at least since Thomas (1981) and Leech (1983) introduced it as a subfield of pragmatics. In the 2000s, the work on the *Corpus of English Dialogues* in Uppsala and Tampere, and its subsection called the *Socio-pragmatic corpus* (Archer 2008), have popularised the term in the field of historical linguistics and indicated a possibility of a distinct research direction in historical corpus linguistics. In 2009, Culpeper edited a special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* devoted to sociopragmatics and published a paper focusing on the theoretical background and the delimitation of this subfield of linguistic study, demonstrating its crossings with pragmatics,[3] sociolinguistics and

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[3] Culpeper (2009, 2010) draws on the three-partite division of pragmatics proposed by Leech (1983), i.e. the Anglo-American view of the broad field. In one sense then, Culpeper appears to point to the specifically pragmatic theoretical lineage of sociopragmatics. In his 2010 paper, however, Culpeper discusses all the three approaches to sociopragmatics: the pragmatic, sociolinguistic and the perspective of CDA.

historical pragmatics[4] (see Culpeper 2010; Culpeper and Nevala 2012; cf. Kádár and Culpeper 2010: 17). Scholars agree that historical sociopragmatics shows a converging development of historical pragmatics and historical sociolinguistics (Taavitsainen 2012: 1469). For example Lutzky's (2012) study into discourse markers in Early Modern English merges historical sociolinguistic concerns with historical sociopragmatics. The analysis combines a functional analysis of discourse markers with the social parameters of status and gender. For Culpeper, it is interactional sociolinguistics, specifically "with its medial level contextual concerns" (2010: 75), that reflects the overlap with socio-pragmatics (see Table 3.2 and the mezzo level). The central theoretical themes of sociopragmatic study are "(1) situated roles and identities, (2) relational notions such as "face" and "face-work", rights and obligations, power, social distance and affect, and (3) attitudes and opinions" (Culpeper 2009: 181). The pragmatic perspective on sociopragmatics may differ from the sociolinguistic one, still the seminal historical sociolinguistic studies (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996 and 2003), like most other studies mentioned by Culpeper (2010), acknowledge the importance of pragmatic choices for the chief sociolinguistic interest, i.e. the focus on the patterns of the diffusion of change. Thus the study of features such as personal pronouns and their change over time cannot proceed without acknowledging the pragmatic import of such items (Culpeper 2010: 79). From the other end, Williams (2013) conducts a historical pragmatic analysis of utterances in Early Modern letters, which is explicitly described as sociopragmatic. The study demonstrates that "while the emphasis of historical pragmatics is more on utterance and communicative events, rather than on tracing variables of morpho-syntax, it is also reliant on the consideration of social categories in as much as they contribute to the characterization of speakers and hearers in particular interactions" (2013: 13). Further on, Williams defines sociopragmatics as "the way in which historical pragmatics relates to various aspects of social history". His own investigation, although it covers the classics of pragmatic interest, such as the expression of speech acts, performativity, levels of directness and power, also zooms in on the socioculturally grounded categories of

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[4] See Culpeper (2010: 76) for a diagram placing sociopragmatics within the three schemes for classifying trends in historical pragmatic research (Jacobs and Jucker 1995; Arnovick 1999; Brinton 2001).

sarcasm, irony or sincerity. Linguistic form opens insights on all of these, provided that the data are set against a close reading of the socio-familial circumstances of the informants and involved communicative spaces.

Drawing on the models from sociolinguistics and pragmatics, both the macro-sociological and micro-linguistic aspects of these phenomena may be investigated, not necessarily just one of these. In fact, emphasis on studying both, and viewing the two perspectives as complementary, distinguishes historical sociopragmatics: "[a] microlevel assessment of meaning-making practices is essential for the sociopragmatic approach, but a larger historical and cultural context is needed for interpretations" (Taavitsainen forthcoming). In essence, sociopragmatics aims to access historically situated sociocultural processes through the study of language (lexemes expressing contemporary norms or evaluations, e.g. relating to appropriateness or polite society), discourse structures (patterns and strategies of dissemination of normative ideas; e.g. manuals on etiquette as opposed to public discussion and metacommentary) and developments in genres (specific conventionalised patterns of social interaction essential to achieve regular communicative aims; e.g. small talk). Its interest lies mostly in the multiple layers of context in which language and interaction are embedded with a view to tracing the relevant sociocultural processes that are not only reflected in language use, but both shape it and are disseminated, evaluated and, essentially, determined by such use. Sociocultural processes thus embody the "dynamic dialectic relationship that holds language and social contexts together" (Culpeper and Nevala 2012: 372, 386).

Sociocultural processes, clearly, need to be seen against the background of broad and elusive social constructs such as culture, ideologies and power. In a recent discussion of these Culpeper and Nevala (2012: 383) deconstruct the three levels of study into socio-cultural processes (cf. Table 3.2). Similarly to the figure from Nevalainen (2012: 1440), the three levels differ in terms of their focus, descriptive concepts and sources, and types of (the) data. In particular, the mezzo and micro levels, involving, among others, social practices, genres and speech acts, or exchanges (dialogues), respectively, overlap with what Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg referred to as discourse studies and sociopragmatics (2012: 27). Moreover, approaches to genres and discourse domains embodied by studies such as, for instance, Gotti (2005) into advertising, Brownlees (2009) into news discourse or Taavitsainen (2009) into medical and scientific news in particular are

concerned with the medial level of the description of sociocultural processes and their bearing on language use and change. Such investigations illustrate the interfaces of the study into sociocultural processes and their development over time with sociopragmatics, which accesses these by analysing language.

Table 3.2. Studying sociocultural processes (after Culpeper and Nevala 2012: 383)

	Level of socio-cultural processes	Descriptive focus	Associated descriptive concepts	Brief example involving the history of English
Macro (sociological)	Macro	Sociocultural structures associated with broad communities	e.g. ideologies, cultures, nations, laws	The eighteenth-century ideology of correctness
	Mezzo	Sociocultural activities associated with local communities	e.g. social practices, activity types, frames, genres, discourses, roles	Lectures, dictionaries, grammars, essays, debates, and discussions
	Micro	Sociocultural actions and reactions among particular individuals	e.g. discursive practices, speech acts, exchanges, co-text	Evaluative language, directives
Micro (linguistic)		Linguistic forms	e.g. modal verb, interrogative structure, rising intonation, vowel	Adjectives, adverbs, modals, imperative verbs

3.5. Historical sociopragmatics and pragmatics

Understanding the realm of descriptive concepts related to the context(s) of language use in the past is one condition on historical sociopragmatic research. But apart from the unique dimensions of any interaction, a pragmatic perspective on linguistics investigates general mechanisms of human communication. Below I would like to address two issues. Can this be achieved in pursuing sociopragmatic concerns? What exactly is the value of such a perspective for historical linguistics?

Going back to Leech's (1983: 10-11) threefold division of the discipline of linguistic pragmatics, general pragmatics is occupied with general conditions on language use, sociopragmatics with local ones and pragmalinguistics with specific linguistic resources of a given language. As Archer (forthcoming) points out, Jenny Thomas (1981), whose work focused on intercultural, i.e. comparative pragmatics, is responsible for emphasising the distinction between sociopragmatics and pragmalinguistics. In a recent book, Leech has emphasised the connection of sociopragmatics with context-sensitive and pragmalinguistics with context-free studies, i.e. the familiar dichotomy of function and form (2014: 13). As I have indicated above (1.3.3.), such a distinction does not do justice to the scope of historical sociopragmatics. Its significance varies also different for a number of strands of pragmatic research: pragmatic failure, transfer, pragmatics of second language teaching and, which is crucial for this discussion, historical pragmatics as Marmaridou (2011) shows in a synthetic overview of the two approaches. In the original scheme of historical pragmatics proposed by Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 10, see Section 1.3.1.), studies mapping form-to-function as well as studies mapping function-to-form, were viewed as diachronic in nature. However, a close-up on the most recent accounts of the approaches within the discipline (Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007: 14-15; Culpeper 2009: 77-78; Archer and Culpeper 2009: 286-287; Archer forthcoming) not only shows some modification of this scheme (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 10), but it also calls for a reconsideration of some subdivisions and, in particular, of the term sociopragmatics as it applies to the study of historical data.

Table 3.3 Subdisciplines of historical pragmatics

Historical pragmatics			
Pragmaphilology	**Diachronic pragmatics**		
Synchronic sociopragmatics	Pragmalinguistics	Diachronic sociopragmatics	Sociophilology
Form-to-context	**Form-to-function**	**Function-to-form**	Context-to-form/function

Table 3.3 shows current delineations in the field of historical pragmatics with the original scheme in bold print. Originally a synchronic approach, pragmaphilology, focuses on the background and relationships of the interactants involved in discourse as well as on textual pragmatics, i.e. the issues of production, transmission and reception of historical texts, in order to reveal the patterns and rules of language use in the past. In contrast to this approach, diachronic pragmatic investigations are more occupied with the structural aspects of language and the heterogeneous and constantly changing modes of language use (cf. Arnovick 1999). Within the latter approach, linguistic form may be the point of departure of the analysis of linguistic functions over time (form-to-function mapping, e.g. the development of "please"). Alternatively, a specific pragmatic function, rather than a specific linguistic realisation, may provide an incentive to study the inventory of the linguistic patterns used to perform a given speech act (e.g. the expression of requests). Researchers agree that the form-to-function mapping (i.e. functional changes in specific forms; e.g. studies into deixis and discourse markers) in principle overlaps with pragmalinguistics, while the function-to-form mapping (i.e. development of speech act functions, (im)politeness functions, genre functions) with sociopragmatics (Culpeper 2009: 77-78; Marmaridou 2011: 95). However, as an extension of the scheme that would give due attention to the notion which remains at the core of historical pragmatics, the context, Archer and Culpeper used the label sociophilology for the first time (2009). This involves context-to-form or context-to-function mapping with a view to "describing or tracing how historical contexts, including the co-text, genre, social situation and/or culture, shape the functions and forms of language taking place within them" (2009: 287). In a forthcoming paper, Archer talks about yet another type of mapping, i.e. that of form-to-context, which she compares to

Jacobs and Jucker's pragmaphilology. She illustrates such context-orientated studies with an example of the questioning function, well contextualised in the practices of the Early Modern English courtroom. She writes that the questioning function "was dependent on – and hence shaped by – the language used, contextual factors such as the role and goal(s) of both the questioner and the recipient, the activity type in which they were engaged (dialogue, courtroom interaction, witness deposition, etiquette manual, etc.), and the period in question" (Archer forthcoming).

Going back to historical sociopragmatics, Culpeper (2009) and Marmaridou (2011) refer to the papers by Wood (2009) and Nevala (2009) to illustrate the scope of the subdiscipline. Wood's study into the conventionalised and expressive forms in the letters by Margaret Paston proposes a contextualisation of the data that combines macrolevel factors (social practices related to religion and gender) with the micro dimensions encoded in the text (evaluative metacomments) and discursive practice (the use of epistolary formulae). In the author's view, an analysis of data from one text-type in one historical period placed within the contemporary discursive and social practices combines a pragma-philological approach with sociopragmatics (Wood 2009: 190). Nevala's study is underpinned by a perspective that involves a combination of macrolevel (social, sociocultural and sociological) and microlevel factors (personal, situational and stylistic). Her analysis shows that person reference in the Late Modern period is constrained not only by interpersonal distance and authority, but also by writers' strategic social positioning. As Marmaridou emphasises (2011: 98), Nevala's analysis incorporates pragmalinguistic concerns and she also investigates forms that perform a particular function. Wood's study, similarly, is not limited to sociopragmatic concerns. In as much as Marmaridou's state of the art paper starts with the premise that the distinction between pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics is of major significance to the field of historical pragmatics, we in fact see these two perspectives more as complementary in the actual analyses (Archer and Culpeper 2009). In addition, synchronically oriented investigations into historical texts are most frequently connected with pragmaphilology. The involved labels thus reflect academic positionings as well as the synchronic vs. diachronic character of studies and the direction of the mapping of form vs. the pragmatic function.

Studies into historical (im)politeness are a case in which, despite their clear academic positioning within sociopragmatics, the interests of individual contributions straddle pragmalinguistics and sociopragmatics and are at the same time underpinned by some general conditions of language use, i.e. general pragmatics. One popular line of study involves intercultural differences in the attitudes, norms and expressions of politeness (e.g. differences between the European and Eastern concepts; Kádár 2014). In relation, for instance, to the distinction into pragmalinguistic vs. sociopragmatic competence in reference to politeness, the former involves encoding of politeness, communicative intent, choice of politeness forms and strategies and the latter concerns judging the amount of imposition and regulates when and to whom to be polite, i.e. evaluates the interpersonal dynamic between speaker and addressee. Encodings of politeness in historical written texts are inseparable from any sociopragmatic issues and are the only window on the judgments entailed in sociopragmatic concerns. Typical function-to-form studies analyse the relationship between the development of speech acts and the involved (im)politeness strategies, such as, for instance, Kohnen's exploration based on the directive function (2011); such studies entail a problematic assumption that some functions remain stable over time. Culpeper (forthcoming) shows an evolved sociopragmatic perspective on (im)politeness, specifically on the social perceptions of politeness and etiquette, based on a study into the influence of Italian conduct manuals, translated into English, in the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The study establishes a dramatic rise in usage of the term *manners* (a politeness keyword) in the period 1550-1624 and its role in discourses that entail social regulation, negative evaluation and moralising. Pragmatic functions are thus not assumed, but inferred from the most popular terms involved both in lay (first-order) and academic (second-order) discussions on politeness-related issues. Although Culpeper's investigation into the popular politeness terms is essentially diachronic, as it shows their rise in popularity, its outlook is also synchronic in the sense of placing the discourses of social regulation within the context of Early Modern England. Moreover, another dimension of the study involves incorporating and comparing both the contemporary and modern second-order accounts (translations of popular etiquette manuals from Italian into English vs. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory 1987). Stacking different levels and sources of

contextual comments upon one another and using these as a background for the understanding of the linguistic items which carry social significance for contemporary society and, finally, inferring this social significance via these very items (and their typical company) is at the heart of historical sociopragmatics.

The considerations presented above suggest that undertaking a linguistic analysis, in particular if we aim to study historical language-in-interaction with the emphasis on various levels of contextual information, is rarely limited to a single theoretical perspective. Ultimately, the issue of labels is of lesser importance than the overall hybridity and integrationist nature of the studies which could be conventionally pigeon-holed as (1) historical sociolinguistics, (2) historical pragmatics or (3) historical sociopragmatics/ (socio)pragmatics. Moreover, as stated above, at least in the Continental European line of studies, the first two have in fact merged and the third is a visible proof of their convergence (Taavitsainen 2012: 1469; cf. Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007: 13; Jucker 2008: 895). Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013: 3) describe the European line of study as social pragmatics:

> As a field of study it includes information about the social context in which language is used, about the speakers, their relationships to one another (…). It traces its history to the work of anthropologists and sociologists. The social pragmaticists regularly rely on actual data, preferably rich data in the sense that a lot of contextual information about the conversationalists and the context in which interaction takes place is available.

This approach, as Jucker and Taavitsainen continue, is embraced by historical pragmatics today (Jucker 1995; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010). Still, there is no denying that the foci of sociolinguistics and pragmatics of language histories have converged over the last decade or so. At the same time, academic positionings show that historical pragmaticists acknowledge this fact more readily than historical sociolinguists (e.g. Taavitsainen 2012 vs. Nevalainen 2012).

Many studies which have contributed to our understanding of the impact of both the social and pragmatic factors on the communication of the past and its development have shared similar foci, objectives, and descriptive and explanatory tools. Most importantly, they have also been based on similar data. In particular, discourse domains such as the courtroom, newspapers and media in general, as well as medical and

scientific texts, have provided a wealth of practice-related and well-contextualised linguistic material for analysis. The scope of historical linguistic topics has been extremely wide even within each of these domains. In the case of courtroom discourse, for instance, questions related to the emergence of transported dialects (Kytö 2004), social status (Culpeper and Archer 2008), syntactic and discourse categories (Włodarczyk 2007) and variation (Kytö, Grund and Walker 2011, Chapter 7), grammaticalisation (Moore 2006) as well as patterns of subjectivity (Traugott 2011) and interaction (Archer 2013) have been addressed, among others. An important practice-related discourse domain, historical correspondence has also been among the most prominent sources for the study of sociolinguistic and pragmatic issues in the Late Modern period (see Palander-Collin 2010; Elspass 2012a for overviews).

3.6. Historical correspondence: Late Modern English and beyond

In the context of general developments in linguistics, the study into historical letters strikes us as having been particularly multifaceted in nature. Letters have been the basis for elucidating the developments in individual linguistic items (e.g. terms of address and person reference, Nevala 2004; modals, Dossena 2002; interjections and discourse markers, e.g. Williams 2013), formulaic language (Rutten and van der Wal 2013) or speech acts (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008a). Epistolary collections have facilitated the description of diatopic variation (Dollinger 2008) and the social diffusion of change over time (Nevala 2005). Letters have provided insights into the changes in social practices (Fitzmaurice 2010), attitudes (Millar 2000) and norms of interaction (Nevalainen and Tissari 2010), as well as the interfaces of language and gender (Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 2003) or power and ideology (Auer 2008; Sairio 2008; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2011).

The volume of work on the language of historical letters is immense, but the last decade is unique in that has abounded in archival discoveries, followed by some methodological refinements (Fairman 2003, 2007; Elspass 2007a; Rutten and van der Wal 2014; Laitinen and Auer 2014). For instance, it may be noted that the notion of the orthographic word has lost its applicability and has been replaced with "orthographic/graphic unit" (Elspass 2007b; Fairman 2007; Dossena 2012a). Similarly, many studies have implemented the notion of an encoder in place of

writer/sender/author, acknowledging the practices of delegating/dictating or the communal composition of letters in the Late Modern period. On the methodological level, correlational sociolinguistics has proved too tight for the wealth of questions emerging from the studies into letters (Palander-Collin 2002). The strong connection to interactional sociolinguistics established by seminal studies into correspondence (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996) is still very important, while at the same time studies based on letters have very much relied on the pragmatic aspects of the process of composition, transmission and reception (Williams 2013). Material aspects of letter-writing have started to play an important part in understanding of the nature in which letters reflect the language of their times (Nevalainen 2001; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005). The tension between conventional norms and creative choices has become the focus of attention of many studies (Valle 2004; Fitzmaurice 2008). Moreover, the significance of different norms, both on the more macro (ideological) and micro (textual) dimensions, have found their way into our thinking about the language of historical letters (Sairio 2008; Wood 2009). The place of research based on letters, over the last decade or so, has historical sociolinguistics on one side and historical pragmatics on the other (see Culpeper 2009). Leading state-of-the-art publications, such as the *Handbook of Historical Pragmatics* (Jucker and Taavitsainen eds. 2010) with the chapter by Palander-Collin (2010), the *Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre eds. 2012) with the chapter by Elspass (2012a), and collective volumes such as Dossena and Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds. 2012), van der Wal and Rutten (eds. 2013) and Auer, Schreier and Watts (eds. 2015) show that historical correspondence has consolidated as a subfield of linguistic study. In a brief overview below, I contextualise new perspectives against some earlier approaches to historical letters. In particular, I consider the importance of the growing interest in the Late Modern period and the availability of new epistolary data as vehicles for new developments.

Broad and versatile as linguistic evidence drawn from historical letters may be, any act of writing a letter, as a rule, is a situated activity and as such it invariably constitutes valuable linguistic documentation. Moreover, research has shown an unparalleled affinity of the language of letters to speech (Palander-Collin 2010: 659). This cannot be questioned in principle, but the statement that the language of personal letters

resembles speech (Raumolin-Brunberg 2005: 40; see also Pahta and Nurmi 2009: 31) requires a wider range of qualifications now than it did in the past. A decade ago or so, the prevailing belief would have been that letters, and personal letters in particular, were conversation on paper (Fitzmaurice 2009; Romaine 2010: 30), and many studies within interactional sociolinguistics have followed or at least explicitly voiced this assumption. Based on the Ciceronian view, which was extremely popular in manuals and letter-writers and in education in England and America (Richardson 2003: 259; see also Görlach 1999: 150) in the Late Modern period, this position might have been taken for granted for some time.[5] In particular, the nature of epistolary material from the Late Modern period did in fact support the view of letters as polite conversation in writing, at least in terms of the underlying norms and conventions of a social and rhetorical nature. For Late Modern English letters, the majority of studies have provided an account of the language of the informants from the upper social strata (e.g. Fitzmaurice 2010; Nevala 2004; Sairio 2009; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014). This is understandable, in particular as far as the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century are concerned. As research into literacy and postal systems indicates, finding personal lower order letters, or even tracing the patterns of exchange of posted correspondence of ordinary people prior to the 1820s, if not the 1840s, when Penny Post was introduced (Secord 1994: 387), is fraught with difficulty (but see Section 2.2.4.). The access to postal services in the early nineteenth-century was not distributed evenly, either in terms of geography or social and financial status. Obviously, the lower classes, if their levels of literacy permitted it, did write letters, but these were usually delivered by the authors in person or third parties on their behalf. Limited access to organised systems of distant communication must have affected substantially both the popularity of letter writing and the survival rates of correspondence, the latter reduced greatly by the poor living conditions and, in particular, the mobility of the lower social strata. On the contrary, the well off did use the teething postal systems fairly frequently in the eighteenth and early

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[5] This approach has not attracted much support from specialists in other discourse domains. For instance, historical dialogue was not studied based on letters (Jucker, Fritz and Lebsanft eds. 1999; Mazzon and Fodde eds. 2012), despite the belief that the conversation culture, in particular in pre-modern times, did shape epistolary exchange (Beetz 1999).

nineteenth century. Secord gives the example of a commentary in the *Edinburgh Review* (1819) which stated that "by 1819, the British sent nine times as many letters as the French" (1994: 387). Essentially, the social background of the typical informants has shaped the conceptualisations of the Late Modern English letters and has to some extent determined the researchers' choices of analytic tools (van der Wal and Rutten 2013a).

Systematic study of collections such as Pauper Letters (e.g. Fairman 2007) and Dutch sailing letters (e.g. Rutten and van der Wal 2014) voiced the need for a change of approach and broadening of the social profile of a Late Modern letter-writer. So did investigations into epistolary data in other languages which have recently been studied for the first time (e.g. Tamošiūnaitė into Lithuanian 2013; Nordlund into Finnish 2013). Studies into letter collections pertaining to colonial varieties (Dollinger 2008 into Canadian English; Dylewski 2013 into southern US English) also carry implications for new historical linguistics in general. The nineteenth-century letter in particular has become a source of insights on the daily lives and social roles not only of the privileged but also of the ordinary people involved both in personal interaction (emigrant letters) and in arranging their social spaces and regulating their existence by means of correspondence (institutional correspondence and petitions in particular). The profile of a nineteenth-century letter writer emerges as more multifaceted than for instance that of an eighteenth-century "man of letters" (Fitzmaurice 2002a), even though the spreading literacies enable a more direct understanding of the linguistic data than it is the case for the earlier periods (cf. Williams 2013). At the same time, the statement that letters imitate conversation or conversation's characteristics may no longer be taken literally (unless we are dealing with letters that were purposefully designed to do so as in epistolary novels). Increasingly, the interest into reflections of speech in letters is satisfied by the relative proximity to spoken language rather than by the idea of its more or less direct representation, while another new well-justified focus of attention falls on acquired written language (van der Wal and Rutten 2013a: 13-14; see Auer, Schreier and Watts eds. 2015). The shift of interest, may yet again be related to the growing database and research of Late Modernity, which was the time of the incipient democratisation and more equal access to letter writing as a skill and everyday practice in Britain, for example, following the introduction of the Penny Post in the 1840s. This

and other developments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have gradually affected and ultimately limited the influence of the art of polite epistolary conversation and 'ars dictaminis' to a small circle of the intellectual elite. Consequently, apart from the interactive and phatic aspects of epistolary communication, its more practical, utilitarian, institutional and performative functions need to be acknowledged more firmly.

Studying new epistolary data has driven linguists to questioning a range of "received wisdoms" about letter-writing (Nobels and van der Wal 2009; Dossena 2012a) and, in extreme cases, to attempts at reinstating the typological status of the language represented in letters (see Laitinen and Auer 2014). In particular, the hybridity of the epistolary form (Martineau 2013; Włodarczyk 2013b), as well as its significance for the representation of dialect (Millar 2012) and nonstandard features, has been explicitly acknowledged. The hybrid nature of epistolary texts does not only relate to the fact that their language frequently reflects the spoken/written interface (rather than just one or the other) and should therefore be carefully placed on the language of immediacy vs. the language of distance continuum (Koch and Oesterreicher 1985). In so far as letters are nevertheless written data, the hybridity of their language has specifically to do with the mixture of speech-related and standardised written forms, the latter characteristic not only for private letters, but for epistolary discourse in general (Martineau 2013: 145).

In connection with this observation, recent studies have brought to the limelight the significance of the underlying literacies for the suitability of letters for linguistic research. This involves considering the bearing that the writing skills and genre competence/literacy of the informants should have on the methods of analysis. Recent advances in the field of historical correspondence have shown that in the nineteenth-century data, the points of reference and sources of letter-writing traditions are harder to trace to specific manuals and formularies than in the previous centuries (see van der Wal and Rutten 2013b on the family tradition), while modes and exposure to literacy training and letter-writing instruction have become increasingly harder to reconstruct due to the growing mobility of the population.[6] There are many indications that, as the need for literacy and

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[6] The influence of manuals on the practice in the case of the 1820 settler is a separate issue. Although details of such influence are extremely difficult to trace empirically, there is no denying that one of the structural models of the petition is attested in contemporary manuals (Chapter Four). This fact, however, does not exclude the significance of

epistolary skills becomes a condition not only for effective socialisation, but for mere survival (Poor Laws, emigration, etc.), oral modes, family-based and the close communal transmission of relevant training and expertise, grows in significance. Pietsch for instance, proposes that letters in this period may be seen as a self-contained domain of linguistic conventionalisation, a local quasi standard, with relatively little correcting input from the written standard English (2015). In the Late Modern period, indeed, much socialisation is transitory as groups and individuals migrate and get involved in different short-term activities to make their living. Due to all these developments, the practice of letter writing becomes more local in the sense of the impact that each of the many temporary social and occupational communities may have on an individual writer. Not only does this indicate the importance of the community of practice as a unit of analysis (see Kopaczyk and Jucker eds. 2013), but it also underlines the importance of short-term developments for the overall picture of nineteenth-century historical correspondence in English.

Moreover, it is well understood today that no matter how rich a source of linguistic data a given epistolary corpus may be, it is important to relate its characteristics to contemporary databases comprising other texts in order to venture generalisations on language development and change. Even if we assume that personal letters reflect the language of individuals more directly than other types of correspondence (see Sairio 2013: 184-185), it is important to realise that even the most intimate letters bear a complex and invariably indirect relationship to speech. Recent research shows that more attention is needed for the issues of literacy and social practices which underpin the writing of letters and the ways in which these might have regulated access to the resources constituting this long-standing discourse tradition.

3.7. Summary

Drawing on the integrationist nature of the most recent developments in historical linguistics and the recent paradigm shifts within the field, Chapter Three has outlined some interfaces between historical pragmatics

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other means of transmission of letter-writing models and competence in the Late Modern period and for the analysed data.

and sociolinguistics and provided a characterisation of the field of historical sociopragmatics. It may be an oversimplification to view historical sociopragmatics as a meeting ground of the two disciplines. Nevertheless, overlaps between the descriptive forms, methods of study and data selection within historical pragmatics and historical sociolinguistics are undeniable. Integrative linguistic frameworks have also been part and parcel of the research into historical correspondence, which has also seen some shifts and significant new advances. Among the most important of the recent discoveries in the field of historical correspondence is that letters constitute hybrid material in many more ways than it had been considered before. Moreover, letters need to be seen as a special domain of linguistic conventionalisation. Their study requires a complex multilayered contextualisation that should inform any interpretations of linguistic form (Pietsch 2015). The research paradigms presented above serve as a general background for a specific research framework applicable to the study of the Late Modern petition as a genre (see Chapter Four).

Chapter Four

Letters, genres and discourse traditions: Units of analysis

4.1. Introduction

Having placed the analysis of the 1820 settler petition against the shifting disciplinary fences described above (Chapter Three), this chapter offers some terminological clarifications and discusses some relevant analytical concepts. The internal diversification of epistolary forms is a plain fact and different criteria may apply here. A commonly accepted measure for internal divisions within the category of the letter[1] is the central illocutionary function of a given epistolary text (see van Dijk's 1977b macro-categories). Adopting this external perspective allows seeing petitions as one type of the letter that is built around a request and at this level we may already talk about a specific genre. The petition, as opposed to a love letter, for example, is still not monolithic (Chapter Six), but it is functionally more specific than the letter, so it needs to be understood as a lower-level unit. In the middle, between the letter and the genre, another concept relevant to the study of written requests is employed: that of a discourse tradition (Held 2010)[2] that mediates between the letter and its various genres. Sitting on top of this hierarchy, the letter, as I argue, is most aptly viewed as a communication form (Ermert 1979; Brinker 2005; see Figure 4.1). This chapter shows that these concepts may be useful for the analysis of the Late Modern petition, and perhaps any epistolary genre, as they allow accounting for both synchronic and diachronic variation of the data.

The intersections and hierarchies of the three units of analysis are complex, and I attempt to clarify their mutual relations in order to pro-

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[1] In this Chapter "the letter" refers to the analytical category described in greater detail below, not to any specific instance of correspondence.

[2] Suter (1993) proposes a similar concept of "traditional text types" that captures the conventionalisation and standardisation of a genre within a culture-specific setting.

vide both a terminologically and analytically lucid frame for analysing the 1820 settler petition. Table 4.1 presents some criteria of distinction between the analytic categories of communication forms, discourse traditions and genres. The three conceptualisations differ in terms of their scope: only communication forms are general and somewhat abstract, while petition as a discourse tradition and the 1820 settler petition as a genre capture pools of concrete texts and constitute specific instantiations of the communication form of the letter. In terms of the contextual factors, for communication forms and discourse traditions, fixed communicative situations, defined chiefly by illocutionary points, provide interactive frames. Very specific local contexts, on the contrary, define individual pools of genres, such as the 1820 settler petition. As far as their functions are concerned, communication forms embrace many of these, while for discourse traditions and the genre, functions are relatively narrow and fixed. The three units of analysis may also be described in terms of their diachronic continuity. Only the petition viewed as a discourse tradition remains relatively stable over time, while communication forms may develop and change, for instance in response to technological changes (introduction of print or CMC). Therefore, letters, historically, have also interacted with other forms of communication and genres. Finally, communication forms may be universal, although not all communication forms occur, or are equally important, in all cultures. Forms such as conversation, for instance, are obviously universal. Individual discourse traditions may not be universal, but they tend to be ubiquitous, because they are usually a conventionalised means of dealing with everyday repetitive tasks. Specific genres and their realisations, such as the 1820 settler petition, are by no means universal, they are defined and may only be understood and be effective locally; hence, they are context specific. The 1820 settler petition and any of the individual pools of petitions mentioned above (see Section 2.2.4.), which are local in terms of space and time (i.e. may be closely contextualised), constitute the English discourse tradition. Thus culturally specific discourse tradition may involve some genre continuity over time. At the same time, contiguous discourse traditions exist in parallel in other languages/cultures (e.g. English vs. German).

Table 4.1. The interrelationship of analytic categories relevant to the 1820 settler petition

Unit	Letter	Petition	1820 settler petition
Analytical category	Communication form	Discourse tradition	Genre
Type/Scope	General	Specific	Specific
Contextual factors	Fixed/stable	Fixed/stable	Specific
Function/ purpose	Variable	Fixed/stable	Fixed/stable
Integrity	Open to contamination	Stable	Source of contamination
Universality	Universal	Ubiquitous/universal	Specific

The communication form of the letter encompasses the petition as a genre, while it at the same time involves other genres (e.g. the love letter), and scope for many more. For these reasons a communication form may be conceived of as an open-ended cylinder with individual genres stacked inside. The vertical stacks of genres indicate that they are best viewed synchronically, with the well-specified criteria of a given communication form that they share. The partially overlapping rectangles placed behind one another in horizontal space visualise the discourse traditions relevant to each genre. This visualises the diachronic nature of the notion and introduces an additional dimension to the mutual interrelations of the concepts. In effect, the cylinder of communication forms is three-dimensional. It involves the vertical axis of genres, the tilted axis of time and the horizontal axis of the communication forms. The last axis shows that synchronically communication involves a range of different communication forms. The cylinders could thus be multiplied and positioned differently against one another to account for their mutual interrelationships. Overall, the category of communication form is a relatively abstract conceptualisation of the involved communicative modalities, rather than an immediate reference point against which a given sample of data may be described. On the contrary, the genre, i.e. the petitions under analysis are local and specific. The notion of the discourse tradition, which captures continuity of conventions used to tackle similar communicative tasks over time enables the linking of the abstract and the specific. In principle, the concept of discourse tradition is useful as a reference point for diachronic developments if we adopt a culture-specific perspective. Thus the English discourse tradition of the peti-

tion involves many different temporally and spatially defined genres which may merge, split or discontinue altogether. Discourse traditions are visualised by means of overlapping rectangles that are set against one another over time. In effect, the love letter and the petition each involve a multi-layered background which encodes the lines of their developments over time. It is the discourse tradition that remains relatively stable, firstly because some communicative tasks remain fairly stable over time and, secondly, because, for various reasons, human memory, language and written record keep track of the solutions that are applied repetitively.
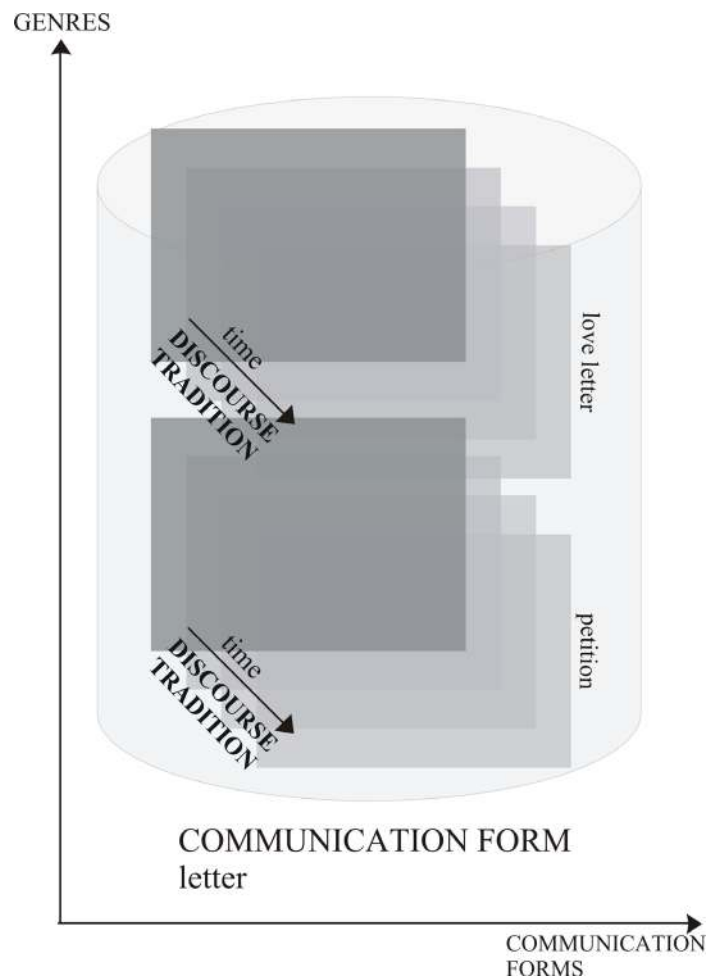
Figure 4.1. Analytical units and dimensions of the petition

Overall, this Chapter (together with Chapter Six) provides a background for addressing some wider questions asked in this study: What does it mean to take into account the role of genres in historical linguistic analysis? How could we proceed to do justice to their significance for the specific social practice of letter writing (Barton and Hall 2000), and the analysis of historical institutional letters? Section 4.2. illustrates the challenges of classifying letters in terms of their internal and external features. It discusses the relevant terms, in particular of text-type and genre, and how they are employed by studies into historical correspondence. Operating at a higher level of categorisation, the notion of communication form is introduced next, to distinguish the letter from the genre (Ermert 1979; Brinker 2005; Section 4.2.2.). The development of the English petition is the focus of Section 4.3. In Section 4.4. I discuss the application of the notion of the discourse tradition to the early English petitions.

4.2. Analytical units

4.2.1. The letter: Text-type, genre or register?

Letters originate in a situated and specific intention to interact with their addressee(s) (cf. the "communicative axis" in Violi 1985: 149). Moreover, the term 'letter' is in general straightforward in denoting a text distinct from other texts, such as for instance recipes or diaries. The analytic category behind the term, is however, quite problematic (Bergs 2004: 207; Palander-Collin 2010: 652; Włodarczyk 2013d: 403-406). Neither the external perspective, i.e. viewing letters as a *genre* defined by function, nor the internal approach, i.e. viewing letters as a *text-type* defined by linguistic features, suffices to account for the heterogeneity of the epistolary discourse in the past (see Taavitsainen 2001: 139-141 for terminology and definitions; cf. Bergs 2004: 208-209; Nurmi and Palander-Collin 2008: 24-27). For example, Dossena (2012a: 15) refers to letters as a *text-type*, while Del Lungo Camiciotti uses the term *genre* in a similar sense (2012: 106). Elspass, on the contrary, refers more specifically to the *text-type*[3] 'private letter' as opposed to postcard, private diary and petition letter (2012b: 51). Frequently, researchers refer to the 'private letter' *genre* (Meurman-Solin 2001: 254).

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[3] This is the German nomenclature in which *text type* is defined by means of function(s) (Elspass 2012b: 50).

Further terminological confusion involves the use of *text-type* in the sense derived from the German linguistic tradition (Görlach 2004; Elspass 2012b). Here, the English tradition uses *genre* while the multidimensional discourse analysis uses the term *register* (Biber 1988: 5-6), and the definitions of these terms, at some points, overlap. The little agreement that exists is that the language-external approach (*genre*), conventionally, stands in opposition to the language internal perspective denoted by *text type* (Biber 1988: 170). However, even this distinction appears to be fairly complex. Bergs, for instance, explicitly talks about *text types* which differ in terms of both their external and internal features and "are based on native speakers intuitions" (2004: 208). Frequently, studies into historical correspondence simply have chosen either of the terms implying that letter-writing is a self-evident type of communication. Some linguists, however, have looked for more fine-grained typologies that would capture the versatile nature of correspondence (e.g. Bergs 2004; Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008b, Włodarczyk 2013d). In my earlier work I made an attempt to incorporate the metatextual view on the letter derived from first-order comments made by the users and the features of the distribution of this and other relevant keywords. As it turned out, a bottom-up approach revealed a fairly general understanding of the term, despite the specialised, professional nature of the epistolary communication of the analysed informants (Włodarczyk 2013d).

Thus making sense of the variety exhibited by epistolary discourse in terms of analytic categories is a great challenge. The external variables of the addressee and setting, for instance, have been used frequently to distinguish between personal as opposed to business correspondence (Fitzmaurice 2002: 9). This, however, is not without problems, as it involves a blunt private vs. public distinction, historically a Late Modern development (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2010; Palander-Collin 2010: 652-653). Large corpora of data, however, confirm a range of shared linguistic properties of the letter, or more specifically the personal category, and even point to some universal features in a cross-linguistic perspective (Palander-Collin 2010: 659; cf. Biber 1995, Chapter 7). Still, Nurmi and Palander-Collin (2008) clearly show that the letter is not a self-evident analytic category and that careful study is required to apply the notion of *genre* or *text type* to this communicative activity. In an attempt to do this in their own works, the authors follow the distinction into business and personal letters, and focus on linguistic features of the latter in order to indicate a set of variables characteristic of correspondence ranging from the Early to the Late Modern period (2008:

32). Their study shows that the English private letters over this span of time display similar frequencies of features as were described in Biber's multi-dimensional model as belonging to the interactive or involved dimension. In this sense, the private letters analysed by Nurmi and Palander-Collin (2008) constitute a fairly homogenous internally defined *text type*.

In general, however, letters are heterogeneous (Meurman-Solin 2001) while the letter as a unifying term cannot be taken for granted, because the variety indicated in historical correspondence in various periods is immense. Moreover, linguistic or extralinguistic features of correspondence are not easily separated. A fairly broad and inclusive understanding of letters is also true when users' own understandings are considered to be a significant factor (Włodarczyk 2013d). Similarly, as an analytic category, the letter appears to be too wide to be of instructive use and therefore begs for some probing. First of all, the diachronic development of the letter in English is marked by a loss of defining features of the structure (Bergs 2004: 209) and this process may have been more advanced for the nineteenth-century than for the earlier periods. Linguistically as well, there have been a range of processes described under the label of colloquialisation that have affected the correspondence in the Late Modern period. Thirdly, studies into historical correspondence have mostly investigated private/familiar/personal rather than business/official letters. The rather significant in-between area (see Levorato 2010; Włodarczyk 2013b) is thus as yet not so well understood. Historical letters require a set of fine-grained categories of analysis in order to do justice to the variety of this form of writing over time and even within one specific period. The need to determine the nature of these categories locally has been fairly obvious to many scholars (Bergs 2004; Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008b), while detailed typologies have been part and parcel of *ars dictaminis* since its beginnings (Perelman 1991). If, however, the term "letter" is to preserve any utility for linguistic categorisation, it would be useful to define its scope in more specific terms. A proposal capturing the general and highly inclusive nature of the umbrella term "letter" based on the classification of communication forms is presented below.

4.2.2. The letter as a communication form

Following Ermert (1979), Brinker proposes a six-fold typology of present-day communication based on the type of communicative contact between the encoder and the decoder (2005: 147-148). In this view, letters

are defined as a communication form next to face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, radio shows, TV programmes and articles/books. Ermert's original proposal employs seven categories, including the book as a distinct one. Ermert described a wide range of criteria that account for a specific *Kommunikationsform*, such as periodicity (periodic or not), use of special technical media (accessible to all or not), text reception (individual, collective and public, simultaneous vs. non-simultaneous), text production (individual or not), recipient (definite and/or personally known), institutional context, reciprocity (dialogic vs. monologic), type of communicative mode (*Kodierungsart*; written or spoken) and, most importantly, the type of contact between partners in communication (1979: 59-60). The last notion involves the visual and/or acoustic media, as well temporal and spatial directness vs. distance. In terms of communicative contact between the partners, we thus see the letter on a par with newspapers and books: there is no direct visual or auditory contact between the parties in communication and the parties are temporarily and spatially separated. Obviously, this type of categorisation does not capture the reality of communication at present, some of Ermert's criteria having been surpassed by technological developments, with CMC posing a challenge to the classification. Still, the criteria of spatial and temporal distance of the communication form "letter" may be accepted as the most general unifying features of epistolary discourse in the Late Modern period.

In an attempt to elucidate the usefulness of *Kommunikationsform* approach to the letters of the past, I propose that historical correspondence as a field of study would benefit from defining the letter as a communication form (cf. Groeger 2010). Communication forms are related to the concepts of supergenres (Nevalainen 2004) and higher-level genres (Kohnen and Mair 2012). On the most general level, letters involve a specific type of communicative contact: they constitute written communication between temporally and geographically distant parties (see Violi 1985). Specific types of letters, however, like a love letter as opposed to a letter of denunciation, may not have much more in common. For example, in the latter even the situated nature of the activity may be lost (e.g. due to its anonymity). It is in fact only possible to study the actual examples of historical correspondence, not an abstraction, by means of more specific analytical categories of *genre* or *text type*. This needs to be done at a more local level of description. Following from this, this study proposes that the love letter, letter of denunciation or petition are

better viewed as specific realisations of the communication form of the letter, i.e. locally defined and synchronically described "real" genres. This is in line with Culpeper's view of genre as a "medial level contextual notion" (2010: 79). The way it is understood and applied in this analysis foregrounds the interfaces of the broad category of the letter as a form of communication with the concept of *genre* as linguistic practice (Studer 2008) determined by the local circumstances of composition, transmission and prospective reception. The major line of distinction lies in the nature of the encoder's motivation for writing: whereas genre as (the local) linguistic practice "is motivated linguistic activity in a specific context (…) that is characteristic of a whole population of texts" (Studer 2008: 2), i.e. it is marked by a definite illocutionary intent (Searle 1979: 3), a communication form embraces a wide range of motivations, incentives and contexts.[4]

Moreover, although it is primarily designed to capture contemporary communication, Ermert's and Brinker's approach is useful for historical investigations in yet another way. By foregrounding the type of communicative contact it emphasises the importance of different modalities and channels of communication. These have for obvious reasons been very much neglected not only in historical linguistics in general (but see Hübler 2007), but even more so in the field of historical correspondence. Although a letter is prototypically a piece of written text, its local subtypes may involve visual elements and material artefacts (gifts, pieces of hair, etc.). In addition, the 1820 settler petition, as I have shown (Włodarczyk 2013a), may be viewed as a multimodal communicative genre in the sense of Linke (2007; see Chapter Six for details), i.e. in relation to the transmission of information through the spoken medium involved in the practice. All in all, the view of the genre of the petition vs. the letter as a form of communication serves the purpose of accounting for the complexity of the involved linguistic practices in terms of the modalities of production and channels of transmission and reception.

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[4] An interesting example of the complexity of communicating by means of letters at a point of generic transition is provided by Valle (2004) who analysed the communicative spaces of correspondence in the Royal Society in the eighteenth century. The author clearly presents the tension inherent in this form of communication by situating the letter in the dynamic sphere of the formal vs. informal and oral vs. written.

4.3. Development of petitioning in Britain

As I have outlined above, the petition as a specific epistolary genre belongs to an array of communication forms of the letter at any point in time at which its instantiations may be found. In this sense, the Ermert/Brinker classification is best seen as synchronic, i.e. individual genres within a given communication form may function as mutual points of reference as long as they occur in parallel to one another in a rather narrow window of time. In terms of a diachronic dimension, forms of communication, which are, among others, determined by technological advances, with their individual genres, are collections of individual discourse traditions that gave rise to these very genres. This concept stresses genre continuity over time and has recently been utilised to analyse the petition (Held 2010). In order to set the ground for the presentation of the petition as one such tradition, I outline the historical background that is necessary to single out the relevant events and texts which may attest to the continuity of the English petition over time. The English petition has been affected by the changing legislation, addressees (parliament vs. the king/king's council) and compilers, as well as the prestige of the languages used in Britain. A brief outline of the history of official petitioning in Britain underlines the importance of the early *ars dictamen* and their decisive influence on the practice, especially in the earliest times.

In general, petitions are written in order to forward a request, which is usually conventionalised, from a social inferior to a social superior. To be effective, a petition mentions the institution, body or individual addressee, whom it targets and the motivation for a request (van Voss 2001). Originally in the British Isles petitioning could be described as a practice of civil rights at the social grassroots and was a quasi-judicial procedure (Leys 1955: 45).[5] Historians have evidence that the practice of petitioning the parliament goes back to Edward I, but it is possible that citizen grievances were presented to the monarch already in the Saxon times (Macintosh et al. 2008: 489). Although no legislation regulating the civil right to present a petition to royal authorities existed prior to the Bill of Rights (1689),[6] petitioning had become a self-perpetuating practice by the four-

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[5] But see also Scase (2007) who elucidates the links between mediaeval literature of complaint (clamour literature) and the earliest peasant petitions in the time of Edward I.

[6] Petitioning was, however, recognised in the Magna Carta and in the Act of 1406 while in 1571 a Committee for Motions of Griefs and Petitions was first appointed (Smith 1971: 2).

teenth-century (Brand 2004; Dodd 2007). Initially, three different bodies accepted petitions: the Parliament, the King's council and the Chancellery. Still, petitions could also be forwarded by the king to any of the three institutions, should the sovereign require a mediation on their side (Johnson 1995: 220). With time, the role of the monarch in responding to petitions diminished so that he/she was bypassed while "the process of petitioning, either by individuals or increasingly by groups, tended to focus more and more on Parliament" (Johnson 1995: 220). By the end of the seventeenth century, there has been a growing insistence on limiting the petition to the written form so that the process of submission no longer required the presence of the petitioner. In the eighteenth century, interest in petitioning appears to have reduced. Leys claims that in the late eighteenth century (1785-89), 880 petitions were presented to the House of Commons, while the figure for the greater part of the century prior to that must have been similar (1955: 47). As he further states, it was in the last two decades of the eighteenth century that a general system of petitioning was promoted (cf. Figure 1 in Leys 1955: 47). For the years 1827-31, for instance, the number of petitions reached 25,500. From 1836, any debate in Parliament following the presentation of a petition was effectively blocked in order to facilitate attending to the growing numbers of petitions and a special Select Committee on Public Petitions was established. Its aim was to "to categorise petitions by subject, summarise their text, and record, cumulate and publish the number of petitions and signatures" (Miller 2012: 887). This was indeed a necessity as the nineteenth century did, in fact, become the age of the petition in Britain (Bourne 1987).

4.3.1. Labels, languages and compilers

Throughout the history of petitioning in Britain, authors of institutional requests and historians have used names such as *supplication, memorial, application*, *appeal*, *address*, *subscription* as well *begging letter*, *petitory letter, suitor's letter*, as generic labels for the petition. In some cases, this terminology involves significant differences. For instance, historians generally agree that parliamentary supplications are known as petitions, while Chancery ones are referred to as bills. However, in the mediaeval context, the term *petition* was even more specific and designated entreaties directed specifically to the king or his council (Dodd 2007: 1). Another related term that is well known to the linguist (cf. Rissanen 2000; Kohnen 2001; Lehto

2010) is *statute*. Some details of historical and legal background are needed to distinguish the statute from the petition. In his book-length account of private petitioning in the late mediaeval period, Dodd shows that an important change took place in the petitioning process in the fifteenth century. Whereas earlier the king and council had had to decide for a scheme of action if a petition was accepted, their response would now be limited to an assent. So petitioners tended to "separate their request from the proposed solution to their grievance, so that a petition now effectively comprised *two* separate documents: one, the request itself, and the other a 'schedule' containing the draft warrant or grant which the petitioner hoped the Crown would adopt" (Dodd 2007: 305; emphasis original). Clearly, the second, not the first, of the documents, as Dodd continues, still referred to as the petition or bill, formed "the basis of parliamentary 'acts' – petitions drafted in the form of a grant or mandate which were subject to amendment before being formally ratified by parliamentary mandate" (2007: 305). This is closely connected to the statutes of law. The request part, however, if granted, usually resulted in government action limited in its application to the petitioner. As Dodd states in a later paper "[p]etitions presented before the king, parliament, and chancery were avowedly not instruments of the common law" (2011: 217). The grounds of statutory legislation were the so-called common petitions, presented by parliamentary Commons for the public good (Dodd 2007: 1).[7]

The second clarification concerns the language of petitions: prior to 1390, it was Anglo-Norman, French and Latin (Fisher 1977; Rissanen 2000; Dodd 2011). From the point of view of both researching the practice and the genre of petition, drawing a line of distinction between the documents written in Anglo-Norman as opposed to those written in English, and excluding the former from analysis, is not justifiable,[8] in particular if the interest is on textual models. The third clarification concerns authorship.

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[7] Another term that is relevant here is *writ*. It was used "to communicate the king's wishes to his ministers in central government (i.e. privy seal warrants)" and "orders or instructions to office-holders operating locally, as well as to specific individuals and communities (i.e. letters missive)" (Dodd 2011: 227; cf. ff. 71). For instance TNA SC 8 (the basis of Fisher 1977 and Dodd 2007), which contains *Ancient Petitions*, was artificially created in the nineteenth century when the writs, attached to the petitions from which they originated, were separated.

[8] Fisher (1977) has been criticised for this by Wright (2000); cf. Wright (2005) on the mixed language of merchants and Schendl and Wright (2011) on code-switching.

Contrary to Fisher's suggestions (1977: 875-876 and ff. 19), historians and linguists alike have now become disillusioned as to the possibility that the clerks of the Chancery exclusively composed petitions (Wright 2000). Due to the scarcity of the evidence on authorship, not much beyond the statement that supplications were written by "a mixture of clerks, scriveners, attorneys, and freelance scribes" (Dodd 2011: 218; cf. also Dodd 2007: 304-312) may responsibly be accepted.

Although the late mediaeval petitions to the parliament differ in linguistic terms from those presented to the king, while both types are clearly more formal than popular or 'private' (i.e. individual as opposed to common) petitions, it is important to emphasise that contemporary *ars dictaminis* must have been decisive in shaping supplications of all kinds (Dodd 2011). According to Dodd: "'Bill', 'petition', 'letter', 'plea', and 'writ' (…) define distinct categories of document (and action), but in form, vocabulary, and rhetoric they were far more closely related than these neat classifications suggest" (2011: 238). This is due to the fact that writing instruction for professional clerks, scribes or notaries public involved training in letter-writing (cf. Camargo 2007). So no matter where these professionals operated, their ultimate source of reference would have been letter-writing manuals and formularies (cf. Davis 1965; Nevalainen 2001). The language issue appears of no decisive import either: whether they wrote in Anglo-Norman or English, scribes and notaries had to resort to the contemporary models available in Latin and French, rather than in English, at least until the end of the sixteenth-century. Davis, for instance, (1965) shows that French and Latin formularies and manuals were widely accessible in Britain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were, moreover, influential (cf. also Voigts 1981: 578). Interestingly, Davis also claims that although no letter-writers in English have survived for the period, it is unlikely that none existed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (1965: 240-241). Quite obviously, the much later English letter-writers were essentially based on French and Latin models. As Nevalainen (2001: 213) states after Hornbeak (1934), *The Enemie of Idlesnesse* 1586, was a translation from French formularies, while Latin models were the basis for *A Panoplie of Epistles* and *The English Secretary* by Angel Day. The latter was by far the most popular manual well into the eighteenth century, probably because, apart from the clearly Erasmian provenance, it also included English model letters some of which may have been original.

4.3.2. Petitions and *ars dictamen*

The discussion above concerned the late mediaeval petition, a topic imme-
diately unrelated to the subject matter of this book. Still, this digression was
necessary to illuminating the link between the petition and the letter, as this
allowed making a connection between the parliamentary petition as a genre
and the earliest epistolary models available in Britain. There are many stud-
ies on the literary linguistic interface of petitions in different periods
(Whigham 1981; Daybell 2006; Magnusson 2004; Sokoll 2006; Dodd
2007), as well as linguistic studies which explore the rhetorical models of
the petition (Fisher et al. 1984; Kohnen 2001; Held 2010; Peikola 2012;
Włodarczyk 2013a). Almost all of these investigations recognise the link
between the petition and the classical *ars dictaminis*. Interestingly, despite
the attempts, in some of these studies, to draw a line of division between
the petition understood vaguely as a formal/legal/official genre as opposed
to petitions as familiar letters (Daybell 2006: 232; Sokoll 2006: 103),[9] in
terms of rhetorical organisation, the difference is rather hard to find. An
overview of the petitions written at different points of time discussed in
these studies shows a fairly unanimous division into: salutation (ad-
dress/securing of good will/captatio benevolentiae), identification of the pe-
titioner, exposition (narratio/statement of grievance, which may be pre-
ceded by exordium or initiation), petition (petitio/request for redress) and
conclusion (Fisher et al. 1984: 21; Sokoll 2006: 100; Held 2010: 200-220;
Dodd 2011: 227-228). Daybell (2006: 241) proposed a slightly different
classification for the Elizabethan letter in which the element called *petition*,
i.e. the centre of the letter of request, is a part of the narration or proposi-
tion. Włodarczyk (2010a), Mason (2011) and Peikola (2012) have proposed
move analyses of petitions based on Swalesian genre theory (Swales 1990).
Despite a different point of reference and the different contexts of the data
analysed by these studies, the classification of the rhetorical organisation of
the petition that these authors propose only differs with respect to details.
Taken that the petitions in these analyses were addressed both to institu-

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[9] "It cannot be emphasised enough that in stylistic terms and from their scriptural
gesture, most pauper letters do not normally follow the contemporary model of the for-
mal petition" (2006: 103). Earlier on, Sokoll presents an example of a formal petition
from a contemporary manual (2006: 101). Petitions following this model may be found
among pauper letters from the period (cf. the *London lives* webpage; e.g. the petition by
Mary Nason GLDBPRH308000015; August 1758).

tional and private persons, and were differently described as legal texts (Fisher et al. 1984), or on the contrary, as characterised by their "informal, almost personal tone" (Sokoll 2006: 103),[10] their similarity to the rhetorical models of *ars dictamen* from the classical through to mediaeval and renaissance formularies is striking. As the models which may have influenced the practice of letter-writing in English did not sharply distinguish the familiar from the business letter (Nevalainen 2001: 211-212) and letter-writing was taught as part of mediaeval accountancy and later as an exercise in rhetoric, the similarity is hardly surprising. All in all, a set of components highlighted in the letter from a nineteenth-century citizen in need (Włodarczyk 2013a) presented below could have also featured in a personal request for patronage from a sixteenth-century social climber (Whigham 1981) and should not in principle have been constructed differently to that by an eighteenth-century pauper (e.g. Fairman 2000).

SALUTATION
To His Excellency the Right Hon. General Lord Charles
Henry Somerset Governor and Commanding in Chief
His Majesty's Forces at the Cape of Good Hope. &c &c &c _____
IDENTIFICATION
          The very Humble Petition of John Hartle
     Late of Albany District but now of Cape Town.
Sheweth,
EXORDIUM
That after every effort in Petitioners power and that of
His Family to make, He finds Himself u^{n}able even linger
out a farther existence in Cape and fully sensible of the attention
and aſsistance afforded by your Excellency on a former occasion,
NARRATIO
nothing by the most imperious and preſsing neceſsity could
induce your Petitioner to intrude his wants on your
Excellencys Notice, incapable from Age and infirmity feeling

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[10] The differences between different pools of petitions may be significant, but they would have more likely been determined by the differences in access to the resources of a social and linguistic nature (literacy; see Chapters Five and Eight) rather than by a vague distinction between the formal and personal tone of the petition operating at the level of the letter-writing practice.

Himself rapidly verging on the grave and the idea of diſsolution
embittered by the thought of leaving His Family a prey to
distreſs in a Foreign Land.
PETITIO
He therefore earnestly & Sincerely
implores your Excellency to take his case into your serious
consideration and be graciously Pleased to afford Himself and
Family a paſsage to their Native Country where surrounded
by relatives and Friends he may provide for their future
comfort, certain that a further stay at the Cape will compel
Him to be a complete Burthen to the Humane & Benevolent
contrary to Both his disposition and feelings.
CONCLUSION
Throwing entirely
Himself & Family on your Excellency's Humanity and well known
Philanthropy He hopes you will be induced to grant Him a
Speedy paſsage Home. where your Petitioner as in duty
Bound will ever gratefully & sincerely Pray.

                                        John Hartell
Boomthal April 1 1823

Figure 4.2. Rhetorical components (moves) of the petition (201/020/Hartell)

4.4. The English discourse tradition of petition

Recently, a linguistic pragmatic framework has been proposed to view written requests as representative of the "discourse traditions" of the petition (Held 2010: 197-198). Although they are different among different cultures and languages, the traditions are fostered by similar circumstances of production and transmission. According to this framework, the petition is ubiquitous (if not universal) as a cognitive and textual grid in relation to a specific function. The idea of discourse traditions captures these conventionalised written texts which are based on a discourse grid originating in speech-acts of direct communication. The presence of these traditions is limited to the languages which have been written down, but the underlying models are essentially grounded in everyday spoken interaction, hence the claim as to their potentially universal nature. The continuity of discourse traditions in writing is, however, not immediately de-

pendent on the parallel developments in speech: once conventionalised, a written discourse tradition will no longer reflect the developments in the spoken realisation of a similar function. In consequence, there is a complex relationship between the degree to which codified discourse traditions may reflect their spoken origins/counterparts.

4.4.1. Discourse tradition vs. genre

In a sense, discourse traditions overlap with genres: the continuity of a given tradition in a language or culture is a history of the (slowly) changing conventions of structure, layout and linguistic features. However, there is an important distinction: genre is usually a local construct, which is culture-specific and historically unique. Genre is defined by the context of a specific group or community of users and often a specific communicative domain, while discourse traditions are possibly universal grids of acting through language and they are contiguous in different languages and cultures. Discourse traditions will have their own continuity and different degrees of correspondence to their spoken origins in different cultures and they will differ pragmatically depending on the local cultural norms among different languages. Genres, as has been mentioned above, belong to the mezzo-level of the description of sociocultural processes relevant to analysing language in interaction and discourse traditions, too, are located in-between the macro and the mezzo (cf. Culpeper and Nevala 2012: 377; see Section 3.4.). Discourse traditions are maintained through the continuity of specific genres and are stable due to their grounding in the ordinary spoken communication. Genres, on the other hand, are subject to ongoing transformations, they give rise to other genres which, as new genres, may in turn lose their connection to a given discourse tradition.

To illustrate one such transformation, the transition of petitions into statutes towards the end of the fifteenth-century proposed by Kohnen (2001) may be viewed as exactly such a case. Fifteenth-century petitions (mostly from the Chancery), a well-documented text-type of administrative prose in this period, Kohnen has argued, have become "an inflexible formulaic text type", i.e. statutes (2001: 200), which remained unchanged until the end of the Early Modern English period. The transition of petitions into statutes, as Kohnen suggests, is visible in the shift from narrative passages to accounts of regulations, conditions and sanctions and is

evidenced, among others, in the rise in nominal postmodification (Kohnen 2001: 200). Concerned with the structural and linguistic features of the analysed material, Kohnen does not mention the differences in function between the statutes and petitions. The delimitation of the request part and the warrant, the latter being the executive part of the document described by Dodd, or effectively, the fact that petitioning by means of two documents with different legislative function took place is not discussed by Kohnen (see Section 4.3.1.). Despite the obvious continuity and cause-effect relationship in the legal procedure, there is no denying that the major changes, such as the disappearance of narrative accounts and the appearance of regulations, are first and foremost linked to a different illocutionary purpose of that part of the fifteenth-century petitions which still involved requests vs. the statutes part (or document) which involved drafts of mandates. This needs to be viewed in relation to the development of the legislative process in this period as well as the growing insistence on the codification of law. These sociocultural and bureaucratic developments have affected the genre, but they have not affected the discourse tradition of the petition. Petitions continued to be submitted with the narrative element included and the tradition has not changed to involve a regulations section instead (cf. Lehto 2010 on the functional uniformity of the genres in the *Corpus Early Modern English Statutes*). A new genre has thus emerged and it was one of legal not of epistolary nature. This indicates that, when viewed within the framework proposed by Held (2010), the change described by Kohnen is better located at the level of genre, as an instance of specialisation with a functional motivation. Although the development was embedded in the discourse tradition, it has resulted in two distinct lines of texts (genres), with and without a narrative element, i.e. petition vs. statute.

Similar considerations prove to be of a practical bearing nowadays. With a broader interest to propose a foundation for large multicorpora based on the existing, usually genre-specific electronic databases, Kohnen proposes two general categories that could be useful for classification purposes: the functional and domain structure parameters (2012). Within the latter, the hierarchies of participants in a given communicative act constitute the first sub-criterion. According to this criterion, three spheres are distinguished: the first order, second order and third order ones. The first type involves texts from institutions to members of a discourse community (e.g. laws); in the second, a reversed pat-

tern is included: members of a discourse community address institutions (e.g. petitions); while the third pattern captures communication within a community (e.g. letters). Kohnen's parameter of 'Hierarchies' thus introduces an important contextual distinction between petitions as opposed to statutes, describing the former as a second order and the latter as a first order genre in terms of the constellations of hierarchies of the addressees involved in the communicative act. For genres, these constellations are by definition stable, but for discourse traditions, which encompass genres as they are shaped by their contexts in different points in time and contextual settings, all the three types of hierarchies may apply. This shows that classificatory schemes are best designed on a synchronic level, while diachronic developments in genres and text types hinder the usefulness of categorisations that attempt to achieve both synchronic and diachronic utility.

As the above discussion shows, studying discourse traditions poses research questions different to those posed by the study of genres: the former are best approached as global universal schemes operating contiguously in different cultures. As such a discourse tradition as a concept does not require an immediate contextualisation within a specific cultural setting to be effectively recognised. Requests are possibly universal speech acts and if they are written down the involved resources become codified and conventionalised over time. This ultimately results in culture-specific patterns, recognisable as genres, but the requesting of help is still a ubiquitous action regardless of place, time or medium of communication. Genres, as culturally-specific grids maintained through the generational passage in a given community are, in contrast to discourse traditions, all embedded in social, private or institutional, local contexts and make little sense outside of these. Depending on the time perspective, statutes discussed above may or may not belong to the discourse tradition of the English petition. In a Late Modern perspective, statutes of law no longer do. However, in the fifteenth century, prior to the functional split in petitioning, a proposal for a solution of petitioner's case that later evolved into statute accompanied the request. The proposal supplemented the petition's function and came in the material form of an additional document and, synchronically, cannot be seen in isolation from the discourse tradition. Still, in terms of the development of genres, petitions and statutes clearly drifted apart.

4.4.2. Changes in thinking about the petition

Previous studies have shown that the rhetorical organisation of the differently named texts belonging to the English discourse tradition of the petition at different points in time may be viewed in reference to the letter-writing instruction (*ars dictaminis*). This applies to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the analysed texts are largely courtly communication (cf. Whigham 1981). Earlier research into the Elizabethan letters focused more on creativity and spontaneity of expression in the petitions than in "an uninteresting story about formulaic language and stiff verbal conventions" (Magnusson 2004: 64). Nowadays, the study into historical correspondence is also occupied with the repetitive, often content-related, thematic formulae. Petitions, and letters, from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries do not lend themselves easily to readings which relate their features to manuals and formularies (Elspass 2007b; Rutten and van der Wal 2013). A window, in particular, on the language of the lower social strata, the formulaic language of the petitions appears to be a more and more significant aspect of study now grounded in sociolinguistics and literacy studies (Fairman 2000; Laitinen and Auer 2014). This is only natural taken that, in the Late Modern period, the acquisition of genre literacy, or the skill of letter writing, was not subject to as formal instruction as in the earlier periods. This is true in particular for the lower social strata whose access and exposure to schooling was limited. Moreover, pragmatic politeness-oriented approaches to petition, have undergone a fundamental shift: from viewing written requests as acts of humiliation (Fitzmaurice 2002b; Peikola 2012), which were best understood within Brown and Levinson's negative politeness (Włodarczyk 2010a) to the approaches combining aspects of positive politeness (Chaemsaithong 2012) and self-politeness (Włodarczyk 2013a). In particular, a shift parallel to the developments of politeness approaches to historical correspondence in general has taken place: distinctions between reflexive and strategic politeness opened new ways of interpreting the petition (Held 2010; cf. Włodarczyk 2013a and 2015). Despite these changes in the conceptualisation of the English petition, and theoretical advances in approaching the genre, we still know fairly little about both the linguistic practice and the involved pool of language features, given that the amount of relevant material still waiting to be discovered or studied in more depth is staggering (see Section 2.2.4.).

4.4.3. A discourse tradition between private and public

Görlach lists the petition in his inventory of English text-types and defines it as an "entreaty, supplication, solemn prayer" for Middle English, as a "formal written request signed by many people" for Late Modern English and a "(law) a formal written application for a writ" (2004: 62) in the legal context. The tripartite division into a general and possibly individual, collective and legal petitions is only superficial; scholars are more inclined to accept the duality of the private/personal as opposed to the public/official. To Daybell (2006: 232) the Elizabethan patronage letters, which he refers to as petitions or suitors' letters, are a subgenre of letters. This classification follows Angel Day's category of *epistles petitorie* from the *English Secretarie* (Day 1586; cf. also Whigham's 1981 *letters of negotium*). At the same time, Daybell emphasises that his object of study is different from legal petitions and parliamentary petitions, or royal bills.[11] Two important implications are to be drawn from this remark: firstly, the public vs. private distinction may be related to the linguistic formality cline (cf. also Dodd 2011); secondly, the influences of different discourse domains on different instantiations of the discourse tradition of the petition need to be accounted for. In other words, this suggests that any analysis of historically contextualised petitions involves placing the object of study on a cline from public to private. This is an important step as the private as opposed to the public line of development may relate differently to the issues of textual continuity and transmission (see petitions vs. statutes discussed in Sections 4.3. and 4.4.1.).

If we consider linguistic studies, an important line of division lies between petitions giving rise to legal texts (Fisher 1977; Kohnen 2001; Lehto 2010), i.e. the domain of legal language, on one side, and ordinary correspondence, also between social equals, i.e. epistolary texts (e.g. Whigham 1981; Daybell 2006; Magnusson 2004), on the other. However, as was shown above, there are strong arguments to support a common origin of petitions addressed to the parliament and familiar letters

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[11] "Importantly, these epistles are different from legal petitions (a formal application made in writing to a court), parliamentary petitions (the form by which the Houses of Parliament formerly presented a measure for the monarch's granting, or by which parliament was itself approached), and petitions or 'bills', which are formulaic documents, written in the third person, that were presented to the monarch for signing only when a provisional promise of royal favour had been secured" (Daybell 2006: 232).

(Nevalainen 2001; cf. Dodd 2011 and Section 4.3.). It is nevertheless true that the codification involved in the preservation of legislative acts (rolls of parliament), including their regular printing towards the end of the fifteenth century, was unlikely to affect private writing. As for the latter, its interface with the petition involves the rise of the institution of patronage (Bourne 1987; Daybell 2006). At the same time, some specialised legal genres, such as statutes, writs and bills, which evolved from petitions, have become gradually excluded from the tradition and drifted in the direction of regulatory, legal genres. Although the petition continued as a tool of civil representation and participation, it moved increasingly towards the less public epistolary domain, i.e. everyday writing practice in the Late Modern period. This is obviously related to the growing literacy rates and popularity of letter-writing at the time. Another important facet of the petition comes into view with the growth of the new media after the printing revolution, when the publication form of the pamphlet gains popularity (Groeger 2010). This clearly shows that conceptualising the petition as a discourse tradition, which is either official/public (legal or media text) or personal (familiar letter) is not without problems: what we see is more of a cline with a large grey area in between the two poles (Figure 4.3). The tradition comprises various pools of data, better described as genres, shaped by the local context and these genres may be leaning towards one of the poles (cf. also the discussion of Kohnen's hierarchies in Section 4.4.1.). However, the tradition is very much hybrid in this respect.

In a schematic and simplified way, based on the existing studies into the English discourse tradition of the petition over time, specific samples of petitions may be located in the vicinity of the two poles (public/official as opposed to private), or in the area in-between (semi-official). The well-known studies involve fifteenth-century petitions, analysed in connection to the development of the Chancery Standard (Fisher 1977) and the rise of statutes studied by Kohnen (2001) and Lehto (2010): the data here belong to the legal domain. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century petitions, known as "pauper letters", studied both in relation to literacy and standard language (e.g. Fairman 2007; Laitinen and Auer 2014), as well as within a framework of politeness (Chaemsaithong 2012) address institutions, but bear little affinity to the legislative domain. The data in Włodarczyk (2010a), a sample of early nineteenth-century petitions from the 1820 settler database, including those described as denunciations, are similarly

hybrid in terms of their formality and other factors (see also Włodarczyk 2013b). Groeger (2010) has studied petitions incorporated into pamphlets as a publication form: here the addressees were public, but not institutional. Peikola (2012) has studied nineteenth-century transcripts of petitions written in connection with the Salem witchhunt (1692), which are related to the legal domain, but due to their producers are better located in the middle of the cline. A sample of contemporary petitions from American prisoners to the judges of federal district courts, referred to as letters of leniency (Mason 2011) may be viewed in a similar way. All of the above-mentioned studies looked into texts which have been variously linked to public institutions or their representatives, hence they should be assigned to different categories on the cline. Only the petitions surviving from the Late Mediaeval period, because they were largely professionally composed, are undoubtedly official/public (referred to as *Various institutional applications* in Figure 4.3).

Apart from this, non-institutional addressees have also been targets of written requests. Probably the most common term used here is patronage letters (cf. Bourne 1987). Letters involving requests for protection, financial support and other matters in the Elizabethan period (suitors' letters) were investigated by Wigham (1981), Daybell (2006) and Magnusson (2004). Fitzmaurice (2002a; 2002b) has analysed eighteenth-century humiliative discourse: private letters to socially prominent patrons. The framework of most of these studies has been broadly historical and philological, in the sense of their emphasis on the cultural, social, literary and courteous nature of private patronage letters and their interfaces with rhetoric and language. Fitzmaurice has applied a linguistic-pragmatic approach (2002a). These petitions lean more clearly towards the private end of the scale.

The scale pertaining the public/private interfaces of the English discourse tradition of the petition may be broadly interpreted as a reference point regarding the linguistic themes worthy of investigation in different pools of petitions (Włodarczyk 2013b). Petitions related to the legal domain offer data for the study of the development of dominant writing cultures, the codification and standardisation of legal texts and will therefore be more interesting for a language history 'from above'. The semi-official petition data, i.e. the great majority of the analysed texts, provide a more diverse source and might serve as a window on the language of the lower and middling sorts rather than professionals (although professional me-

diation may not, in principle, be excluded, at any point). Similarly, the data close to the private pole may also lend itself to an analysis 'from below', although, in the previous studies, primarily the letters of prominent historical figures were analysed.
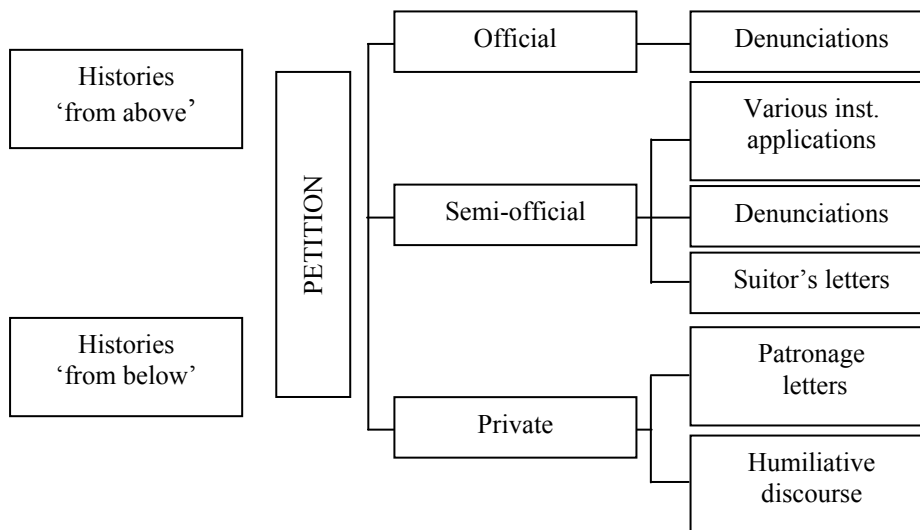
Figure 4.3. English discourse tradition of the petition

All in all, this Chapter has introduced an additional layer of embedding for the 1820 settler petition as a genre, the discourse tradition of the petition. This tradition encompasses different genre realisations which are synchronic and local, and connected by a similar illocutionary point. Discourse traditions are similar in different cultures and as a category of description they are very broad, but if we want to understand genre continuity through this concept, discourse traditions are best viewed in a culture-specific perspective. Culture-specific discourse traditions offer an essentially diachronic perspective (e.g. the development of the English discourse tradition of petition) on the locally realised synchronic genres (petitions in different points in time, e.g. statutes vs. the 1820 settler petition). Synchronic variation in epistolary forms, in turn, is best approached in terms of the letter as a communication form, next to face-to-face communication, for instance. Understood in this way, on the one hand, letters encompass various

discourse traditions, as these accumulated over time. Individual discourse traditions may bear some universal characteristics (e.g. petitions have the illocutionary force of a request and love letters are likely to have many purposes in common regardless of the setting). On the other hand, individual communication forms also encompass genres, both as repertoires of choices at a specific point in time (e.g. the petition), and their contextual realisations (e.g. the 1820 settler petition). In this way genres, unlike discourse traditions in general, are local and culture- or language-specific. Individual discourse traditions may be culture-specific (in space), but they are never local because of their diachronic nature (in time). There is an immediate connection between discourse traditions and letters as a tool of everyday communication, i.e. a specific communication form. Letters build on and feed into other forms of interaction, both synchronically and diachronically. They bear multiple connections to the individual contextual realisations of discourse traditions as genres. This is clear if we notice that, over time, epistolary forms of writing have given rise to new genres (literary ones: the epistolary novel, learned letters, cf. Bethencourt and Egmond 2007; informational ones: the scientific article; cf. Bazerman 1994; and newspapers or *avisi*; cf. Infelise 2007). This shows that specific communication forms feed into other communication forms because the involved discourse traditions develop over time by means of specific genre realisations. At the same time, the norms and conventions of letter-writing are realised largely through lay understandings: as an essential form of everyday communication. Discourse traditions may mediate between the communicative form of the letter and the more specific genres, as in the case of the 1820 settler petition. But discourse traditions are multiple. In particular, within the epistolary form of communication, their continuity, breaks and splits have constituted an important line of study broadening our understanding of the practice of letter writing over the centuries (e.g. Davis 1965; Richardson 1984 and 2001; Nevalainen 2001; Bergs 2004).
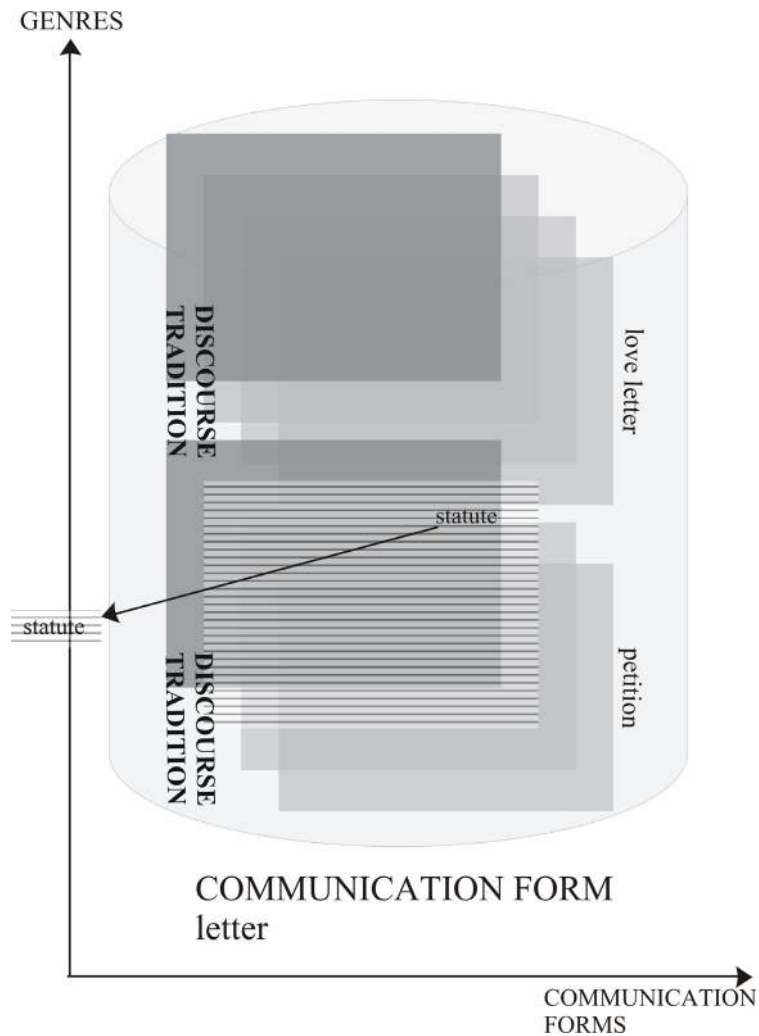
Figure 4.4. Dynamics of genres and discourse traditions within the communication form of the letter

Figure 4.4 (which builds on Figure 4.1) illustrates the development of the communication form of the letter over time from the fifteenth century until today. The two selected genres, love letters and petitions, have accumulated their own discourse traditions over time. In the case of the petition, around the fifteenth century the discourse tradition split with the changes in legislation giving rise to the functional separation between petitions

and statutes. The latter, a new genre, drifted away from the original discourse tradition as Figure 4.4 shows. Ultimately, the statute detached also from the genre of the petition and the communication form of the letter. The 1820 settler petition, on the contrary, is a continuation of the development of the genre from its earliest attestations onwards. With the rise of CMC, which is presented as a separate form of communication, the new scope for genre overspills and splits has opened. Technological changes resulted in the overlaps between the old communication form (the letter) and an aggregate of new electronic genres, the communication form of CMC. With the rise of email, any discourse tradition encompassed by the communication form *letter* splits and drifts away to the direction of CMC. The spatial and temporal distance criteria that characterise the communication form of the letter apply, in principle, to the email. However, new interactive devices such as hypertexting for instance, issues of synchronicity and multimodality make it fit better into a different communication form: CMC. Nevertheless, if we choose to characterise the email in structural or text linguistic terms, regardless of whether we opt to classify it as a genre, text type or register, we undoubtedly see components of the letter as a discourse tradition (salutation, signature, frequency of pronouns, formulae), or of different letter genres on different levels (pragmatic and thematic, e.g. requests, compliments). Clearly, in a synchronic perspective emails require their own internal typology, i.e. are better viewed as a higher level category than genres such as, for instance, fifteenth-century statutes or the Late Modern petition. Nonetheles, the discourse tradition of the petition, or of the love letter, are both relevant for the study of the conventions upon which the writing, reading and responding to emails is based. In other words, forms of conventionalised communication may always be seen in reference to a diachronic dimension. The linking of the synchronic types or genres of communication to historical developments of their textual or linguistic conventions may be achieved if we manage to trace the relevant discourse traditions.

4.5. Summary

Above I have discussed the analytical units and conceptualisations applied in the studies into historical correspondence in order to arrive at a set of categories useful for the analysis of the 1820 settler petition. Letter-writing has been an extremely diversified practice and many studies have

dealt variously with the relevant analytic categories (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2008b; Bergs 2004). Some studies have underlined the influence of letters on the formation of new genres (cf. Bazerman 2000) and the inherent instability of genres (cf. Briggs and Bauman 1992 on "genre leaks"). Apart from giving rise to new genres, letters may also feature within the "higher level genres" (Kohnen and Mair 2012: 8), such as pamphlets (Groeger 2010) or dedications and other paratexts at the point of the popularisation of printing (Claridge 2012: 4-5).

As for some internal divisions used in historical correspondence, the most common, though frequently questioned (see Brownlees, Del Lungo Camiciotti and Denton eds. 2010) distinction has been drawn between the familiar and the business letter. Even if the private vs. public distinction is hard to maintain for most historical periods, the thematic volumes such as those by Dossena and Fitzmaurice (eds. 2006) and Gillaerts and Gotti (eds. 2008), testify to the profound belief in the distinctiveness of personal as opposed to professional/official correspondence. Some authors even talk about the genre of personal letters which has evolved in English at the end of the fourteenth-century (Kohnen and Mair 2012: 8; cf. Fitzmaurice 2002a). In my view, this distinction is methodologically problematic and it has failed to provide useful criteria that allow the splitting of historical correspondence into two discrete well-defined objects of investigation. On the contrary, efforts have been made to maintain the high level of generalisation of the letter in order to account for its variability in many respects (Nurmi and Palander-Collin 2008) and to save its all-embracing character. This is indeed an important prerequisite to the study of textual continuity over time, which has been a very important focus of historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Nevalainen 2001: 203). In reality, however, as the discussion above has shown, epistolary texts embrace a range of different thematic and functional categories, so it is more adequate to talk about a given *letter's genre* in each individual case (cf. Culpeper and Nevala 2012: 371) rather than about the *letter as a genre*.

Chapter Five

Scribal petitions

5.1. Introduction

In a study of a historical genre the analytical categories are of primary importance. However, the characteristics and identities of the involved informants as the agents of situated practice are also central. Although in the case of the institutional correspondence analysed here, individual silent reading must have prevailed on the side of the recipient(s), at the composition end, the petition was most likely a joint social practice, although the involvement of professional and social scribes, or clerks, lawyers and notaries, is more obvious for periods of low literacy (Daybell 2012: 73-74; Williams 2013: 53-57; cf. Zaret 2000: 81; Dodd 2007: 279). However, research into the Late Modern period epistolary practices shows that scribes were employed on a regular basis well into the nineteenth century (Chartier 1997: 12), especially in the case of petitions (Sokoll 2006: 100; Houston 2014: 82; Laitinen 2015: 189). Yet, the practices of writing clerks have so far not been investigated in greater detail in the Late Modern period,[1] although Rutten and van der Wal (2014: 13-17) have recently demonstrated the methodological significance of the distinction into autograph and non-autograph letters for a variety of linguistic variables. Similarly, in the case of the 1820 settler database, the involvement of intermediaries may have influenced the practice on the macro and micro level. Mediation of scribes is thus an important factor and needs to be considered in detail in particular with a view to the reflection of the Late Modern literacies that this study pursues. In order to talk about literacies, we need in the first place to establish whose literacies the data reflects. The distinction into autograph and

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[1] There is of course the considerable work of literary scholars who have researched the individual archives of famous writers to elucidate the creative process, including the involvement of secretaries and amanuenses within the frameworks of genetic criticism, intentionalism and the sociology of texts. Similarly, the archives of scholars in different periods enabling research into note-taking practices in relation to the organisation and dissemination of knowledge have also been investigated with a view to the involvement of writing helpers (see Blair 2010: 7).

scribal letters is thus one external variable to be taken into account in a (socio)pragmatic analysis of historical letters.

The discussion in this Chapter illustrates the complexity of the communal realisation of the petition in the 1820 settler database. Moreover, the analysis characterises in greater depth the parties involved in the mediated practice of petition composition and pursues possible connections among them. First of all, the methodology of filtering the scribal petitions is introduced and the identification of scribal hands[2] is conducted. I then go on to present the geographical range of the practice and focus on the profiles of the 84 identified petitioners who used scribal services (5.3. and 5.4.). This characterisation involves their socio-economic background and an estimation of the literacy levels to challenge the assumption that low literacy or illiteracy are the usual reasons for employing scribes. I also present some illustrations for the more complex petitioner profiles. The remaining part of this Chapter describes the practice based on some characteristics of the social and professional scribes, such as the socio-economic profiles of the named intermediaries (17 named scribes out of the total of 45), the potential connections and networks of petitioners to the named scribes, and the social networks of petitioners using the services of the same scribe. Subections 5.5.3. and 5.5.4. are devoted to a more detailed analysis of these factors based specifically on the petitions penned by two professional scribes, John Carter and William Howard.

5.2. Clues to scribal petitions

In the 1820 settler colonial letters, scribal writing is fairly obvious. First of all, a number of petitions are signed with the x-mark. Secondly, a significant number of letters bear a signature in handwriting different from that of the rest of the petition. Thirdly, petitions in the same handwriting are submitted on behalf of a range of different subscribers. Fourthly, metatextual evidence confirms the involvement of social and commercial scribes. In his own petition, a lawyer, John Carter, explicitly states "I spend my time principally in Accounts, & have been frequently called upon to write Memorials & & to your Excellency" (249/022). Indeed, in the analysed sample, 11 petitions on behalf of other settlers penned in his adorned handwriting were identified. Carter's legal licence as a nota-

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[2] See Checkpoints of hand analysis (Appendix 5.1).

ry made him a perfect target to be approached by those in need of sub-
mitting a petition, as in the nineteenth century this occupation involved,
among others, authenticating documents. A historian of the 1820 settle-
ment, Marjorie Nash, talks about another commercial scribe, William
Howard, a schoolmaster from Buckinghamshire and a party leader,
whose "florid calligraphy and literary style were put to good use in the
Albany settlement; he was employed by his fellow-settlers as a profes-
sional writer of petitions to government, and much of the correspon-
dence in the colonial records is unmistakably of his composition" (Nash
1987: 82). Based on the colonial part of the 1820 settler database, as
many as 22 petitions may be ascribed to this writer (see Sections 5.5.3.
and 5.5.4. and Chapter Seven for further details on the two scribes).

Scribal petitions, as has been stated above, pose some methodologi-
cal problems. As the metatextual evidence presented above suggests, the
linguistic evidence that they contain cannot be seen as reflecting the
language of the petitioner in a straightforward manner. Moreover, scribal
petitions written by the same hand show a great deal of similarity. Thus,
in so much as scribal petitions constitute important evidence for the
analysis of the material aspects of the genre (Chapter Six), it is crucial to
be aware of the limitations of the data that indicate any involvement of
intermediaries for an analysis of linguistic variables. Obviously, scribal
hand identification may render such evidence useful as a reflection of
the language of a particular commercial or social writer. In many cases,
however, naming a given intermediary is impossible, hence their social
background remains a mystery. Issues of authorship, in general, are very
sensitive in historical letters and different sources of information should
be consulted to make judgments in this respects. Integrating the two sets
of data, i.e. the candidate and the colonial collections, facilitates solving
some authorship issues in the case of overlapping informants, i.e. active
in Britain and Cape Colony. Not only is it possible, in some cases, to
identify specific scribes based on a set of letters in their hand (see Table
5.1), but also the handwriting evidence may be compared with the 1819
data, whenever available, in order to establish which of the letters in the
same hand is an autograph. Apart from the identification of the hands re-
sponsible for the writing of more than one letter,[3] the following criteria

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[3] I would like to thank Professor Lambert Schomaker (University of Groningen) for
kindly granting me access to *GIWIS* (*Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System*;

have been used to filter out the delegated petitions from autographs in the colonial collection (see also Nobels and van der Wal 2009; Rutten and van der Wal 2014: 14 and 174[4]):

Table 5.1. Categories of scribal letters

Category	Clues to scribal writing
(1)	Letters signed with the x-mark
(2)	Letters with a signature in handwriting different from text body
(3)	Letters with the same handwriting but different petitioners
(4)	Letters in different hands but bearing the same subscribed name

Since in the case of the colonial collection, authorship may sometimes be verified by a comparison with the candidate letters, Category (3) (i.e. the same handwriting but different subscribers) was given precedence over the other categories.[5] In other words, handwriting matches within the colonial

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see Nobels and van der Wal 2009 for details) and Judith Nobels for helpful advice on using it. This customised handwriting recognition software was used for the analysis of Dutch sailing letters (Rutten and van der Wal 2014). Despite the indubitable advantages of computational matching of hands provided by the software, I have only used it to spot potential matches, which had to be verified further against the historical facts (settler's parties, locations, etc.). One of the technical problems I have encountered was the inconsistent angle of the MSS photos I used. A more detailed presentation of the analysis by means of *GIWIS*, however, deserves a separate paper. More recently, computational authorship attribution by means of letter *n*-grams (cf. Stamatatos 2009) and the impostors method (Koppel and Winter 2014) have been tested for a collection of eighteenth-century letters in Dutch by Vosters, Kestemont and Karsdorp (2015).

[4] Clearly, handwriting alone is not a reliable clue to distinguishing private from scribal letters, in particular to a non-paleographer. Still, the availability of external sources for the comparison of hands and signatures, and a range of external clues discussed below, has enabled what I see as an effective filtering of scribal writing (see also the *n*-gram analysis in Chapter Seven). For example, I found a statement of Maria Harden's confirming that her memorial was penned by John Bailie (*RCC* 22: 255).

[5] In all cases, handwriting matches were of primary importance. Clues pointing to the delegated categories (1) and (2), i.e. the x-marks or signatures in a different hand, in many cases, occurred in the letters which had been recognised as non-autographs in Category (3). In such cases, Category (1) and (2) clues were of secondary importance, i.e. these were only viewed as evidence for scribal petitions if handwriting clues were not present. Similarly, I have only relied on category (4) (i.e. different hands for the same subscriber) if no handwriting clues pointing to another scribe were present in a given letter.

collection as well as those between the colonial and candidate letters were the chief basis for identifying the delegated petitions (95 out of the total of 113 scribal petitions were identified in this way; i.e. c. 85 % of all the mediated petitions; see Table 5.2). The procedure was to verify matches among the petitions that exhibited similar handwriting, but which were submitted on behalf of different subscribers. If a set of letters written by the same hand contained at least one which appeared to be an autograph (i.e. the signature matched the handwriting in the body) the remaining letters in the set could be ascribed to the professional or social scribe based on the signature match (see the *Named hands* in Table 5.2). If, however, no autographs were present in the sets distinguished by handwriting matches, these were described as "unknown hands" and named with the letters of the alphabet. As Table 5.2 shows, the analysis of handwriting matches has identified 17 named and 12 unknown hands, the former responsible for 61, and the latter for 34 letters, i.e. 54% and 30% of all scribal letters.

Table 5.2. Scribal letters based on handwriting identification (Category 3)

Named scribe	Letters	Unknown hand ID	Letters
Howard, William	22	Hand D	6
Carter, John	11	Hand E	3
Kidwell, Alexander	5	Hand G	2
Erith, Jane	4	Hand H	2
White, Richard	3	Hand I	2
Biddulph, John B.	2	Hand J	3
Rowles, John	2	Hand K	4
Bailie, John	2	Hand N	2
Dyason, Isaac	1	Hand P	2
Greathead, James H.	1	Hand R	2
Gurney, Charles	1	Hand S	2
Lloyd, Henry	3	Hand T	2
Philipps, Thomas	2		
Tucker, Henry	1		
Prentice, William	1		
Seton, Thomas	1		
Thornhill, C. T.	1		
Total	63		32

Named and Unknown	95		
Unidentified Unique	18		
Total of scribal letters	113		
Named scribes	17	Unknown hands	12

The total number of scribal letters in the analysed sample is 113, including 95 letters by the named and unnamed scribes (Category 3). In the case of the 18 remaining letters (15%) whose handwriting did not match any of the informants from the colonial or candidate collections (see Table 5.3), categories (2) and (4) were applied. These have been penned by 16 "unidentified unique" hands (for lack of a better term). Jane Erith and C. T. Thornhill used the services of their respective scribe, whose handwriting does not match any other in the analysed database, twice, so the 18 letters were penned by 16 unidentified unique scribes. Among the "unidentified unique" letters, six include a signature which does not match the handwriting of the rest of the letter, while one letter was assigned to category (4). This petitioner, Edward Hanger, delegated one further letter to William Howard (178/168) and penned one more letter himself (223/236), as I have been able to confirm based on a hand match with his original signature found in a subscribers' list of a collective petition (201/040/Shepherdetal). In the case of Hezekieh Sephton, for instance, the signature in his colonial letter (158/219) matches the handwriting of one of his candidate letters (CO48/53/319), the latter used the services of at least two different people (see CO48/45/75, 85 and CO48/53/302 and 332). Thus this 1819 letter signed by Sephton, based on the match of the handwriting of the body with the signature from the colonial collection is assumed to be an autograph.[6] Still, Sephton's other 1819 letters must have been written by different hands. Table 5.3 presents the details of the 18 letters by the 16 unidentified unique hands described above. If a letter did not fall into one of the catego-

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[6] Signature matches between the delegated colonial petitions and the 1819 letters were also identified for two further petitioners: Charles Mouncey (CO48/44/780, 810), who delegated to Hand D, and Thomas Palmer (CO48/45/305, 309), who delegated to William Howard and Richard White. In their scribal colonial letters, like in Sephton's, the presence of a signature in a handwriting different from the rest of the letter was, next to the identification of the hands, an additional clue to confirm the involvement of an intermediary. Moreover, for instance in the case of Thomas Palmer, the comparison with the candidate letters has allowed identifying one autograph (158/176) on top of Palmer's two scribal colonial letters (223/031, 223/147).

ries (2) or (4), the decision to view it as scribal followed from some additional clues. In most cases, exceptionally careful handwriting and layout of the letters, features characteristic of the contemporary professional scribes, provided a vital hint (see Chapter Seven for details). Additionally, the gender of the subscriber also offered a potential clue to a non-autograph, as letters from female petitioners were generally few and far between. Some of the few female letters, whose scribes have been identified, had an x-mark (e.g. Maria Harden 201/106; Mary Griffin 178/083; Jane Smith 158/209) pointing to the relatively lower level of female literacy compared to that of males in the 1820 settler community (but see the case of Jane Erith discussed in Włodarczyk 2013b). Table 5.3 also includes collective letters whose handwriting did not match any other in the database (three letters) assuming that their composition process was similar to that of an individual scribal petition, i.e. it was penned by a single writer.

Table 5.3. Scribal letters by unidentified unique hands

No.	Petitioner name	Arch. No.	Category	Additional clues
1.	Austin, John	223/160	–	careful hand and layout
2.	Carter, James	158/073	(2)	–
3.	Cawood, David	223/098	(2)	–
4.	Clark, Catherine	201/074	–	elaborate title, female
5.	Dold, William	223/021	–	careful hand and layout
6.	Erith, Jane	249/256 249/259	(2)	–
7.	Filmore, Elizabeth	223/052	–	careful hand, female
8.	Hanger, Edward Henry	158/060	(4)	–
9.	Heads of Parties	158/094	–	collective
10.	Morton, John	201/001	–	careful hand and layout
11.	Nottingham Party	249/278	–	collective
12.	Parker Party	136/035a	–	collective
13.	Sephton, Hezekieh	158/219	(2)	–
14.	Timms, Thomas	201/251	–	large folio
15.	Thornhill, C. T.	223/020 223/037	(2)	–
16.	Wichman, Peter	221/112	(2)	–

5.3. Geographical range

As I have claimed elsewhere, petitioning was most likely the most common writing activity in the 1820 settlers community in the early years in the Cape Colony (Włodarczyk 2013c: 88). The data presented in this section, although it only involves a limited sample, confirms that the practice of having petitions written down by others was not limited to any specific location in the colony: the 113 scribal petitions may be traced to as many as 19 different locations. Table 5.4 presents the information on the place of writing based on the details of the letters, i.e. conventional date and location.[7] Understandably, the greatest share of scribal letters was penned in Grahamstown, where the headquarters of the colonial authorities in the Eastern Cape were located (41%; including four letters describing the place as "near Grahamstown"). The other more important towns in the vicinity were Bathurst with 8% (including three letters indicating the place as "near Bathurst") and Uitenhage with 2% of the letters. Further towards the southwest, in Port Elizabeth, at a distance of c. 90 miles from Grahamstown, 10% of scribal petitions were written down. A further 6% of scribal petitions name Cape Town, in the Western Cape, as the location of writing. Overall, 73 (65%) of the scribal letters were penned in one of the then major towns of the colony (Table 5.4). The other places indicated in the analysed set are Waaye Platz (4), Clumber (3), Clan William (2), Caffer Drift (3), Kowie (2), Klein Valley (2), Cyler Villa (2), Beaufort Vale (2) and Simon's Town (1). These are either names of areas allotted to individual parties of settlers or small villages. In three letters, the more general region of the Eastern Cape, Albany is mentioned. Simon's Bay, onboard a ship, is another location indicated in four letters. Moreover, three further places mentioned in scribal letters, i.e. Wentworth, Harewood and Wilson's location, refer to private estates. If these are considered, a possibility emerges that scribes travelled to the locations of their customers, or were, by way of a personal acquaintance, kindly asked to pen a letter or two by those in need of a petition (e.g. Howard's letters penned for James Thomas Erith are placed at Waaye Platz, Erith's estate, while his letters for other customers mention Grahamstown, or Salem's Hill, the scribe's address).

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[7] Scribes may obviously have manipulated this information, for instance, to match the place of writing with the petitioner's place of residence, but the reliability of epistolary situatedness is usually accepted without reservations.

Table 5.4. Indicated locations of scribal letters

Location	Letters	%
Grahamstown	46	41%
Port Elizabeth	11	10%
Cape Town	7	6%
Bathurst	7	6%
Uitenhage	2	2%
Villages and individual estates	27	24%
Onboard	4	3%
No data	9	8%
Total	113	100%

As the information in Table 5.4 shows, Grahamstown, where the local ad-dressees of the petitions had their institutional headquarters was the most frequent place of writing. This further suggests that professional writing and clerical services were available there. Considerably lower numbers of letters were written in the other major towns of the colony, especially the ones at a considerable distance from Grahamstown. On the other hand, the further 13 locations accounting for 24% of scribal petitions, where a single or a couple of letters were penned, not only demonstrate the ubiquity of the practice, but also show that petitioning was very much a community exercise while social scribes were to be found everywhere, including on board ships.

5.4. Petitioners

5.4.1. Socio-economic profiles

This subsection seeks to provide some insight into the socio-economic status of the settlers who used scribal services for writing their petitions. In particu-lar, I am looking into the occupations of the 84 individuals who submitted non-autograph letters (see Section 8.2.2. for a similar analysis of autograph letters). The sample includes 10 women only (12%). The classification fol-lows Woods' (1968) division into five occupational categories: far-mers/labourers, skilled artisans,[8] army/navy, trade people and professionals (teachers, lawyers, etc.).[9] Adopting this particular categorisation is useful

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[8] The distinction into labourers and artisans is rather arbitrary, but as Hobsbawm sees it, may be justified by the rough division into unskilled and skilled work (1984: 358).

[9] Woods has conducted a study of the social and occupational background of 630 indi-viduals mentioned in 275 application letters from 1819. Based on this sample and a sample of

here, but requires at least two qualifications. First of all, the classification does not rely on extended systems of economic status, such as the ones based on the division into the primary, secondary and tertiary sector and is indeed somewhat arbitrary. Still, classifications that are more empirically based in demographic and economic indicators are too elaborate to be applicable in this study (Kitson et al. 2012). Therefore, I assume that Woods approach is a sufficient point of reference for a description of economic and educational stratification of the informants. It is also important to bear in mind that some controversy surrounds the primary sources of information on the socio-economic background of the 1820 settlers (Nash 1987: 15-16). In particular, historians of the Cape Colony emphasise that relying solely on settler declarations found in 1819 applications or the sailing lists is fraud with difficulty (Peires 1989: 175). For instance, according to these sources, a party from Liverpool led by Richard Hayhurst consisted largely of 'farmers', who as Nash notices, were actually weavers (1987: 79) and, like many other settler candidates, made false claims about their agricultural experience. In the analysis below I have in general followed the information collected by Nash (1987) and supplemented it with some facts provided by the settlers in their colonial petitions, as combining the two sources may yield a more reliable picture of settler background.[10] Table 5.5 below presents the results:

Table 5.5. Socio-economic background of delegators

Occupation	No.	%
Farmers/labourers	18	21%
Skilled artisans	47	56%
Trade	3	4%
Army/navy	5	6%
Professionals	–	–
Unknown	11	13%
Total	84	100%

1820 settlers, the numbers of skilled artisans were larger than the numbers of farmers and labourers for both the candidates and the settlers (see Woods 1968: 155; Appendix D III and IV).

[10] Not only the sailing lists, but also the information provided by settlers themselves in the colony may be equally deceptive: "[c]lerks, confectioners and piano-tuners were entered on the official lists as 'agriculturalists' in order to improve their chances of selection. Ironically, it was seen as an advantage in the Albany settlement (…) to belong to the 'ornamental trades', when permission to leave their locations was granted only to men who could not (…) earn a living on the land." (Nash 1987: 16).

The majority of the delegators (77%) were either skilled or unskilled labourers and farmers; only a few of them were in trade (4%) and army or navy (6%). No occupational data may be found for 11 settlers (13%), including 8 females. The cohort does not include any professionals, such as doctors, surveyors, etc., who may have had a more extensive educational background. Overall, apart from the 4% of the delegators whose occupations would have involved some education in business (traders), the individuals who used scribal services most likely lacked a comprehensive educational background and represented the lower to middle social strata of early nineteenth-century British society.

Table 5.6. Age variation in delegators

Born	No.	%
1800 or after	10	12.0%
1790s	23	27.5%
1780s	23	27.5%
1770s or before	13	15.0%
Unknown	15	18.0%
Total	84	100.0%

In terms of age grading, Table 5.6 shows that the largest group of delegators (46 people, i.e. 55%) were born in the 1780s or 1790s, i.e. were in their twenties or thirties when they arrived in the Cape Colony. 10 further informants were teenagers before 1820. Only 13 petitioners (15%) were over 50. Although no birth date is available for nearly one fifth of the informants (18%, i.e. 15 petitioners, including 7 women), c. 53% were younger than 35 years of age in the year 1820. Thus, in terms of age, the younger and middle-aged petitioners formed the majority among those who used the scribal services.

5.4.2. Literacy levels

Lack of active literacy competence altogether, or deficient literacy appear to be the most likely reasons for the widespread use of scribes in any historical period. A close look into a parameter in the scribal petitions, i.e. the signature, may reveal some aspects of the literacy of the delegating petitioners, albeit only in the case of individual, not collective petitions. Thus, the x-mark is viewed as fairly straightforward evidence for an illiterate petitioner (8 letters). A signature penned by the hand of an intermediary, i.e. scribal signature, is a less reliable piece of evidence for illitera-

cy, but it definitely does not prove to the contrary (24 letters). Similarly, the lack of a signature of any kind may potentially identify an illiterate petitioner (27 letters), although it is important to bear in mind that one of the structural models of the petition, the traditional one, frequently omitted the signature at the bottom of the letter because of its low informational value (Section 6.3.). On the other hand, a signature in a hand different from the rest of the petition may indicate a literate petitioner, in particular if the hand that left the signature appears trained (40 letters). Table 5.7 presents the above-mentioned features of signatures in the 99 scribal petitions. The remaining 14 collective petitions, which contain multiple signatures, may not be used as evidence for the literacies of petitioners in the same way as the individual letters do. The analysis of petitions shows a 60% to 40% potential illiteracy to potential literacy ratio.

Table 5.7. Signature types in individual scribal petitions

Signature type	Letters	Literacy level
X-mark	8	
Scribal	24	Potentially illiterate (60%)
Unsigned	27	
Different to body	40	
Total	99	Potentially literate (40%)

However, a closer analysis of the literacy levels of the 84 individual petitioners, rather of the individual letters, presents a slightly different picture. In Table 5.8, the x-mark is viewed as indicating a fully illiterate petitioner (7 petitioners, i.e. 8%), but the other types of signature have been confronted with external information on the involved individual to trace the petitioners who were fully literate (11, i.e. 14%). Here, the petitioner's autographed letters in the candidate or the colonial set were used. The remaining signatures in a hand different from the rest of the letter were taken to indicate an informant with basic literacy skills (being at least able to sign their name; 32, i.e. 38%), while the unsigned petitions and the remaining ones bearing a scribal signature are viewed as evidence for potentially illiterate informants (34, i.e. 40%). However, for petitioners whose letters were unsigned matching signatures were found in other sources, such as e.g. collective petitions, and proved their basic literacy. As a result of this analysis, the potential illiteracy vs. literacy ratio

dropped to one of 48% to 52% compared to the 60% vs. 40% suggested by the analysis based on the individual letters.

Table 5.8. Estimated literacy levels of individual delegators

Signature type	No.	%
Full illiteracy	7	8%
Illiteracy (?)	34	40%
Basic literacy	32	38%
Full literacy	11	14%
Total	84	100%

Overall, the statistics presented above undermine the assumption that the petitioners' illiteracy was the core incentive behind their use of the assistance of scribes. Although this motivation may be confirmed in the case of c. 48% of the individual petitioners, there is undeniable evidence that the remaining 52% were at least basically, if not fully literate, while only 8% (within the former category) were undoubtedly fully illiterate. Moreover, the "potential illiteracy" category is partially based on the share of the unsigned petitions. This does not completely exclude the possibility of a petitioner being literate, so the counts presented above are clearly biased towards the illiterate spectrum.[11] In other words, low literacy levels do not appear to have been the primary motivation for petitioning through a scribe.

5.4.3. Complex delegating practices

Several informants show a great variety of petitioning practices. For instance, in C. T. Thornhill's 11 letters for the years 1819-24, four distinct hands may be identified. Of these, based on the matches with the signatures, Hand 2 is most likely his own. Table 5.9 shows the dating of the letters, demonstrating that in his applications for the colonial pass, Thornhill used two different scribes (Hand 1 and 3) and wrote one letter by himself.

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[11] *RCC* could be pursued as a possible source of determining the basic literacy of those petitioners whose letters bore a scribal or no signature. For instance David Cawood, James Cowie and John Jarman, whose petitions in our sample had no signature, feature in a list of subscribers in a collective petition from 1825 (*RCC* 21: 60-62). Although a detailed search in this resource would have most likely resulted in swaying the balance even more to the advantage of the "basic literacy" category, I have not pursued it for the unavailability of the originals, which would allow verifying the signatures. Also, evidence from collective petitions may be misleading. See Footnote 3 in Chapter Seven (*RCC* 22: 355-57).

For 1824, three autographed letters and two scribal letters (in the same hand) are attested. Unfortunately, Thornhill's scribes remain unidentified. Some frequent petitioners, however, like James Thomas Erith (see Table 5.10), were more consistent in their practice: all Erith's letters seem to have been scribal. The analysed database includes 9 of his letters written in the Cape Colony and signed with his name (some signatures possibly in his own hand) which were scribbled by two hands: the professional writer, William Howard (5 petitions) and James' wife, Jane Erith (4 petitions). Erith's candidate letters, interestingly, were also penned by his wife (CO48/46/5, 51, 53 and CO48/52/297)[12] Both Erith and C. T. Thornhill were heads of parties, which required regular interaction with the authorities, hence their need to resort to writing helpers. Moreover, the Eriths also fought multiple court cases (cf. Włodarczyk 2013b), which generated their copious correspondence with the authorities. Still, unlike Thornhill, and many other heads of parties, it is possible that Erith failed to write a single autograph letter. Interestingly, on top of his fairly complex delegating practices, Thornhill served as a social scribe on at least a single occasion: for Mary Griffin (178/083).

Table 5.9. Delegating practices of C. T. Thornhill

Arch. No.	Year	Hand
223/020	1824	Hand 1
223/037	1824	
223/068	1824	Hand 2 (autograph)
223/105	1824	
223/109	1824	
CO48/46/137	1819	
CO48/46/172	1819	Hand 3
CO48/53/379	1820	
CO48/53/383	1820	
CO48/53/395	1820	
CO48/53/377	1820	Hand 4

[12] Striking as this may appear given the strongly gendered character of letter writing in the Late Modern period, especially in the case of official correspondence, the evidence for Jane's authorship is very strong: the four letters signed with her husband's name match the handwriting of 39 in 41 letters signed in her name submitted between 1822-25 (including only two scribal petitions; Włodarczyk 2013b: 213; see Table 5.10). Most importantly, letters in the same handwriting signed by Jane continued in the period when her husband left the Colony for England (which he did in August 1824; Woods 1968: 70).

The majority of the informants only delegated a single letter (90 in 98[13] petitioners), but 8 informants delegated two or more letters, and the number of their letters is 24 in total. Multiple delegators, as the group may be referred to, used a different scribe for each of the letters, with the exception of James Thomas Erith, who used the services of the same intermediary, William Howard, at least five times. Some of the scribal hands cannot be matched with any other hands in the database (6 letters, Table 5.10):

Table 5.10. Multiple delegators

No.	Petitioner name	Arch. No.	Scribe/ Hand	Petitioner party	Scribe party
(1)	Cawood, David	223/098	?	Hayhurst	–
		223/001	Hand O		–
(2)	Erith, James Thomas	136/159	Howard	Erith	Howard
		158/030			
		158/194			
		158/235			
		178/072			
		178/189	Jane Erith		
		201/034			
		201/035			
		223/121			
(3)	Erith, Jane	249/256	?	Erith	–
		249/259	?		–
(4)	Goodes (Goods), Joseph	223/130	Rowles, John	Bailie	Bailie
		223/033	Hand E		–
(5)	Hanger, Edward Henry	158/060	?	Howard	–
		178/168	Howard		Howard
(6)	Palmer, Thomas	223/031	Howard	Willson	Howard
		223/147	White, Richard		Clark
(7)	Thornhill, C. T.	223/020	?	Thornhill	–
		223/037	?		–
(8)	Wright, John & Bonnin, S.	223/151	Hand K	Gardener	–
	Wright, John	158/140	Howard		Howard

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[13] This number includes the 14 collective petitions, and assumes (for the purpose of calculations) that each of these provides data from a single informant, like in the case of the remaining 84 petitioners.

Table 5.10 indicates that the most popular scribe, Howard (4 out of 8 multiple delegators used his services), was approached by petitioners from different parties, including his own (8 letters out of 23 were delegated to him). As for the two other identified scribal hands, John Rowles was a fellow party member to the petitioner John Goodes, but no party connection may be established between Thomas Palmer and Richard White, his intermediary. Overall, apart from confirming the role of William Howard, who was well known as a professional scribe in the 1820 settler community, the delegating practices of multiple delegators indicate that the choice of an intermediary was not a matter of consistency (see Section 5.5.).

5.5. Social and professional scribes

5.5.1. Socio-economic profiles

Social scribes were responsible for between 2 to 6 letters each, and wrote c. 70% (80 letters) of all the scribal letters. The remaining 30% (33 letters) have been penned by the two professional writers, Carter and Howard. Among the 45 scribes indicated above (Tables 5.2 and 5.3), most remain unnamed. Still, for the 17 named hands (including the two professionals; see Sections 5.5.3. and 5.5.4. for details), the availability of external information allows a closer look into their socio-economic background (Table 5.11). Starting with age, of the 14 named scribes (no information was found on W. Prentice), only two were below 30 years of age (Biddulph and Greathead), the remaining 12 being in their thirties or forties during their first years in the colony. Some of the occupations indicated in Table 5.11 (civil servant, land surveyor, schoolmaster, barrister, clerk) suggest comprehensive, in some cases even university education. In socio-economic terms, both tradesmen and artisans were prosperous in the 1820s in the Eastern Cape, mostly due to the building boom and the increasing commercialisation of the interior (Marshall 2008: 73; Müller 1987). Thus the professions of a merchant, druggist and brazier, most likely indicate informants of relatively stable economic status, although it is not easy to make inferences on the education levels of such informants. Involvement in the Royal Navy in the early nineteenth century, in positions such as captain or midshipman, may not have necessarily gone hand in hand with extensive education, but in-

volved a literate individual with a stable financial status with a modest, but permanent income or half-pay, if pensioned (Dickinson 2008). Moreover, some of the social scribes have definitely enjoyed the status of "respectable settlers" (Nash 1987; Ross 1999), either by birth (Biddulph), education (Philipps) or a prosperous occupation (Gurney and Dyason). Five of the social scribes were party leaders (Bailie, Greathead, Gurney, Philipps and Thornhill), which might have been an incentive for them to act as social scribes and for others to approach them as such. Bailie, for instance, penned the petition for Maria Harden, a settler in his own party, while Greathead, Gurney and Philipps wrote collective petitions signed by their own party members. Two further scribes, Jane Erith (the wife of James Thomas Erith) and Isaac Dyason (brother to George), were directly related to party leaders. No representatives of the poorest groups, e.g. ordinary labourers (Marshall 2008: 73) were found among the social scribes.

Table 5.11. Social scribes: Socio-economic background

No.	Name	Occupation	Born	Place of origin
1.	Kidwell, A.	labourer	1782	London
2.	Erith, Jane	? (baker's wife)	1790	Kent
3.	White, R.	commander, RN	1774	Hampshire
4.	Biddulph, J. B.	midshipman, RN	1796	Staffordshire
5.	Rowles, J.	merchant	1790	Oxford
6.	Bailie, J. $\sqrt{}$[14]	civil servant	1788	London/Paris
7.	Dyason, I.	brazier, tinman	1780	Thanet, Kent
8.	Greathead, J. H. $\sqrt{}$	land surveyor	1796	Worcestershire
9.	Gurney, C. $\sqrt{}$	druggist	1777	Kent
10.	Lloyd, H.	schoolmaster	1784	Kent
11.	Philipps, T. $\sqrt{}$	barrister, banker	1776	Wales
12.	Tucker, H.	clerk	1788	London
13.	Prentice, W.	?	?	?
14.	Seton, T.	army captain	1776	London
15.	Thornhill, C. T. $\sqrt{}$	merchant	1773	Durham

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[14]A tick '$\sqrt{}$' indicates a party leader.

The profile of a potential commercial scribe emerging from the analysis above is, unsurprisingly, that of a middle-aged, fairly well off and educated male settler, who most likely emigrated with a prospect of increasing their capital (cf. Lester 1998). The two scribes who do not fit the profile are Jane Erith and Alexander Kidwell. As I have argued in greater detail elsewhere, Jane's involvement in the multiple legal issues related to her husband's party in the colony clearly extended beyond the social role of a wife and mother. Hence, her scribal work for her husband James, exceptional as it may have been, is hardly surprising. What is more surprising is Jane's expertise and creativity in the application of the genre. Alexander Kidwell was described as a labourer in the settler sailing lists, which makes his economic or educational status hard to establish. Still, Kidwell's later career may in a way justify his skills and his community spirit indispensable for engaging in scribal work, as the obituary below suggests:

> Died at Graham's Town on Thursday 13th June of an injury received from a vicious cow two days previous, Mr. Alexander KIDWELL, aged 60 years. The deceased was one of the British settlers of 1820 and formed one of the Committee for the Commemoration services recently held at Graham's Town. (…). For some years he was engaged in a rather extensive retail business at Graham's Town, under the firm of "STONE & KIDWELL", (…). He was much esteemed by his friends and maintained an unblemished character for integrity. He belonged to the Baptist Church which, together with his family and acquaintances, now have to deplore the loss of a valuable member of their respective circles. (Grahamstown Journal; June 20th 1844)

5.5.2. Connections and networks

Although it was only possible to establish the socio-economic status of c. 31% (14 out of 45)[15] of the scribes, further analysis focusing on the interconnections of the petitioner and the scribe, and of the settlers approaching the same scribe, may open some insights into the scribal practice of the unnamed hands. Specifically, then, what kind of connections of a settler to the social scribe may be pursued? Based on the availability and reliability of external information, two types of acquaintance may be investigated regarding the practices of the 14 named scribes and their customers: (1) both belonged to a social network whose existence may

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[15] The number includes two professional scribes, John Carter and William Howard.

be confirmed by party membership, (2) both were members of parties which travelled in the same settler ship. In the case of the 12 unnamed hands (Hand D, E, etc.), neither of these may be pursued, but the factor to be taken into account is the chronology of the letters and the mutual connections of the petitioners using their services. In other words, if two or more letters on behalf of different petitioners were filed consecutively (i.e. bear the same date, or are dated to the consecutive days) and were penned by the same person (most likely somebody who was "handy" at a given moment and at a given location), chance and circumstance may have been the potential motivation of approaching that scribe. At the same time, however, I also looked into the party membership of the petitioners using the same scribe. Overall, the information presented in this section covers 27 (i.e. 60%) of scribal hands, as the 16 hands referred to as "unidentified unique" are excluded from a similar sort of reasoning, while the two professional scribes are discussed separately (Sections 5.5.3. and 5.5.4.).

Comprehensive information relevant to this section is presented in the Appendix (5.2), so the discussion below is selective. Starting with the named hands (see also Section 5.5.1. for the role of party leaders as scribes), John Rowles penned two letters for the members of his own party (Bailie's) on two consecutive days. Thomas Seton wrote a petition for a member of his own party (Parker's). Henry Tucker (Bailie's) served as a scribe for a member of a party who sailed in the same ship (Crause's, the Nautilus). George Dyason wrote a petition for a party member of James Thomas Erith, his neighbour. One of the three petitioners who approached the schoolmaster, Henry Lloyd, was his party member (Bailie's). Similarly, one of the three settlers for whom Richard White served as a social scribe also belonged to the same party (Crause's). For White's customers, moreover, a mutual personal relationship also existed: Grubb was Harvey's son in law. Two letters by John Biddulph, which, according to the included details, were penned at Klein Valley, Clanwilliam[16] (Western Cape, 125 miles north of Cape Town) are two days apart.

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[16] Interestingly, Biddulph's autograph letter, dated five days later and filed consecutively with his scribal letters, names Bathurst as the place of writing. This cannot be taken at face value, as the distance from Clanwilliam to Bathurst is c. 632 miles. It is more likely that S. E. Shawe travelled to the Eastern Cape and Biddulph's scribal letters for him were written in the scribe's location, near Bathurst, not in Clanwilliam.

One is written on behalf of the individual customer (S. E. Shawe), who is also a subscriber of Biddulph's other composition, a collective petition on behalf of the "Free Settlers".

As far as the anonymous hands are concerned, for instance five out of six customers of Hand D sailed on the same ship (the John); two of them were members of Hayhurst's party, the remaining four belonged to the parties of Wainwright, Mouncey, Willson and Liversage. Apart from the last mentioned, the involved parties neighboured on one another. More-over, the petitions were penned within the span of three weeks (10/10/1824 to 11/01/1824). For Hands G, H and I, each responsible for two petitions, the customers were members of the same party (Willson's, Erith's, Calton's respectively). Out of the three customers who ap-proached the scribe referred to as Hand J, two belonged to the same party (Sephton's). Similarly, for Hand K, two out of the four petitioners be-longed to Liversage's party. The two letters penned by Hand N name the ship Sappho as the place of writing and are dated to the same day. For some hands, however, like for instance Hand E, no party or ship connec-tions may be confirmed. Other hands, like T for example, penned two let-ters separated by just one number in the filing order, but one of them was not dated, so their distance in time cannot be specified. For the remaining anonymous hands, the interconnectedness is rather weak (e.g. the two let-ters by Hand S are a week apart), or appears nonexistent (for Hands P and R, for example). However, fairly frequently all the letters in a given hand, both named and unnamed, indicate the same place of writing as Grahams-town (Rowles, White and Hands E, J, P and R) and Clumber (Hand I). This again confirms the central position of Grahamstown for scribal activ-ity. Furthermore, the multiple collective petitions testifying to temporary or lasting alliances of the settlers may be pursued in the extensive re-sources from the *RCC*.[17]

The analysis presented above, clearly suffers from the fact that the majority of scribal hands remain anonymous. Furthermore, detailed in-formation on the involved social networks cannot be established and the

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[17] Pursuing all the relevant connections is obviously beyond the limits of the book. To give just one example, two petitioners who used the services of Hand M/Kidwell (Jarman and Greathead), and the scribe himself signed a collective petition to Governor Somerset (*RCC* 21: 60-62). In the same petition, the signatures of Rafferty and Manly, the customers of Hand K, who were neither connected by party membership or sea voy-age, are found.

connections are sometimes only chronological. Still, both the party membership of the petitioners and their scribes (for the identified hands) and among the petitioners approaching the same scribe confirms the central significance of these networks. Many instances that involve the unnamed hands have also shown a different type of a communal practice: well-acquainted settlers (members of the same or neighbouring parties) approached the same scribe, either on the same date or within a short span of time. In general, then, the customers of social scribes give evidence to the practice being very much a matter of party connections, chance and circumstance, or more aptly, convenience, though sometimes arranged as collective and well planned efforts.

5.5.3. Professional scribes: John Carter

Among the letters delegated to the named hands, the two sets, i.e. those written down by the scribes Carter and Howard, require special attention. The frequency of their mediation in the petitioning practices indicates that both offered paid services, of which the 1820 settler community was well aware. For these two scribes, the analysed database does not include letters for the year 1825, which may be due to the low number of letters for this year in the sample.[18] For the years 1821-22, the database contains five letters delegated to Carter. Carter's activity peaks in mid 1824, with 6 out of 11 of the letters, all but one written in the months of June and July. Three out of the six petitioners who delegated their letters to Carter in this short period must have known one another as they belonged to the parties of Bailie and Carlisle, which sailed to the Cape of Good Hope in the same ship (the Chapman). Moreover, Mary Ann Goodhead, who used Carter's services in 1822, sailed in the Nautilus with a section of Bailie's party. Two of Carter's petitioners represented Wait's party, and two Sephton's party. Social networks may thus have been a factor in the choice of the scribe, but the place in which the majority of the letters were written, i.e. Port Elizabeth,[19] seems to be a more relevant common ground for the settlers who chose Carter as their intermediary.

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[18] See Section 1.2. for details.

[19] In 1820 the village of Algoa Bay was renamed as Port Elizabeth (Hockly 1948: 34) to commemorate the late wife of the Colony's Acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, to whom many 1820 settler petitions were addressed between 1820-21 when he was in office.

Port Elizabeth was a port of entry for the British ships in the Eastern Cape, located at a considerable distance from the major settlement around Grahamstown (c. 90 miles distance). Except for an early letter, which indicated Cape Town as the place of writing (158/034/Fryer), and another letter naming Uitenhage, c. 20 miles from Port Elizabeth, Carter's services were local to Port Elizabeth: all the remaining male petitioners stated that they were inhabitants or worked there. The female petitioners, however, must have only lived in Port Elizabeth temporarily, as their letters mention Nicholaus Hitge,[20] an inn owner, and the fact of staying at the place he ran,[21] as well as the lack of employment opportunities.

In the early 1820s, Port Elizabeth was a short-term place of stay for many. The settlers would have stayed there waiting for an opportunity to board a ship if they intended to return to the mother country or move to Cape Town, or elsewhere in the Colony, as it was the major port connecting the colony to Britain and the eastern and western sections of the Cape of Good Hope. As the 1820 settlers were legally bound to the land which was allotted to them, they could not move freely within the colony or outside without the consent of the colonial authorities. Thus, as I have mentioned above (Section 1.4.4.2.), at the beginning of the settlement, the need to obtain a colonial pass was a very frequent reason for the 1820 settlers petitioning the authorities. In the case of the petitions delegated to Carter, 9 out of 11 subscribers asked for a pass, either for England, Cape Town or an unspecified location. Because of the role of Port Elizabeth and Carter's local services, it is very likely that more letters written in his hand are preserved in the 1820-25 Colonial Office files stored in Cape Town. As the female petitions indicate, it is possible that Carter wrote the letters listed in the Appendix 7.2 in the Red Lion Tavern, which, in the early 1820s, must have been a central point in the small port, both for the locals and for those on the road. Alternatively, the owners or customers of the inn might have recommended Carter's services to those settlers interested in obtaining a colonial pass for England or in addressing the authorities on a different matter.

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[20] Hitge (Hitchie) was born in 1785 in Rheinland (Pama 1983: 163). A plot in the Main Street of Port Elizabeth was allocated to him in October 1821 (Harradine 1994: 19). *RCC* (17: 360) mention the Red Lion Tavern as the place of meetings of the settlers in 1824.

[21] "[I] have for some time past been living with Mr Nicholas Hitge at this place" (178/201/Goodhead).

5.5.4. William Howard

In the database, the number of the letters delegated to Howard for the years 1820-23 roughly reflects its representativeness for the individual years. 9 out of 22 letters come from the year 1824, for which the database includes the greatest amount of letters. As for the party connections, Sephton's, Willson's and Howard's party members used Howard's services most frequently (three petitioners per the three parties; i.e. nine petitioners in total). Three further petitioners who represented three further parties sailed in the same ship (Weymouth), so at least 12 of the 18 petitioners[22] who delegated to Howard must have known one another (Table 7.3).

It is, however, more likely that some material concerns of distance were of greater significance into the practice of delegating to Howard than personal networks. 15 out of 22 of the letters written in his hand include an indication of the place as Grahamstown or an area nearby (Salem Hills or Beauty Vale). A single letter indicates Torrens River, an area close to Bathurst, a town about 25 miles away from Grahamstown. Howard himself and his party were located c. 10 miles east from Grahamstown, on the arm of the Kowie River in Salem Hills (Brunger 2003: 63). Although Grahamstown is mentioned in the letters, i.e. it is the assumed place where the letters were written, a few of the settlers who delegated to Howard were members of parties located in the vicinity of Bathurst (Willson, Erith, Hayhurst, Osler, Calton, Bowker; 9 letters). Apart from Howard's party, also Sephton's, Gardener's and D. Campbell's parties were located close to Grahamstown and Howard's location (8 letters) (Nash 1987; Brunger 2013). James Green's location remains unknown, as he described himself as a citizen of New York and did not mention any connection to the 1820 settler parties. Some settlers mention Grahamstown as their place of work, for instance Thomas Palmer, whose party (Willson's) was actually located closer to Bathurst. This, and the relatively low persistence rates of the majority of the 1820 settlers in the allotted plots as early as 1823 (Brunger 2003), indicated that mobility between the two towns and within the larger agricultural settlement founded in the 1820 was common. Still, some settlers, e.g. James Weeks, confirm being employed in the area of their party's location (Osler's party, Pendonis near Bathurst). Week's letter is, however, one of those three that fail to indicate the place of writing.

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[22] James Thomas Erith delegated five letters to Howard.

Judging by the party locations and further clues in the letters, Howard's services were local to both Grahamstown and Bathurst despite the physical distance between the two towns. The indication of Grahamstown found in most petitions may mean that Howard offered his services at his own location. As a party leader, Howard was also a frequent advocate of the cases of his party members in times of distress and he petitioned the authorities on their behalf (e.g. *RCC* 22: 242). In order to meet the needs of the members of his party, and as former schoolmaster, Howard may have run an office, probably at the place where he lived. The popularity of his services shows that distances within the Albany settlement were not an obstacle to the settlers who needed to have a petition written for them. Hard and fast evidence for the location of Howard's professional services comes from the year 1823. At that time, an Anglican priest, William Geary was appointed a chaplain of Grahamstown and he soon hired Howard as his clerk. At the same time, Howard was appointed District Schoolmaster with a salary (*RCC* 17: 265). Geary's chaplaincy ended in October 1824, but at least for a year or so, Howard would have worked in Grahamstown rather than in his own village, so his scribal services were more accessible in this period.[23]

5.6. Conclusions

A closer look into the scribal practices in the 1820 settler community presented above allows reaching beyond the question of authorship and whose language the data represents to tackle the issues such as: how delegated petitions may be identified in the database; what the geographical range of the practice was; how frequently the petitioners decided to delegate their letters and what the profiles of the delegators and scribes were; which factors may have guided the selection of a professional or social scribe. The findings of this Chapter demonstrate that petitioning was very much a community exercise, while social scribes were to be found everywhere, including on ship board, although the position of Grahams Town was clearly central as far as scribal services are con-

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[23] Howard was also one of the early founders of private schools in Grahamstown (Hockly 1948: 192), so an alternative possibility is that he had an office in his school. However, the exact date of the foundation of the school is not known and more than likely later than 1825 (Marshall 2008: 103). Also a memorial dated to March 1st 1826 describes him as "School Master of one of the free schools at Graham's Town" (CO48/86/200, see Mackay 2015), but no earlier references to his private school may be found.

cerned. As for the profiles of the delegators, I have shown that he (taken the lack of data on females) was most likely a manual worker in his twenties or early thirties. Low literacy levels do not appear to have been the primary motivation for petitioning through a scribe: there is strong evidence that 52% of the delegators were at least basically, if not fully literate, while only 8% were undoubtedly fully illiterate. As for the profile of a social scribe emerging from the analysis above, he (with the exception of a single woman scribe, Jane Erith) may be described as a middle-aged, fairly well off and well-educated male settler, who most likely emigrated with a prospect of increasing an already substantial capital. Such a scribe would probably be characterised by more standard genre literacies (see Section 6.4. for details) than his customer. Thus a scribal petition would be pragmatically less risky than an inadequate and deficient autograph. This shows that crossing a socio-economic and status gap was involved in obtaining scribal services in the Cape Colony. Looking into similar material from Britain, namely the Essex pauper letters, Laitinen suggests that the labouring poor found scribal aids among themselves and were unlikely to cross their social boundaries (2015: 189). In the colonial situation, however, social boundaries were fading (Ross 1999; Lester 1998, 2001, 2002), while the 1820 settler community, at least in the first five years, was fairly small and close-knit, so well-versed experienced writers were at a hand's reach. Moreover, as a result of the emigration scheme, which assigned a host of responsibilities to the representatives of the ordinary settlers, the heads of parties in particular, must have become natural deputies for their respective groups. In the most difficult times, settlers of secure economic status provided help to the poorer members of the community in general (e.g. *RCC* 18: 396 on the case of the Harden family). The experience of emigration may have not only reduced the social distance in the community, but it also encouraged the lower order settlers to seek help and protection among the higher social strata. Obviously, not unlike in the case of the Pauper letters, petitioning through scribes simply involved people in the neighbourhood. The scribal petitions reveal a host of connections and networks of the scribes and the customers among them: a closer look into settler background gives evidence for the practice being very much a matter of party connections or acquaintances struck during the sea voyage, as well as of chance and circumstance, or more aptly, convenience. Sometimes approaching a scribe was a collective and well-planned

decision. Clearly, the analysis suffers from the lack of similar data on the 12 unnamed scribes (referred to as Hand D, etc.). Here, the factors to be taken into account were the chronology of the letters and the mutual connections of the petitioners using the services of the scribes, who remain anonymous. Finally, this Chapter presented a closer insight into the letters penned by the most popular scribes, Carter and Howard, which account for nearly 30% of all scribal letters. It is likely that the general public knew of the services of these two professionals and that their operation was commercial. Further aspects of their work are pursued in greater detail in Chapter Seven. Chapter Six below shows in greater detail the ways in which scribal petitions, composed by both social and professional intermediaries, differ from the autographs in terms of the genre paradigm.

Overall, this Chapter has pursued the autograph/scribal distinction to address the question as to whose data we are working with in the case of historical epistolary material. This basic methodological issue has been a recurrent one in the studies into historical correspondence (e.g. Davis 1972; Wood 2009; Dossena 2012a; Williams 2013; Rutten and van der Wal 2014). From the perspective of this study, pursuing the autograph/scribal distinction contends with some critical concerns. First of all, mediated data do not yield to the same type of analysis as unmediated data, thus the distinction is of basic methodological importance. Secondly, a thorough investigation justifies viewing scribal writing as a phenomenon in its own right, worth studying both from the perspective of the structural models of the practice of petitioning (Chapter Six), as well as with a view to the involved discourse and literacy-related linguistic variables (Chapters Seven and Eight).

Appendix 5.1. Hand analysis: Potential checkpoints

Feature	Examples
Punctuation	
Letter shapes	<r>
	<E>
	word initial <th>
	word initial <Th>
	<y>
	lower stroke shapes
Allographs	<M>
	<S>
	<L>
	<d>
Capitalisation	
Layout	address
	date format
	word repetition at page break
	use of (marked) initials
	indentations
	address forms
Abbreviations	initials with or without '.'
	upper case
Spelling/grammar	Saxon genitive
	(apostrophe or upper case)

Appendix 5.2. Scribal petitions by hand

No.	Petitioner name	Born	Arch. No.	Scribe name or ID (party)	Petitioner party	Place of writing
1.	Free Settlers	collective	136/140	Biddulph, John (Bailie)	collective	Klein Valley
2.	Shawe, Samuel Edward	1787	136/141	Biddulph, John	Parker	Klein Valley
3.	Emslie, Robert	n.d.	223/029	Bailie, John (Bailie)	Cock	Charleston (near Kowie Mouth)
4.	Harden, Maria	n.d.	201/106	Bailie, John	Bailie	GT
5.	Franz, Christopher	1790	223/051	Carter, John (Gurney)	Bailie	PE
6.	Warde, William	n.d.	223/064	Carter	Bailie	PE
7.	Basset, Benjamin	1780	223/056	Carter	Carlisle	PE
8.	Bastow, James	n.d.	178/252	Carter	Wait	Uitenhage
9.	Searle, Edward	1795	178/272	Carter	Sephton	PE
10.	Fryer, Richard	1795	158/034	Carter	Parker	CT
11.	Leathern, William	1804	223/058	Carter	Parkin	PE
12.	Goodhead, Mary Ann	n.d.	178/201	Carter	Scott, George (Captain)	PE
13.	Brown, William	n.d.	223/034	Carter	Sephton	PE
14.	Smith, Jane	n.d.	158/209	Carter	Wait-Barker	PE
15.	Grimble, John	n.d.	223/059	Carter	Willson	PE
16.	Hughes, Robert	1779	158/224	Dyason, Izaac (Dyason)	Erith	Lushington (near Bathurst)

No.	Petitioners	Date	Reference	Hand	Scribe	Location
17.	Petitioners Greathead	collective	178/034	Greathead, James H. (Greathead)	collective	Bathurst
18.	Gurney-Deal Party	collective	201/247	Gurney, Charles (Gurney)	collective	CT
19.	Gradwell, William	1797	223/107	Hand D	Hayhurst	Caffre Drift
20.	Murray, James	1780	223/123	Hand D	Hayhurst	Caffer Drift
21.	Ford, William	1790	223/126	Hand D	Liversage	n.d.
22.	Mouncey, Charles	1776	223/120	Hand D	Mouncey	Wentworth
23.	Stirk, William	1790	223/115	Hand D	Wainwright	Harewood
24.	Pirie, Robert	1785	223/124	Hand D	Willson	Beaufort Valle
25.	Radford, Joseph	1801	223/159	Hand E	Calton	GT
26.	Wead, William	1802	223/075	Hand E	Campbell	GT
27.	Goodes (Goods), Joseph (2)	1790	223/033	Hand E	Bailie	GT
28.	Whybrew, John	n.d.	158/087	Hand G	Willson	Willsons' location
29.	Goddard, Ralph	1802	158/081	Hand G	Willson	GT
30.	Taylor, John	1802	201/122	Hand H	Erith	n.d.
31.	Whittle, Thurston	n.d.	201/060	Hand H	Erith	n.d.
32.	Bager, George	1793	223/153	Hand I	Calton	Clumber
33.	Hodgkinson, George	1801	223/152	Hand I	Calton	Clumber
34.	Sparks, Henry	1790	223/148	Hand J	Sephton	GT
35.	Wells, Thomas	1777	223/009	Hand J	Sephton	GT
36.	Cowie, James	1782	223/150	Hand J	Stanley	GT
37.	Forrester, Richard	1789	223/139	Hand K	Liversage	near GT

No.	Petitioner name	Born	Arch. No.	Scribe name or ID (party)	Petitioner party	Place of writing
38.	Manly, Thomas	1785	223/138	Hand K	Liversage	Albany
39.	Rafferty, John	1797	223/140	Hand K	n.d.	GT Albany
40.	Wright, John Cecil & Bonnin, S.	1775	223/151	Hand K	Gardener	GT
41.	Flinn, Daniel	n.d.	223/002	Prentice, William	Willson	GT
42.	Jarman, John	1780	158/078	Kidwell, Alexander (Willson)	Willson	Bathurst
43.	Kidwell, Alexander	1782	223/108	Kidwell, Alexander	Holder	n.d.
44.	Field, Thomas	1795	158/084	Kidwell, Alexander	Cock	Bathurst
45.	Shepherd et al.	collective	201/040	Kidwell, Alexander	collective	Albany
46.	GT Inhabitants	collective	201/021	Kidwell, Alexander	collective	GT
47.	Abeona Survivors	collective	158/146	Hand N	collective	Sappho
48.	Forbes, Ann	n.d.	158/145	Hand N	Bailie	Sappho
49.	Smith, John	1776	223/006	Lloyd, Henry (Willson)	Willson	Beaufort Vale
50.	Cawood, David (2)	1775	223/001	Lloyd, Henry	Hayhurst	Lower Caffer Drift
51.	Hewson, Thomas W.	1777	223/113	Lloyd, Henry	Southey	GT
52.	Biggs, William	1807	223/071	Hand P	Bailie	GT
53.	Lane, Thomas	1798	201/019	Hand P	Willson	GT

54.	Flanegan, Timothy	1781	223/156	Hand R	Bailie	GT
55.	Wentworth, William	1784	223/099	Hand R	Clark	GT
56.	Lloyd, Henry James	1791	223/111	Hand S	Bailie	Cyler Villa
57.	Wilson, John	1787	223/116	Hand S	Rowles	GT
58.	Great Memorial	collective	223/068	Hand T	collective	n.d.
59.	Shawe-Woodcock (& McLelland)	collective	223/070	Hand T	Parker	Clan William
60.	Howard Party	collective	178/152	Howard, William (Howard)	Howard	GT (Salem Hills)
61.	Palmer, Thomas (1)	1787	223/031	Howard	Willson	GT
62.	Wright, John (2)	1785	158/140	Howard	Gardener	GT
63.	Green, James Samuel	n.d.	223/022	Howard	n.d.	GT
64.	Austin, John George	1795	158/159	Howard	Bowker	GT
65.	Stroud, John & Penny, George	1790	223/149	Howard	Campbell	GT
66.	Watson, George	1787	178/036	Howard	Hayhurst	GT
67.	Cadle, Sarah	n.d.	223/036	Howard	Howard	GT (Salem Hills)
68.	Cooper, Joseph	n.d.	223/143	Howard	independent	GT
69.	Roe(s), David	n.d.	201/045	Howard	independent	GT (Beauty Vale)
70.	Weeks, James	1791	178/292	Howard	Osler	n.d.
71.	Short, Joseph	1786	223/132	Howard	Sephton	GT
72.	Webb, Christopher	1802	223/232	Howard	Sephton	GT

No.	Petitioner name	Born	Arch. No.	Scribe name or ID (party)	Petitioner party	Place of writing
73.	Hogg, William	1800	223/066	Howard	Willson	GT
74.	Bond, William	1880	223/133	Howard	Willson	GT
75.	Lee, William	1781	178/360	Howard	Sephton	GT
76.	Hanger, Edward Henry (2)	1789	178/168;	Howard	Howard	GT
77.	Erith, James Thomas	1789	158/235	Howard		Waaye Platts
78.			158/030	Howard		Waaye Plats
79.			158/194	Howard		Waaye Platts
80.			178/072	Howard		Waaye Platts
81.			136/159	Howard	Erith	n.d.
82.			178/189	Jane Erith		Waaye Platts
83.			201/034	Jane Erith		GT
84.			201/035	Jane Erith		GT
85.			223/121	Jane Erith		CT
86.	Albany Inhabitants	collective	223/191	Philipps, Thomas (Philipp)	collective	Albany
87.			245/059	Philipps, Thomas	collective	Kowie
88.	Wakeford, Thomas	1785	223/129	Rowles, John (Bailie)	Bailie	GT
89.	Goodes (Goods), Joseph	1790	223/130	Rowles, John	Bailie	GT
90.	Coyle, Elizabeth	n.d.	136/033	Seton, T. (Parker)	Parker	East Indian

91.	Martinson, George	1782	158/052	Tucker, Henry (Bailie)	Crause	PE
92.	Griffin, Mary	1791	178/083	Thornhill, C.T.	Ingram	Clan William
93.	Harvey, Richard	1779	223/141	White, Richard (Clark)	Clark (independent)	GT
94.	Grubb, Charles	1798	223/142	White, Richard	Pigot	GT
95.	Palmer, Thomas (2)	1787	223/147	White, Richard	Willson	GT
96.	Hanger, Edward Henry (1)	1789	158/060	UU	Howard	(GT)
97.	Timms, Thomas	1780	201/251	UU	Calton	Torrens River (near Bathurst)
98.		1773	223/020	UU	Thornhill	CT
99.	Thornhill, Christopher Camm		223/037	UU		CT
100.	Erith Jane	1790	249/256	UU	Erith	CT
101.			249/259	UU		CT
102.	Cawood, David (1)	1775	223/098	UU	Hayhurst	Lower Caffre Draft
103.	Austin, John	1776	223/160	UU	Dyason	(GT)
104.	Carter, James	1786	158/073	UU	Mill	Uitenhage
105.	Clarke, Catherine	n.d.	201/074	UU	Clark	n.d.
106.	Dold, William	1801	223/021	UU	Willson	GT
107.	Filmore, Elizabeth	1753	223/052	UU	Sephton	PE
108.	Heads of Parties	collective	158/094	UU	collective	Bathurst
109.	Morton, John	1791	201/001	UU	Wilkinson	Simon's Town
110.	Nottingham Party	collective	249/278	UU	collective	Clumber

No.	Petitioner name	Born	Arch. No.	Scribe name or ID (party)	Petitioner party	Place of writing
111.	Parker Party	collective	136/035a	UU	collective	East Indian
112.	Sephton, Hezekiah	1776	158/219	UU	Sephton	n.d.
113.	Wichman, Peter	1780	221/112	UU	Sephton	GT

n.d. – no data
UU – unidentified unique (no info on the scribe)
GT – Grahamstown

CT – Cape Town
PE – Port Elizabeth
(GT) – petition content implies the location of writing (with no 'place of writing' element)

Chapter Six

1820 settler petition as a communicative genre

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter provides a model for the discussion of the 1820 settler petition from a broad perspective of genres viewed as socially and culturally bound practices. The perspective builds on the concepts of communicative genres and projects (Luckmann 1989, 2009) which are primarily practice-oriented and ethnographic. Still, as I argue below, such concepts may be employed to account for a range of discourse and some linguistic features in historical texts. A coherent framework for the understanding of the genre as a practice is necessary, as petitioning was an everyday activity for the 1820 settlers, especially in the first few years after colonisation (Włodarczyk 2013c: 88). In particular, the approach proposed here focuses on the variability of the internal structure of the 1820 settler petition in order to single out its more routinised realisations and to connect these to the modes and technologies of composition (Chapter Seven) as well as to some features of spelling, punctuation and morpho-syntax (Chapter Eight). Moreover, the conceptualisations of communicative genres and projects allow indicating some aspects of the genre's social materiality which may underlie its structural and linguistic variation. First of all, cognitive factors, i.e. the complex of skills which I refer to as genre literacy, underpin the petitioning practices. Secondly, some external material factors, i.e. scribal mediation and the nature of postal systems, may have directly influenced the 1820 settlers' petitioning choices and decisions. In the discussion below, I rely on metacomments and discourse features of the petition to characterise the involved genre conceptualisations.

In Section 6.2. the framework of communicative genres and projects is introduced. Communicative genres capture the structures of everyday communication and of communicative events at the same time, both as realms of linguistic routines (externalised genre literacies) and the underlying mental habits (internalised genre literacies). Regarding the former, I present the details of the structural models of the petition and discuss the type and range of genre hybridity (Section 6.3.). Regarding the latter, I

discuss the notion of genre literacy (Section 6.4.). The Chapter proposes a materiality based contextualisation of the 1820 settler petition. The choices made by the petitioners in the steps that they take towards the realisation of their communicative projects are explained by three factors: the involvement of social and professional scribes, the petitioner's genre and technical literacy[1] and the nature of the postal services available in the Colony (Section 6.5.).

6.2. Communicative genres[2]

6.2.1. Social materiality

In my earlier work I have provided some background for the significance of social materiality[3] in the study of historical genres (Włodarczyk 2013a; see Barton and Hall 2000; Daybell 2012). In a general understanding, materiality refers to the practices, both social and cultural, of text production and its contexts, as well as the practices of text dissemination and consumption (Daybell 2012: 15). Therefore, inasmuch as it is practice- and context-oriented, social materiality is relevant for a historical pragmatic analysis of letters. Furthermore, I have relied on the notion of the communicative genre introduced in the social theory of Thomas Luckmann (1989; cf. Linke 2007: 474-75 for an overview of the term and concept).[4] Luckmann defines communicative genres as "more or less obligatory solutions to specifically communicative problems" (1989: 160) and this understanding is fairly close to the *genre as social action* approach (Bazerman 1994: 81-82; see Miller 1984).[5] Luckmann's (1995: 97) communica-

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[1] The latter to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

[2] The framework employed in this Chapter has been proposed in my earlier paper (Włodarczyk 2013a).

[3] Materiality of texts is a very broad notion and the social is just one of its facets. A pragmatic perspective focusing on the production related aspects of manuscripts and early books is "pragmatics on the page" or "visual pragmatics" (e.g. Carroll et al. 2013; see Chapter Seven).

[4] Günthner and Knoblauch (1995) also provide an extensive discussion of the concept and its use in the sociology of language and communication.

[5] It is impossible to present Miller's view of genre in greater detail here. Still, the overlaps between her approach and the concept of communicative genres are multiple. To quote some examples: Miller sees genre as "a complex of formal and substantive features that create a particular effect in a given situation" and, while being "more than a

tive genres are "predefined and predetermined", while Bazerman's (1994) genres are "ready-made" and in both cases these are, first and foremost, socially grounded. To Luckmann, however, the communicative genre is "a theoretical second-order construct based on common-sense first-order constructs" (1989: 163), while Bazerman (1994) pays more attention to the histories of specific genres. As I argue below, the perspectives of social materiality and Luckmann's theory are complementary and, when combined, may be used to comprehensively describe the 1820 settler petition as a genre.

6.2.2. Luckmann's communicative projects

Luckmann's communicative genre (1989) includes functions, modalities of production and transmission, personnel and internal structure (see Figure 6.1), all closely tied to specific communicative situations. The material view of genre proposed by Barton and Hall (2000: 6-8; Figure 6.2) covers texts, activities, participants, artefacts and postal services. Apart from the participant category, which overlaps with that of personnel, the two approaches are complementary, and account for a comprehensive spectrum of genre. Combining the two may be particularly relevant to historical studies, where the emphasis on physical materiality is of primary importance, because artefacts are actually the only tangible evidence. Moreover, the dimension of multimodality of interaction, which is an integral part of communicative genres, is lost in historical texts (but see Hübler 2007; Linke 2007). Obviously, the involved oral or mixed modalities of the production, dissemination and consumption of historical genres cannot be recovered to the same extent to which we may study the surviving texts as linguistic and material objects. Still, it is crucial to allow for their potential significance as a factor in the dynamics of genre and its development over time.

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formal entity it becomes pragmatic, fully rhetorical, a point of connection between intention and effect, an aspect of social action" (1984: 153). To Miller, genres are "open rather than closed and organized against situated actions (that is, pragmatic, rather than syntactic or semantic)" (1984: 155).

	functions	modalities	personnel	internal structure
communicative milieus / communicative situations	(narrative, moral, pedagogic etc.)	(oral. written, mixed)	(producers, transmitters, receivers)	

weakly ⟶ strongly

modelled
(obligatory)
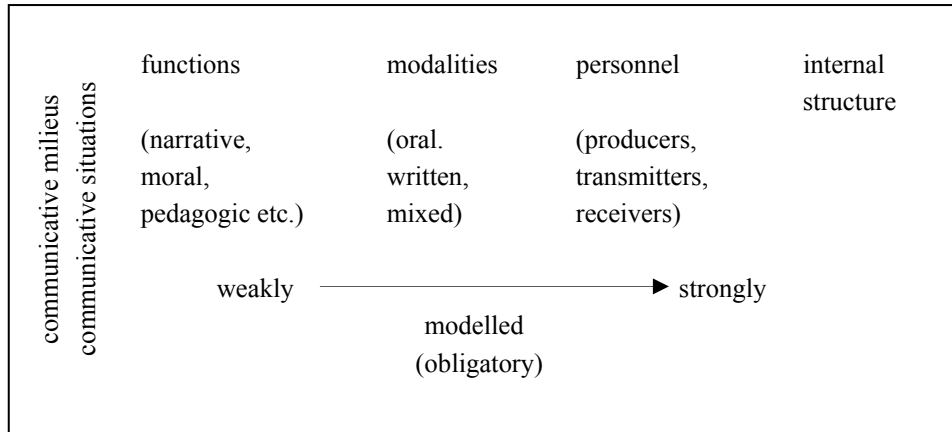
Figure 6.1. Communicative genres (Luckmann 1989: 165)

TEXTS	ACTIVITIES	PARTICIPANTS	ARTEFACTS
	POSTAL SERVICES/ SYSTEMS OF COMMUNIATION		

Figure 6.2. Material components of genre (based on Barton and Hall 2000: 6-8)

The notion of the communicative genre may be seen as deeply pragmatic: although it foregrounds the automatisation of communication, it also acknowledges its intrinsic variability and negotiability (see Section 1.3.). Günthner and Knoblauch are worth quoting at length here:

> (…) in accordance with Hanks (1987) we argue that communicative genres can be treated as historically and culturally specific conventions and ideals according to which speakers compose talk and recipients interpret it. In choosing a particular genre, a speaker makes use of culturally segmented solutions to communicative problems, and at the same time – due to their prepatterning – genres not only "relieve" the speaker but also assist the recipients in limiting the interpretative possibilities of utterances by relating them to the specific genre. The orientation towards generic forms is an important component of inference processes in interaction. (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995: 20-21)

Luckmann proposes that the complexity of the cognitive work on the side of an actor in an interaction may be captured if we envisage the sequential

organisation of its linguistic production (2009: 270). In order to acknowledge the spontaneous nature of linguistic performance and reconcile it with the pre-planned component in a given communicative event, Luckmann introduces the notion of a communicative project. This concept assumes that in interaction there are multiple points that involve a potential of transition from spontaneous to genre-determined production. The theory employs the notion of communicative projects to capture the abstract generic models and it views communicative genres as their specific applications in interaction. Communicative genres involve the "[k]nowledge of linguistic and other semiotic systems, of expressive structures as well as genres". This knowledge "may be tacit and sedimented in communicative routines that can be used almost automatically. It may be explicit (...) and applied in consciously formulated communicative projects" (Luckmann 2009: 270). We may assume that this knowledge is stratified (see Section 6.4.), while communicative genres may be placed on a cline from weakly to strongly modelled. This means that the share of spontaneous vs. predetermined component is gradable and constitutes an interactional variable. Moreover, the externalisation of this knowledge is under the control of users: as Luckmann (2009: 276) puts it, an actor may be "forced to use a communicative genre", or its use may be "optional and he [sic!] is merely likely to do so" or, on other occasions, s/he will "rigorously avoid its use".

With a view to the above, petitioning as a communicative project (Figure 6.3) is a sequence of three temporally ordered obligatory steps realised in different modalities. The initial need for something, i.e. a request, occurs in the cognitive realm and subsequently materialises in the process of text production. As a result, the physical object of a handwritten message on paper is produced and this needs to be delivered to its addressee. Steps 2 and 3 may involve interaction with others, implying mixed (written and oral) modality in the former and oral modality in the latter case. The face-to-face interaction component is optional and occurs only if the petitioners employ scribes or consult another party; moreover, interaction may also take place during message delivery. As for the personnel involved in the communicative project, Step 1 is essentially reserved for the petitioners, although influences from third parties cannot be excluded at the stage of deciding to make the petition. Step 2 may be conducted by the request-makers alone, and if so, depending on their skills and knowledge and on a range of internal and external motivations, they are free to choose between strongly or weakly modelled genre realisations. Step 3 may be performed by either the petition-

ers or a "third" party (including the intermediaries), which may condition the petitioner's choices as well. It is possible that potential face-to-face interaction with the receivers, who evaluate a given request, is a factor conditioning Step 2 as an incentive for professional assistance (see Włodarczyk 2013a).[6] Figure 6.3 is a combined application of the theory of communicative genres and projects based on Luckmann (1989) and the material view of genres as proposed by Barton and Hall (2000) to the genre of petition. It is also potentially applicable to other genres of institutional communication.

COMMUNICATIVE GENRE					
FUNCTIONS	Sequence in COMMUNICATIVE PROJECT	**MODALITIES**	**PERSONNEL**	WEAKLY modelled to STROGNLY modelled	**STRUCTURAL MODEL** 'traditional' or 'new'
requesting STEP 1		cognition			
STEP 2		written	petitioner		
		mixed	petitioner intermediary		'traditional'
STEP 3		oral	petitioner third part receiver		

Figure 6.3. Communicative project of petitioning (based on Luckmann 1989: 165)

The most important implications of the above for further discussion is that the choices made in steps 2 and 3 have a significant bearing on the practice: i.e. they may condition the structural organisation of the petition. Structural patterns of the petition are discussed in more detail below in relation to the formal factor of genre materiality (Section 6.3.). In the next Section (6.4.), a user internal factor, i.e. genre literacy, with its significance for the changing practices of communicative genres, is introduced. Section 6.5. focuses on the external material factors, i.e. the postal systems and the modes of letter delivery in the Cape Colony. Framing the three factors, i.e. genre material-

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[6] Material determinants of the genre (and its change) were integrated with politeness-based explanations in my previous work (Włodarczyk 2013a: 59-62).

ity, literacy and transmission within the communicative project of the petition enables a genre-based analysis of the practice. Chapter Five above has discussed the relevant aspects of scribal vs. autograph distinction. This Chapter allows extending the analysis to pave the way for a more detailed study into the modes of scribal composition and issues of authorship of the professional scribes and to the analysis of changing literacies in the following chapters (Chapter Seven and Eight).

6.3. Petition models

The petition of Thomas Brown (CO48/41/209) quoted below includes the following elements: [0] dateline, [A] salutation/address, [1] application, [2] claiming eligibility, [3] request, [D] closing formula, [E] signature, [F] encoder's address. Typically, a [B] title (omitted here), and petition trigger [C] follow the salutation (Figure 6.4).

[0] Poplar July 15th 1819
[A] to, To the Right Honnerabell my Lord
[1] The humbell Pertishner begs your Lord Ships
Pardon for being So bould as to troubeling you a gain
upon the Subject as going for a Setler to any one of
his Majestyes furren Settelments as you pertishner
Received for answer about 2 years a go that It was
Not Govenments In tention to Send any at that time
but Seing an Advertisement that it was the Intention
of Govenment to Asist Such as would be willing to go
to the Cape of Good hope and [3] if that be the Intention of
of his Ma{g}jestyes Govenment your pertishner & his famely
Will be very happy to In brase the Oppertunyty of Such
a faviour [2] my Lord your Pertishner Is a Poore Man
With a Large familey a black Smith by trade and
and finds it hard to Surporte them at Present
[D] I am your Lord Ships most humbell & most Obedent
Pertishner and for the S{am}e am bound to Pray
[E] Thomas Brown [A] North Stree
Poplar Midx

Figure 6.4. Internal structure and move analysis[7]

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[7] Cf. Section 6.1. in Włodarczyk (2013a: 57-59) and Włodarczyk (2010a).

As the preliminary presentation of the 1820 settler letters has shown (Section 1.2.), there is a clear distinction between the petition from Charles Caldecott (CO48/42/193) and the second letter written by his wife (178/122-123; Examples (1)-(3)). In my previous work I have referred to the two ways of structural organisation of the 1820 settler petition as the *new* and the *traditional* model (Włodarczyk 2010a and 2013a). Actually, only the latter may be described as a genre-specific model, which is also attested in the contemporary manuals and letter-writers (see e.g. Cooke 1812). In terms of prototype theory, which has been applied to genre studies (e.g. Swales 1990), the traditional model may be viewed as an idealised collection of prototypical components and features of the discourse tradition of the petition (Chapter Four). Figure 6.4 presents a petition that differs strikingly from Caldecotts' letters. This example illustrates the fact that the traditional model of the petition does not constrain its linguistic realisation in terms of the standard vs. nonstandard continuum. The petition by Thomas Brown reflects his idiosyncratic spellings (e.g. *pertishner*) and use of prepositions (e.g. *upon the Subject <u>as</u> going <u>for</u> a Setler*), repetitions (e.g. *to, To*), pronoun omission (and for the S{am}e <u>am</u> bound to Pray). Overall, this petition does not conform to the prescribed formality of the traditional model. Nevertheless, it includes its prototypical components. As far as the designation *new* model is concerned, it is in fact a convenience term for a mixed bag of petitions which do not follow this codified scheme of composition (see Pringle's letter in Figure 6.6). Figure 6.5 presents the traditional model of the petition juxtaposed with a letter from William Robertshaw, an instance of the new model. The two models may be placed on Luckmann's (1989) cline of strongly to weakly modelled structural schemes (cf. Figure 6.3), with the traditional one close to the former and the new one to the latter extreme. The models share a range of epistolary features that were singled out in Figure 6.4. These are the salutation/ address (*To His Excellency*; *Sir*; e.g. also *My Lord*) and closing formulae (*Your petitioner will ever pray*; *I have the honour*) as well as signatures and dates (see Figures 6.5 and 6.6 for details). In both, the body of the letter (starting with *My sister in law* and *That your Petitioner*) is preceded by an opening element which is more elaborate in the traditional model. In both models, the opening usually covers the salutation, which in the traditional one is the full official title of the addressee, followed by the petition title, which identifies the petitioner (*The petition of William Robertshaw*), and a graphically separated petition trigger (*Sheweth* or *Humbly Sheweth*). The opening thus covers three steps ar-

ranged in a fixed order and may, occasionally contain an additional compo-nent, the formula *May it please Your Excellency*, preceding the title of the petition. In the sample letters below (Figures 6.5 and 6.6), the closing is longer and arranged in a specific sequence of indented lines only in the new model, but such an arrangement is fairly typical also to the traditional model. Both models frequently separate the closing graphically. Most im-portantly, the difference between the two models features in the body which is fairly constrained in the traditional petition, both in terms of layout as well as syntactically. Anticipated by the third-person address form *To His Excellency*, as opposed to the less formal and direct address in *Sir* or *My Lord*, the distance-marking third-person self-reference in *The petition of* appears and is consistently applied in the remainder of the text. This third-person self-reference on the side of the petitioners (*Your petitioner humbly begs Your Excellency*) is the distinctive feature of the traditional model. Moreover, in this model, the petition trigger *Sheweth* also determines the individual constituents opening with *That*. None of these constraints, which narrow down the spectrum of the user's linguistic choices, are found in the new model. In general, the difference between the models consists in the degree to which they encode the social distance between the producer and the recipient.

To the Honourable the Chairman, and Directors of the
Bank of England

The humble petition of A. B.

Showeth,

THAT your petitioner was brought up to the trade of a watch-gilder, but at present there is little or no em-ployment for hands in that branch of business. That your petitioner has a wife and children, and at present nothing to support them with; that a certificate of his honesty and industry is ready to be produced, signed by three reputa-ble housekeepers; and if you will, in consideration of his distress, appoint him one of your watchmen, he will dis-charge his duty with the utmost fidelity.

And, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Grahams Town 9 April 1823
To His Excellency the Right Honble
Lord Charles Somerset the Governor of the
Cape of Good Hope &c &c &c
    The petition of William Robertshaw
Humbly Sheweth

                That your petitioner having
had a pafs for England, but your petitioner
not having the means of providing his
own pafsage now humbly begs your
Excellency to Grant him a Colonial Pafs
as he has an opportunity of doing better
out of this district and your petitioner
        will ever Pray _ &

Figure 6.5. Traditional petition as codified in manuals (Cooke 1812: 207 and 201/176/ Robertshaw)

Sir
    My Sister in law, Mifs Janet Brown, having obtained a
Situation as Governefs in a family in Cape Town I am commifsioned by
her to solicit for her the favour of being permitted to leave my party
of Settlers now on board the Brilliant Transport at Simon's Bay and
to come up here with her luggage as soon as may be convenient.
As Mifs Brown is besides of a delicate Constitution & not well fitted
to endure the hardships of a new Settlement it will particularly oblige
both her & myself to be allowed this indulgence.
                I have the honour to be with high respect
                        Sir

                    Your obliged & obedient Servant
                        Tho. Pringle

Cape Town, May 6. 1820.
At the Rev. D^r. Philips', Orange Street
Or Shaw's Hotel, Burg Street
To / Christopher Bird Esqr
Colonial Secretary
&c &c &c

Figure 6.6. New petition (136/034/Pringle)

6.3.1. Hybrid petitions

In some cases, the mode of self-reference characterising each of the petition models discussed above (i.e. the third person self-reference for the traditional model and the default first person self-reference for the new model) is inconsistent within a single letter. Such petitions are referred to as hybrid and constitute interesting material for analysis in terms of the pragmatic functions of the self-reference switches (see Włodarczyk 2013b: 215-219 for further details). Moreover, as I have shown above, the traditional model of the petition consists in a set of rigid conventions, the third person self-reference being one of these. Such conventions need to be learned or may be imitated if an instance of the model is consulted by the writer. (In)consistency in the application of one of its features, for instance of the self-reference mode, may thus be related to users' genre literacy and their experience in communicating by its means. In connection to this some questions arise as to the scribal preferences regarding the weakly or strongly modelled forms. For instance, it would be interesting to know if the scribal letters use the strict version of the traditional model and if the third person self-reference remain more consistent in the scribal than in autograph letters.[8]

Table 6.1 lists 31 hybrid petitions, 10 of which are scribal and include 3 collective ones (Howard Party, Petitioners, Gurney), whilst the majority are individual autograph letters (21 letters). Based on the frequency of the self-reference switches and the interfaces of the two models, the following four categories of the hybrid petitions may be proposed:

1. Petition title and opening are drawn from the traditional model, but the body of the petition is consistently marked by first person self-reference (singular or plural), the closing drawn from the traditional model may also occur (13 letters)
2. Petition title and opening are drawn from the traditional model and the body of the petition is marked by third person self-reference with an occasional switch to the first person (13 letters)
3. Switches between the third person and first person self-reference are multiple (5 letters)

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[8] Third person self-reference is non-iconic, therefore it intensifies the processing requirements. Alternatively, it could be proposed that the third party involvement in composing the petition contributes to the consistent use of this extraordinary type of self-reference, because the petitioner is in fact perceived as a third party by a scribe who is writing on their behalf.

Table 6.1. Hybrid petitions

No.	Arch. No.	Petitioner	Hybrid category
1.	136/076	Hare, John (& Foster)	(1)
2.	136/082	Francis, David Polley	(2)
3.	136/085	Latham, Joseph	(1)
4.	136/114	Gowar, Richard	(1)
5.	136/147	Ingram, John	(2)
6.	158/035	Wilkinson, Stephen	(1)
7.	158/097	Stringfellow, Thomas	(2)
8.	158/176	Palmer, Thomas	(1)
9.	178/034	Petitioners (collective)	(1)
10.	178/065	Honey, Jeremiah	(2)
11.	178/109	Bold, John	(1)
12.	178/152	Howard, Party (collective)	(1)
13.	178/357	Ball, William	(2)
14.	201/019	Lane, Thomas (scribal)	(2)
15.	201/034	Erith, J.T. (scribal)	(1)
16.	201/035	Erith, J.T. (scribal)	(1)
17.	201/060	Whittle, Thurston (scribal)	(2)
18.	201/065	Anonymous	(1)
19.	201/235	Ball, James	(3)
20.	201/247	Gurney & Deal Party (collective)	(2)
21.	223/051	Franz, Christopher (scribal)	(2)
22.	223/077	Hockly, Daniel	(2)
23.	223/079	Hayhurst, Richard	(3)
24.	223/116	Wilson, John (scribal)	(2)
25.	223/145	Vallentine, Peter	(3)
26.	223/152	Hodgkinson, George (scribal)	(1)
27.	223/175	Webb, Charles	(2)
28.	249/080	Powell, James	(2)
29.	249/082	Dyason, Isaac	(3)
30.	249/098	Erith, Jane	(3)
31.	249/292	Hanton, William	(1)

The individual scribal letters may be classified as categories (1) and (2). The petitions written on behalf of Whittle, Wilson, Lane and Franz fall within category (2), while the one on behalf of Hodgkinson (by Hand I, the scribe of 2 letters) and the ones written on behalf of J. T. Erith by his wife Jane (the scribe of 4 letters) within category (1).

Category 3 is the most inconsistent in terms of the self-reference. Although the basic frame is similar to category (1), switches are multiple (cf. Jane Erith letters analysed in Włodarczyk 2013b). As Example (8) shows, the petitioner appears to have lost track and hesitates between the requirements of the genre and his personal (*I*) perspective (my italics):

(8)   The Humble Petition of James Ball
        Sheweth that your Humble Petitioner having
        come out in Mr Oslers Party of Settlers & having
        <u>my</u> regular discharge from the Head of <u>my</u>
        Party. <u>I hope</u> your Excellency will grant **your**
        Humble Petitioners request of granting **him** a Colonial
        Paſs as **he** wishes to travel to another part of the
        Colony & without that <u>I cannot gou.</u> <u>I hope</u> your
        Excellency will consider of it & **your Humble**
        Petitioner will for ever Pray (201/235/Ball, James)

The reference *Humble Petitioner* occurs at the beginning and at the end of the letter, which may be considered as a conventional frame in the traditional model. But the switches to "I" occur both in the opening and closing. The third person self-reference occurs again in the request (*your Humble Petitioners request of granting him*), but the sentence contains the "I" perspective as well. There are at least two possible pragmatic explanations for the inconsistent self-reference here. Firstly, the switches to the default self-reference in the request and the final sentence (*I hope*; *I cannot go*) coincide with stance marking or involvement related to the expression of personal opinion. As far as the switches in the first sentence are concerned, these involve the possessive pronoun (*my regular discharge*; *my party*). These, on the other hand, may also reflect the fixedness and frequency of use of the involved phrases in everyday communication: the third person self-reference is harder to apply to phrases used repetitively in speech with the ordinary type of self-reference. *I hope*, referred to as a stance marker above, may be one such phrase as well.

Apart from self-reference, some other features display variability in the hybrid petitions. These involve the canonical features of the traditional model present in the contemporary manuals: [A] salutation (elaborate address); [B] the title; [C] the trigger (Figure 6.4). In Example (9), another element is added to indicate the discourse organising function of *that*. *That* works a means of initiating new paragraphs or introducing new topics [G]. The features are illustrated below:

(9)   [A] To His Excellency Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin. G. C. B.
        Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces.
        Cape of Good Hope . &c. &c.
        [B] The Memorial of Thomas Stringfellow
        [C] Humbly Sheweth
        [G] That he is a Printer by Profefsion, the exercise
        of which Art is prohibited in the District of
        Albany: _ [G] That the Printing Materials purchased
        by the Government, at Cape Town, were placed in
        the hands of Roberts, Surgeon, by my late employer,
        in London. For our mutual benefit: _ [G] That (…)
                (158/097/Stringfellow)

The features singled out above are optional, while the order of [A] vs. [B] is variable. The address is usually elaborate, as in Example (9), but it is not present in some letters (Hare & Foster, Honey, Gurney) or may be reduced to *His Excellency the Governor* (Anonymous). Some petitions do not use the title at all (Wilkinson, Anonymous). Whittle's letter includes an unusual realisation of it: *The Memoralist Thurston Whittle Most Respectfully therwith*. Apart from the letters in which either the title or the address fail to appear, the prevailing order of the two elements is [A], [B], i.e. the address precedes the title as in Stringfellow's letter in Example (9). The petition title very often contains the name of the petitioner; occasionally the adjective *humble* modifies the *Memorial* or *Petition* (e.g. Greathead; Ball, William; Ball, James; Powell, James). The trigger [C], *sheweth* or *shows* is occasionally replaced or supplemented with the *May it please Your Excellency* construction (e.g. Anonymous, Dyason, Erith, J.T.). For instance, in Dyason's letter both types of the trigger are present (249/082). *That* as the structuring element is used in 11 letters with a

greater or lesser consistency. In one letter (Lane), *Your Petitioner* occurs as a paragraph initiating device, an equivalent of *that*.

As the above shows, the traditional model of the petition remains a useful point of reference for an analysis of the hybrid petitions. In fact these could be placed on a scale indicating their distance from the model. For instance, the letter from an anonymous settler quoted in Example (10) illustrates an extreme departure from the model (my italics):

(10)   [A] His Excellency the Governor of the
        Cape of Good Hope
        [C] May it please your Excellency to
        excuse the liberty *of a Settler a lover of Peace* and.
        Loyalty in addreſsing your Excellency about the comforts
        of us residing in Albany under your protection
        There is a man here amongst us (…)
        May it please your Excellency to afford relief
        & I would most humbly suggest that you would be
        pleased publickly to make known that a petition in the
        petitioners own hand writing & diction would be more acceptable
        than those dictated & wrote by others
            I have the honor to be
                Your Excellency Most Hum Servt. (201/065/Anonymous)

The canonical elements of the traditional model, i.e. the third person self-reference and the structural features mentioned in Example (10) are scarce. The *Settler a lover of Peace*, the only third person self-reference present in the letter, may be related to the fact that the writer wishes to remain anonymous and chooses to characterise/introduce himself through these words rather than by name. The address is reduced, there is no title and *that* does not occur as a structuring element. Still, another feature [C], the trigger, *May it please you*, is present (both in the first and the final paragraph). On the contrary, the petition by Stringfellow in Example (9) has all the four features and only two instances of first person reference among the general third person self-reference (hybrid category 2).

Overall, the hybrid petitions may be placed on a scale ranging from the closest to the traditional model to the most distant ones. The quantification below is based on the type and consistency of the self-reference. Category 2 only contains an occasional switch and only to a small extent

departs from the traditional model (-1 point), category 1 scores -2 as the self-reference is mostly in the first person here, while category 3 scores -3 for the multiple switches. These negative scores may be balanced with the positive scores (+1) for each individual feature analysed above ([A]. [B], [C] and [G]). For instance, the score for the Anonymous letter is -2+1=-1 which is 5 points away from the traditional model (scoring 4 for all the features). Stringfellow's letter scores -1+4=3 so it only departs from the traditional model by 1 point. The scores for the remaining hybrid petitions are presented in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2. Hybrid petitions: Distance from the traditional model

Arch. No.	Petitioner	Score	Departure
136/085	Latham, Joseph	-2	
223/079	Hayhurst, Richard	-2	
136/076	Hare, John (& Foster)	-1	
158/176	Palmer, Thomas	-1	
178/109	Bold, John	-1	
178/152	Howard, Party (Howard)	-1	
201/065	Anonymous	-1	
136/114	Gowar, Richard	0	MAJOR
158/035	Wilkinson, Stephen	0	
201/034	Erith, J.T. (Erith, Jane)	0	
201/035	Erith, J.T. (Erith, Jane)	0	
201/235	Ball, James	0	
223/145	Vallentine, Peter	0	
249/292	Hanton, William	0	
201/060	Whittle, Thurston (Hand H)	1	
223/152	Hodgkinson, George (Hand I)	1	
136/147	Ingram, John	2	
178/034	Petitioners (Greathead, J.H.)	2	
178/065	Honey, Jeremiah	2	
201/019	Lane, Thomas (Hand P)	2	
201/247	Gurney & Deal Party (Gurney, C.)	2	MINOR
223/077	Hockly, Daniel	2	
223/175	Webb, Charles	2	
249/080	Powell, James	2	
249/098	Erith, Jane	2	

136/082	Francis, David Polley	3	
158/097	Stringfellow, Thomas	3	
178/357	Ball, William	3	SLIGHT
223/051	Franz, Christopher (Carter, John)	3	
223/116	Wilson, John (Hand S)	3	
249/082	Dyason, Isaac	3	

16 of the hybrid letters show a major departure from the traditional model, the hybridity of 9 further letters may be described as minor while the remaining 6 letters only lack one or two features of the model. Among the major hybrid letters, 5 scribal petitions are found. 3 of these show a minor departure, while 2 are classified as only slightly hybrid. The differences observed among the delegated hybrid petitions in terms of their departure from the traditional model seem to coincide with individual scribes. For instance, two scribal letters classified as slight hybrids (Franz, Wilson) have been scribbled by John Carter, a professional, who penned 11 letters, and Hand S, a social scribe, respectively. Lane's petition, which only lacks a single feature of the traditional model (i.e. *that* structure), was composed by a social scribe (by Hand P, scribe of 2 letters). On the other hand, in the case of two other social scribes for Whittle and Hodgkinson (Hand H and Hand I respectively, each a scribe of 2 letters) and another professional scribe, William Howard, the departure from the traditional model was significant. Similarly, the petitions penned by Jane Erith, who acted as a scribe for her own husband, show a major departure from the model. This indicates that the practices of individual scribes, professional and social, may differ, with some scribes following the traditional model more accurately and some showing much less consistency in its application. Finally, it is important to bear in mind that scribal petitions only constitute one third of all the hybrid letters in the 1820 settler data, while the rest are autographs.

6.3.2. Scribal petitions and structural models

In this Section, the autograph vs. scribal variable presented in Chapter Five is set against the structural model variable below. As Table 6.2 shows, in the colonial collection a clear correlation exists between the traditional model of the petition and the employment of scribes as intermediaries. As many as 89 in 113 scribal petitions follow the traditional

model (79%), including 7 hybrid petitions which show some departure from the model (see Section 6.3.1.). The scribes who composed the petitions for the 1820 settlers employed the traditional model much more frequently than the new model. The fact that some hands have been identified and some named allows tracing the distribution of the traditional model by individual writers, i.e. checking the consistency of their preferences. Starting with the professional scribes, 18 in 22 letters penned by Howard followed this model. However, the second commercial scribe, John Carter, consistently failed to apply it (9 in 11 letters in his hand followed the new model). Carter's single autograph letter also followed the new model. As for the social scribes, Kidwell (1 in 5 letters), Tucker (1 in 1), Biddulph (1 in 2) and Seton (1 in 1) failed to apply the traditional model (Table 5.2 in Chapter Five above for the numbers of letters per individual hands):

Table 6.3. Petition models in scribal letters: Summary statistics

	Letters	Model	
		Traditional	**New**
Identified hands	95	75	20
Unidentified unique hands	18	14	4
Total	113	89	24

A similar flexibility between the traditional and the new model may be noticed when the autograph letters of the identified scribes are considered. Some writers show individual preferences in their use of petition models, but rarely are these completely consistent. For instance, John Biddulph wrote three autograph letters, two of which applied the new model (136/142; 223/158); also one of his two scribal letters used the new model. Still, in a joint petition, which he submitted on his and his brother's Simon behalf, he applied the traditional model (223/154). As for other social scribes, some were consistent in their choices. For instance, Henry Tucker, whose scribal letters followed the new model, also used it in his autograph (158/039); so did Thomas Seton in his three autographed letters in the colonial collection (136/43; 49; 83) and in a single autograph preserved in the candidate collection (CO48/45/882). Some social scribes who have applied the traditional model whilst working as intermediaries tended to hesitate in their autographed letters: in the case of the White brothers and John

Rowles, respectively, one in two petitions was traditional. Isaac Dyason wrote two autograph petitions which were traditional and one which was not, while in Henry Lloyd's case, three letters out of the four autographs were traditional, but like Dyason, Lloyd applied the traditional model in the petition that he penned for another settler. One of the professional scribes, William Howard, despite his regular use of the traditional model for delegated letters, failed to apply it consistently in a joint petition on behalf of his party of settlers (178/152). As for the 18 delegated petitions whose handwriting was unique and remains unidentified, only four failed to follow the traditional model (James Carter, Heads of Parties and the two letters on behalf of C. T. Thornhill; see Table 5.3 in Chapter Five above).

Despite some inconsistency in the individual petitioning practices, in particular those involving the social scribes, the overwhelming share of the traditional model in the scribal petitions (79%) including the insignificant share of hybrid petitions (7 out of 113, i.e. c. 6%; see Section 6.3.1. for details), clearly confirms the correlation of the conventionalised model with scribal writing, i.e. Step 2 in the model of the communicative genre proposed above. In general, the 1820 settler petitions involve evidence for different motivations behind the practice of employing scribes (see Chapter Five for details). Many writers, who clearly possessed the necessary skills and wrote letters in their own hand on some occasions, still chose to employ a commercial or social scribe. For some petitioners, in particular the ones of high economic and social status, secretaries remained part and parcel of both their business and their private correspondence. Still, it may be fascinating to see if some petitioners changed their preferences in this respect and to compare their individual choices between Britain and the Cape Colony. If some of them indeed switched from writing by themselves to using scribal services, or from the new to the traditional model, then it is possible that some specific literacy demands have determined their choices in a new communicative setting (see Chapter Eight for details).

6.3.3. Autograph petitions and the structural models

Overall, the analysed colonial sample contains 132 autograph petitions by 108 informants. In the sample, 68 letters (51%) follow the traditional model, including 21 hybrid petitions, so the two models are nearly evenly distributed. The ratio of the traditional model is thus considerably lower

for autographed than for the scribal petitions. The share of the hybrid petitions is higher in the autographed than in the scribal sample (21 out of 132, i.e. 16% vs. 7 out of 113, i.e. 6%). This shows that the use of the traditional model is indeed more consistent in the scribal than in the autographed letters. In the communicative project of petitioning, overall, the distribution of the two structural schemes indicates a high share of the fixed traditional model not only in the scribal letters, but also in the autographs. All in all, out of the total of 245 colonial petitions, 156 (64%) follow the traditional model, including 31 hybrid petitions (13%). This indicates that the majority of the colonial letters employed this model of the genre and followed its rigid constraints consistently in most cases.

A comparison to the distribution of the models in a candidate sample conducted in my earlier study shows that the share of the traditional petition was dramatically lower in 1819 (the latter ranging between 2% and 12.5%; Włodarczyk 2010a: 16; Włodarczyk 2013a: 59).[9] Sokoll has also observed a very low share of the model for a contemporaneous Essex sample of the pauper letters (2006). In his overview of their formal features, he quotes some examples of the traditional model that he refers to as "petition" (2006: 99-101). In his sample, the use of the strict model is scribal, as is the case for the colonial petition, but contrary to our findings the traditional model is absolutely exceptional in the Essex sample. This, alongside the evidence from the candidate samples shows that in the early nineteenth-century in Britain, at least in some social circles, the traditional model of the petition was an unusual choice. Hence, its high distribution in the Cape Colony is thus even more striking and testifies to the uniqueness of this communicative setting as a special relatively closed local domain of genre and possibly linguistic conventionalisation (Section 1.4.4.3.).

6.4. Genre literacy

Communication by means of genres is largely learned: it requires specific knowledge and experience to write a court appeal, for instance. Historical approaches to genre, as this book argues, may benefit from viewing genres as skills acquired in the process of socialisation (spoken), or more or less formalised instruction (written). In the latter case, in particular, a complex of skills which may be referred to as "genre literacy" is an essen-

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[9] See Footnote 4 in Chapter Eight.

tial prerequisite (Chartier 1997: 11; cf. Whyman 2009: 9-11 on epistolary literacy; see also Taavitsainen 2010: 86).[10] Genre literacy is fairly hard to capture as a cognitive concept, but its reflections may be observed in historical texts (see Examples (11) and (12) below).

(11)	(12)
To His Excellency General Lord C. H. Somerset	To His Excellency General Lord C. H. Somerset **G. C. B.**
<u>Govenor</u> of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope	<u>Governor</u> of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope _
&c &c &c	&c &c &c
The Memorial of George Hodgkinson	The Memorial of George Bager
Humbly Sheweth	Humbly Sheweth
That your Memorialist belongs to	That your memorialist **belonging**
the Nottingham Party of settlers, and that	to the Nottingham party of settlers, and that
I have never left **my** location on any	**he has** never left **his** location on any
pretence <u>whatever</u>, and **have** since being	pretence <u>what ever</u>, and **has** since being
located stroven	located stroven
my utmost towards cultivation by which	**his** utmost towards cultivation, by which
I have expended	**your memorialist has** expended
the whole of **my** little	the whole of **his** little
finances which **I** had on **my** arrival in	finances which **he** had on **his** arrival in
this Colony,	this Colony,
And that **I am** still desirous of	That **your memorialist being** desirous of
going on with **my** agricult^ural	still going on with **his** agricultural
pursuits most humbly	pursuits, most humbly
begs to lay **my** case before **your**	begs to lay **his** case before **his**
Excellency	Excellency **the Governor**
for his consideration, And humbly prays	for his consideration, And humbly prays,
your Excellency to grant **me** a <u>lone</u> of	**his** Excellency to Grant **him** a lorne of
600 RDS on the usual terms, to enable	500RDS on the usual terms to enable
your memorialist to proceed with some	your memorialist to proceed with some
spirit, and hopes of succeſs	spirit and hopes of succeſs _
And your memorialist as in duty bound	And your memorialist as in duty bound
will ever pray	will ever pray
George Hodgkinson	George Bager
Clumber	Clumber
<u>Nov^r</u> 1824	<u>Novem^r</u> 1824
(223/152/Hodgkinson)	(223/153/Bager)

Note: in the table above, the superscript letters (agricult^ural, Nov^r, Novem^r) are original manuscript superscripts.

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[10] Whyman's concept of epistolary literacy includes the use of punctuation, indented paragraphs, capitalisation and flourished signature in private correspondence in the Late Modern period (see Chapter Eight for further details).

The petitions above (Examples (11) and (12)) are the only ones penned by a scribe referred to as Hand I. The limited evidence renders it impossible to confirm the authorship of one of the subscribers, George Hodgkinson (b. 1799),[11] a labourer, or George Bager (b. 1793), a gardener, both of Calton's party from Nottingham. The two petitions, however, are very close indeed. If the minutiae of punctuation and spelling are ignored, the wording of the two letters is identical in c. 85%. The elements marked in bold (20 out of 146 words in Hodgkinson's petition and 25 out of 156 words in Bager's petition) are mostly self-reference items and these set the two letters apart. Hodgkinson's petition uses the *I-* self-reference in most cases, while Bager's uses third person self-reference consistently. Some other differences may be noticed in the underlined words, such as the *r*-full vs. *r*-less spellings: *govenor* "governor" and *lone, lorne* "loan", with the latter item most likely indicating a hypercorrection. Apart from this, Bager's petition includes other features which indicate a higher formality level: the elaborate address is extended to cover the G. C. B. abbreviation (Grand Cross of the order of the Bath) following the name of the addressee and boosting the expression of reverence towards them. *Your Excellency* is replaced[12] with *His Excellency* the Governor, and the distance to the addressee is amplified. The two letters constitute invaluable evidence for the high level of awareness of the significance of the self-reference mode among the petitioners, or their scribes, by the same token confirming their advanced (meta)knowledge of the genre. Regardless of the possible model or exemplar used for the composition of the two petitions (memorised, from a manual or based on an authentic petition), the involved scribe was clearly aware of the boundary between the fairly neutral core, which remained unchanged in both letters, and the pragmatically sensitive self-reference, which he skillfully manipulated. Unfortunately, no external evidence exists to offer an explanation for the motivations behind the use of the distinctive modes of self-reference in these two letters. Clearly, however, the involved scribe aimed at differen-

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[11] There is some evidence that Hodgkinson was literate and corresponded with the authorities. For instance, he filed official complaints in relation to the magistrate fees for his first marriage and there are some references in Colonial Office letters to these. Moreover, his name is signed on two separate collective documents in *RCC* volumes 16 and 18, but I have no access to the originals to compare the hands and verify the signature.

[12] Following the filing numbers of the two letters it may be assumed that the writing of Hodgkinson's petition preceded that of Bager's.

tiating the pragmatic import of the petitions and his genre literacy levels enabled him to achieve this goal. With a view to the institutional preference for procedural and informational rather than involvement-oriented modes of writing followed by the Colonial Office (Włodarczyk 2013b: 422; cf. also Włodarczyk 2015: 173), Bager's petition may have had an advantage over Hodgkinson's letter, because it was closer to the conventionalised traditional model. Moreover, bearing in mind the insistence on "appropriateness" in the respectable circles of the English society in the Late Modern times, the colonial officials may have been more favourably disposed towards a prescribed mode of the petition than towards its modified versions, such as the hybrid petitions or the new model.

Genre literacy, with its emphasis on competence, may be placed within a more general social materiality approach (Barton and Hall 2000: 6-8) in which the "activities" of language users feature as components of genre (Figure 6.2). Genre literacy needs to be viewed as just one aspect of the complex system of literacies (see Chapter Eight). Its reflections are manifested on the discourse level, for instance, in terms of the structural models or components of the petition as discussed above. Users of genres differ in terms of the level and nature of individual genre literacies and are likely to be aware of their own (in)competence. Clearly, users' educational background and experience in letter writing in general, and petitioning in particular, determine the features of structural composition as well as other facets of discourse and language. On the other hand, as Barton (2007: 41) claims, users themselves are in control of the ways in which their genre competence surfaces in their activities and are free to model their practice in accord with their motivations (cf. Luckmann 2009: 276; and Section 6.2.). As a consequence, many historical letters may on the surface be deceptive, in terms of the encoders' genre literacy. In particular, if petitioners delegate writing, their own knowledge and skills remain obscure, and only indirectly attested, although some predictions may be made in this respect. For instance, it may be assumed that users whose genre literacy was limited may have resorted to professional assistance and delegated the writing of a petition, consulted manuals or more experienced writers, just as many 1820 settlers did. This type of delegated writing may be viewed through the lens of the distinction into dominant and vernacular literacies (Street 1993), a literacy continuum. According to Barton "[d]ominant literacies originate from the dominant institutions of society. Vernacular literacies have their roots in everyday life" (2007: 38;

cf. Linke 2007: 483). Similarly, genre literacy may be viewed as a continuum of skills, with the notions of dominant and vernacular literacy as its two extremes (cf. the analogy of strongly to weakly modelled in Luckmann's view of genre; Figure 6.1). It is likely that some of the 1820 settlers did not feel comfortable with their own writing or petitioning skills, so they were eager to find ways of accessing the dominant literacies. Professional, or even social assistance, would have been a good way to overcome the insecurity regarding one's own competence.[13] Despite the fact that the employment of additional resources required some extra time (and possibly financial means), a lot was at stake. The need to present a petition that reflected the dominant types of literacy may have also been oriented at the recipient expectations, while securing recipient satisfaction would have been likely to increase the petitioner's chances of success. As I have shown elsewhere (Włodarczyk 2013d and 2015; and Chapter One), the practices of the Colonial Office may be described as a specific institutional culture of correspondence, with the contemporary code of gentlemanly conduct, and that of the British respectable society, governing and constraining its practices. The petition, too, must have been governed by a range of institutional constraints which were built, among others, on the social asymmetry of author and recipient, so the relevant literacy demands on the side of the recipient were fairly high. It may be assumed that the addressees of institutional letters were likely to have a preference for conventionalised forms, standardised spelling and neat handwriting. Alternatively, such a representation of addressee expectations may have developed among the 1820 settler community, not only on the abovementioned grounds, but also in relation to the nature of the communication cycles described above (Section 1.4.). Dominant literacy demands are relevant to the analysed data and are a frequent target of authorial metacomments that emphasise the lack of skills or knowledge of the appropriate mode of application.[14] For example, Daniel Hockly, who applied in 1819 and 1820 (136/070), failed to make an apology for his mode of application until his letter of 1824:

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[13] Linguistic insecurity is Labov's term (1966, 2001), a feature of lower middle classes which are considered to be the most ardent social climbers. Users affected by linguistic insecurity tend to aspire to the use of standard language as the code of the socially dominant groups, i.e. overtly prestigious linguistic usage.

[14] Obviously, similar metacomments, especially concerning errors resulting from haste, may also be read as conventionalised, in letter-writing in general (Austin 1973).

(13)   should your Excellencies Memorialist
        have in this Instance acted informally
        he hopes it will be pardoned as he is quite
        Ignorant of the regular channel to make
        application this being first (223/077/Hockly)

Other settlers have made similar metacomments:

(14)   If Sir I have addreſsed you too freely, I must rely on your
        liberality for Pardon (249/xxx/Brown, John)

(15)   as I am totally unacquainted with the Mode of
        proceeding in Such a Case (178/044/Shawe)

Genre literacies, however, do not translate in a straightforward manner into the choices made in the communicative project of petitioning (see Chapter Five for more details), either in terms of the structure or the options in its individual steps. Still, the metacomments above testify to the on-going metadiscussion of the practice in the 1820 settler community. Moreover, the evidence provided by the petitions analysed at the beginning of this section (Hodgkinson's and Bager's petitions) prove that the involved scribes were well aware both of the structural differences between the two petition models and of the ways to skilfully manipulate the modes of self- and other-reference, most likely with a view to the pragmatic import of the petitions.

6.5. Postal systems and modality

In this section, I would like to propose that the mode of transmission of petitions may have influenced aspects of their composition. This factor is a component in the material view of genres proposed by Barton and Hall (2000: 4-6; cf. Figure 6.2), described as postal services and systems of distance communication. When the 1820 settlers arrived in the Eastern Cape, where the majority of the petitions were written (see Chapter Five), a system of post offices based on the British model might have been conceived of (Thompson 2000: 67), but was rather hard to implement without efficient networks of transport. It is thus very likely that, before a central system took an even incipient shape, postal delivery was largely a matter of

chance, or more or less successful private mail arrangements (Campbell 1987: 19 talks about "primitive postal arrangements" in 1806). The 1820 settlers complained about the lack of access to postal services of a more convenient type (see Dampier 2000: 93), while letter-writing was often timed by the opportunity of using "the Post". For instance: "I write my present in great haste for availing myself of the Post" (136/049/Seton).

The collection and delivery of the post may have indeed been fairly infrequent. James Thomas Erith, in two letters penned by his wife Jane, counts the delay of the replies expected from the Colonial Office against the frequency of postal services:

(16)   four Posts having now alapsed with out any answer from your
        Excellency (201/034/Erith, J.T.)

(17)   [I] take the liberty of reminding your Excellency that two more
        Posts has now elapsed (223/121/Erith, J.T.)

Erith's letters were dated in Grahamstown and Cape Town respectively, and based on their time distance from the earlier letters to which they refer we may conclude that post delivery and collection took place about every 10 days in both locations. A letter posted in the Eastern Cape, where most of the settlers were initially located, might have travelled for about 7-10 days to reach Cape Town in the Western Cape, but weather conditions might have slowed it down even further.[15] In other places, especially in the Eastern Cape, the availability of the services would have been even more limited. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, the first post office opened only in 1822, but for the other main cities in the Eastern Cape (Uitenhage or Grahamstown), and clearly, in the Western Cape, the English-based position of Postmaster must have come into existence more than a decade earlier, shortly after the second British occupation in 1806. In 1824 in Grahamstown, where the local representatives of the colonial authorities resided, letters seem to have circulated fairly efficiently, especially to and from the said official institutions.[16]

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[15] See C. T. Thornhill to Harry Rivers (September 13th 1824; *RCC* 18: 397).

[16] See John Bailie to Harry Rivers, the Landdrost, written in Grahamstown and acknowledging receipt of "your letter of yesterday's date" (*RCC* 18: 396).

Clearly, the arrival of the 1820 settlers induced more intense develop-ments in postal services and, above all, an increased demand for staff and infrastructure (see *RCC* 22: 201-202 on the establishment of postal ser-vices in the Eastern Cape). In May 1823, the Postmaster General, Brink, wrote to the Colonial Secretary to support a request for a salary increase that had been made earlier by postholders from George, a town in Western Cape. Brink described the growing gap between the demand for efficient transportation of the mail and the means designated to this end: "the mails transmitted from this office by the Eastern Post route[17] have been lately considerably enlarged, and it often happens the Mail is so heavy (…) that one Horse is quite unequal to carry it and the Post boy together, conse-quently two Horses must be provided for its conveyance" (*RCC* 22: 213). This illustrates the rather unsophisticated nature of the postal services. In another location in the Western Cape, one of the oldest towns in South Af-rica, Clanwilliam, their functioning also left much room for improvement, as one petitioner indicated:

(18)   the post Office at
          Clanwilliam appears to be conducted
          in a very irregular manner (…)
          The postmaster Mr Bergh acknowledges
          having broken open & supreſsed
          a letter written by me and addreſsed
          to O. M. Bergh Esg^r· Four & twenty Rivers
          Mr Bergh very seldom attends
          to the receipt or delivery of letters it
          being intended to different persons
          and conducted in different and
          uncertain parts of the Village
          Letters have sometimes been
          hither in by a Servant maid, (a
          Bastard Hottentot) in the absence of
          any more proper person for the performance
          of this duty (223/136/Woodcock)

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[17] The route connected the Western Cape, and Cape Town where Brink's office was located, to the Eastern Cape.

Finally, the cost of postage[18] was not trivial, exceeding 1 "skilling"[19] per ounce (*RCC* 18: 57-58). This sum, compared to the official register of wages for Cape Town for 1824, ranging from 1.5 Rix Dollars to 3 Rix Dollars per day for manual labour (*RCC* 20: 357-58), is strikingly high.

As the letter above and numerous metatextual remarks suggest, be it for reasons of censorship, inadequacy and irregularity of the postal services, or simply for convenience's sake, economy, or for lack of other alternatives, petitions must have often been delivered in person by the author or messenger to a local colonial official (a district supervisor, the Landdrost or Magistrate), who then passed these on to the Governor or his representatives in Cape Town. Jane Erith, for instance made the following remarks (see Włodarczyk 2013b for further details):

(19)   upon my delivering this Letter Myself
        to the Landdrost (178/127/Erith, Jane)

(20)   for Mr Rivers well knew that every Letter he had from me
        caused me a walk of 36 Miles (178/201/Erith, Jane)

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[18] Although postage duty on private letters in the Late Modern period in Britain was on the recipient, the franking privilege exercised by civil servants, such as MP's, etc. which allowed sending and receiving letters for free, was extensive and was even widened further between 1806-19 (Hemmeon 1912: 168). Still, a cursory glance at the postal stamps in the candidate letters shows variable practices: many petitions addressed to the Head of the Colonial Office were indeed stamped red as free with what in philatelic world is know as "crown circle frees" (e.g. CO48/44/410 Lea, William; CO48/45/216 Perkin, John). Moreover, civil servants in their official capacity used the "On His Majesty's Service" note to send their letters free of charge (CO45/45/207 Parker, William; cf. *RCC* 31: 68). But there are also indications of the two-penny post paid on such letters (e.g. CO48/45/512; Radziminski, Joseph; CO48/45/309 Palmer, Thomas), as well as black stamps marking unpaid letters (CO48/45/498 Roe, Benjamin). Clearly, the postal practices in Britain were far from uniform, so it is even harder to establish the details of the franking privilege of the colonial officials in the Cape Colony. Thus it is only a speculation that the privilege would have covered the letters from the citizens, both in- and out-letters (cf. *RCC* 31: 68 on the proposal to impose postage on private letters of the officials in 1827). This would obviously only be significant if regular postal services had been easily and regularly available in the Colony, which cannot have been the case for the first five years. In the colonial collection, I have only been able to find a single stamp of Grahams Town Post Officer from 1824 (223/029/Emslie) and a free postage stamp (Hockly 223/077(7); letter to P. G. Brink).

[19] 1 Rix dollar was worth 8 shillings (Neumark 1957: xiii).

Similarly, clerks of the Colonial Office employed messengers and used their services on a daily basis.[20] Moreover, some petitions include allusions to, or even reports of, the conversations taking place in face-to-face interaction on the occasion as Examples (21)-(24) show.

(21)   During your last visit to Albany Mrs Erith had the honor
        to hand you her Memorial, detailing the cruel executions
        I have endured from Capt Trappes (158/194/Erith, J.T.)

(22)   but upon our arrival here not being permitted to land
        we took the earliest opportunity of forwarding your letter
        which we received in Earl Bathurst Office and which we were
        told would be conducive to our interest personaly to deliver into
        your hands (158/145/Forbes, Ann)

(23)   When at Cape Town I should have done myself the honor
        of waiting upon you in person, and to deliver the Box
        I brought from *ton[21] {and} which I was particularly
        desired to give you into your own hands (136/091/Atherstone)

(24)   [I] was a free Settler & obtained the necefsary discharge from
        the head of the party (Hezekia Sephton) which I delivered to M^r
        Onkroid Secretary at Grahams Town who promised the pafs sh^d.
        be ready in One month & on my applying at the experation of
        that time, was informed my papers were mislaid. I had therefore
        again had to obtain from the head of the party a second certificate
        & take it to Uitenhage & on my delevering it to Col^l Cuyler
        Landrost has kindly promised it would be received
        in three weeks (158/009/Ames)

As I have shown elsewhere (Włodarczyk 2013c and 2015), many petitioners mentioned making appointments with, or seeing the colonial clerks in person either at their offices or at settler locations, or stated that they were acquainted with some officials.[22] It may be proposed that the possibility to en-

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[20] Messengers were local clerks listed as salary recipients (*RCC* 15: 326).

[21] Illegible, a place or a personal name.

[22] E.g. "Memorialist waited on the Landrost" (249/050/Marshall); "to avail myself of your Excellency's permifsion to wait upon you" (136/066/Goodwin); "Expecting every

gage in face-to-face interaction with the officials might have affected the psychological distance between petitioners and addressees. Moreover, also regular petitioners, even if they did not interact with the addressees directly, would have had a chance to develop a slightly less formal relationship with the representatives of the Colonial Office than it had been the case in Britain (see Section 1.4.4.2.). For these letter-writers, a change in the conceptualisation of the genre was likely to have taken place. If we relate this observation to the framework of the petition as a communicative genre and project, the communicative setting of the addressee vs. the petitioner has indeed changed to allow face-to-face interaction. Consequently, the content, structure and the language of the letters may have been affected. The reasons behind the change may have involved the reduced physical and psychological distance to the addressee, the familiarity of individual institutional addressees (face-to-face interaction) and may have determined the "personal" nature of the social act of submitting a petition (see Włodarczyk 2013a and 2013c for details; cf. Landert 2014: 37-58). Linguistically, this may have surfaced in the increasingly expressive tone of the correspondence and a departure from genre constraints. As I have shown in my previous analyses, the most prolific correspondents, William Parker and Thomas Willson not only failed to employ the traditional model, but also negotiated their positioning against the addressee, as well as their even least plausible demands. This could have been achieved by linguistic means of personal involvement, as in the case of Jane Erith, or by highly emotionally loaded persuasive devices. This "personalisation" of the genre, however, cannot have been the only outcome of the diminished psychological distance to the addressee and the changes in genre conceptualisation. For some petitioners, face-to-face interaction involved in petitioning might have had the opposite effect. As I have shown before, its other facet is that it may have stimulated the image concerns of the users in front of their social superiors. Thus, this component of the communicative project of the petition may account for the aspirations to dominant literacy referred to above (Section 6.4.; cf. also Włodarczyk 2013a for self-politeness motivations). Such aspirations shine through the following extract from a petition by John Marshall who suggests that his course of action was constrained by recipient reaction and their need to be duly respected:

Day the Honor of Seeing you here" (136/069/Butler); "When in Cape Town I had the Honor of handing you the Memorial praying" (136/130/Butler).

(25)   it was the intention of Memoralist
        to have sought redreſs by an action at law, but
        which intention he has Suspended, on hearing of your
        Lordship design to visit the Frontier, deeming it
        more respectful to lay his complaint in the instance
        before your excellency which he now does with the
        utmost submiſsion (249/050/Marshall)

At the same time, Marshall's own self-image was at stake: he explicitly indicated his powerless position ("utmost submission"), which may be seen as a convention of the genre (Fitzmaurice 2002b; Peikola 2012). However, there is also a possibility that such explicit mention of his powerless position was not conventional, but strategic (Held 2010). Still, what is most important to this discussion, he names "Your Lordship design to visit the Frontier" as the factor that shaped his actions. His metacomment allows linking potential face-to-face interaction and familiarity with the addressees to petitioner aspirations to the dominant (genre) literacies.

Notwithstanding direct interaction, petitioning was still an official procedural move different to and separate from seeing government representatives eye to eye, as one settler who relates her attempt to meet a local colonial official, Harry Rivers in 1823, illustrates:

> About the latter end of September, I went, at the persuasion of Mr. Bailie, in his waggon to Graham's Town, and after staying a fortnight at a friend's house, and calling repeatedly upon Mr. Rivers, I got an interview. He said he could do nothing for me; he was sorry; but every body applied to him for relief, and he had nothing to give them or me. At last he called in the Messenger, and desired him to give me some rice. I then asked, as I could not maintain myself and three children, if I could not get a free passage to England ? He said that I might memorialize, and he would back it. I got Mr. Bailie to draw it up. I took it myself; but have never heard more about it. (Statement by Maria Harden,[23] *RCC* 22: 255).

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[23] Due to tragic circumstances of the family and a failure of the colonial authorities to provide aid they had asked for multiple times, Harden's case is covered in great detail by *RCC* (22: 249-285). The interview reported above was obtained at a considerable cost to Maria Harden: she had to travel the distance of 46 miles, as her situation was hopeless following the death of her husband. Moreover, shortly before making the trip to Grahamstown she had lost a child and given birth to another.

Harden presented her request in face-to-face conversation, but was nevertheless instructed to "memorialize", or, more aptly, reminded that she "might" try petitioning for her case and that Rivers would support it with his authority. Still, he made it clear that it was not within his competence to make the decision. Following his advice, Maria Harden had her petition written down by John Bailie and delivered it in person to the local officials. Ultimately, however, the outcome of her desperate attempt to receive help from the colonial institution resulted in nothing other than a reluctantly dispensed ratio of rice.

The metacomments presented above may be taken to reflect the ongoing metadiscussion on the petitioning practice, its procedural constraints and success rates. As I indicated in Section 1.4.4.3., a small local 1820 settler community, due to the nature of the situational context of the exchange, may have been forced to make their own inferences as to the most effective modes of submitting a petition. The case of Maria Harden, an ordinary citizen, widowed and impoverished, shows that apart from the institutional written act of petitioning, face-to-face interaction with petitioners and third parties in support of individual cases were common practice. Submitting a petition was a citizen right and so was getting a private interview, regardless of the social distance to the addressees or the economic position of the colonial subjects. In 1819, citizen access to the Colonial Office was limited to the "respectable" social circles. In the Cape Colony, this was no longer the case. Thus the 1820 settlers were ready to go to all lengths in both the submission of their petitions (the use of scribal mediation), as well as in employing other resources to support their request. Such attempts were obviously designed at increasing the chances for a successful petition and illustrate the mechanisms of recommendation and patronage that operated in the Cape Colony just as they did in Britain in the Late Modern period (Bourne 1987; Laidlaw 2005). Petitioning may have been an individual written official act, but supporting the chances for the execution of their request has been a communal, multimodal and semi-official or even personalised activity.

6.6. Conclusions

In this Chapter I applied the notion of communicative genres to the 1820 settler data. According to Linke, "communicative patterns or norms are more than cognitive entities, that they represent, more than commands and prohibi-

tions in the *minds* of communication partners" (2007: 483; italics original). As the discussion has shown, such patterns also involve aspects of social materiality. Social materiality "contextualises epistolary practices, establishing the conditions of writing and reading, the range of literacies (written, visual and oral) associated with letter-writing, the role of secretaries, amanuenses, servants and bearers, the environments and spaces in which letters were composed, received and read" (Daybell 2012: 16). The combined framework of communicative genres, projects (Luckmann 2009) and the social materiality of the epistolary communication of the past has elucidated the dynamics of the 1820 settler petition. In particular, the proposed perspective has opened insights into the changing distribution of the traditional petition model between the candidate letters and the 1820 settler collection (see Chapter Eight for further details). The colonial petitions, viewed in the context of the lack of efficient long distance communication systems, might have been a sequential, multimodal, multi-participant enterprise (i.e. communicative project; Luckmann 2009). Moreover, the analysis has shown that the collaborative petitions have a strongly modelled character (79% of the scribal letters followed the traditional model). This fact may be explained by the involvement of intermediaries with high levels of genre literacy. Moreover, the involved social and professional scribes may have based their own choices on the epistolary preferences of the recipients as a community of professional letter-writers. Official correspondence may have thus provided a source of inferences as to the recipient expectations and the petitioners oriented themselves more towards the prestigious modes of institutional epistolary exchange. Moreover, not only the scribes, but also a considerable number of the autograph petitioners (c. 50%) employed the traditional model, mostly with a great degree of accuracy. It is thus likely that, regardless of the modes of petitioning, some external contextual factors influenced the petitioning practice of the 1820 settlers; i.e. their decisions had been determined by the factors of social materiality (postal systems, modes of delivery). Regular interaction with the colonial authorities that resulted from the conditions of letter delivery and the modes of operation of the Colonial Office in the Cape Colony is obviously just one factor that might have influenced the language of the petitions and petitioner choices in the communicative project overall. Other factors, such as, for example, time and space constraints, haste, emotional distress or physical well being may also have determined petitioner choices on different levels of the practice. Similarly, such factors may have variously affected the conceptualisation of the social distance between the citizen and the

addressee. Unfortunately, it is impossible to trace all of these, or to assess their general relevance for the informants under discussion. On the other hand, the modes of delivery that originated from the inefficient postal systems in the Cape Colony have constrained petitioning and correspondence in general. Similarly, the procedures and actions of the colonial officials must have resonated widely among the 1820 settler community.

On the whole, placing the 1820 settler petition within the framework of communicative genres and projects has enabled important insights into the complexity of petition production and circulation in the early years of the permanent British settlement in the Cape Colony. In addition, this approach to the genre introduces a range of alternative contextualisations of its composition and submission. The components of the communicative genre, such as the modalities, personnel and structure, are integrated in this view, while their interrelationships may be captured in more detail. The perspective also allows incorporating the view of genre as a complex of skills and literacy practices. Overall, this Chapter has shown, that despite the multitude of research into historical genres, some of their aspects may still be addressed from new perspectives. Communicative genres differ from the more traditionally understood historical genres as they involve both verbal and nonverbal elements (Linke 2007: 478; Gillen and Hall 2010), or at least some evidence for the significance of the latter for their understanding. In line with this, acknowledging the possibility of verbal interaction, which for instance accompanied the handing in of the petition, allows us to transcend the exclusively textual nature of the analysed data. The multimodality of petitioning underlines the need to view scribal petitions as independent communicative acts (see Chapter Seven) within the broader conceptualisation of the 1820 settler petition as a communicative project. Needless to say, the view of the petition as a communicative genre and the practice of petitioning as a communicative project leaves plenty of room for modification and extension. For instance, the socio-economic status of the informants may be established in order to relate the genre practices to some basic sociolinguistic variables (see Chapters Five and Eight).

Appendix 6.1. Petition on behalf of George Hodgkinson (Photo of CO 223/152; Courtesy of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service)

Appendix 6.2. Petition on behalf of George Bager (Photo of CO 223/153; Courtesy of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service)

Chapter Seven

Genre in the hands of professionals

7.1. Introduction

Petitioning through professional and social scribes, ubiquitous as it was, raised a controversy among the 1820 settlers. In 1823, an anonymous letter complained bitterly of the morally dubious work of a commercial scribe (201/065/Anonymous). The resentful petitioner might have had either of the two professional scribes William Howard[1] or John Carter in mind when writing the following words (cf. Mesthrie and West 1995: 111):

(26a)   (…) he charging them for his writing and not content with the
        trouble he occasions here he likes then to Memorialise
        Your Excellency and think causes much trouble to Your
        Excellency and a further increase of gain to himself for he
        charges so much per sheet which he by fine words increases
        to a great length as Your Excellency must well know
        as scarcly a Post leaves this Place without many of his
        Compositions being forwarded (201/065/Anonymous)

Further evidence from the same anonymous petition reflects on the nature of the composition by this particular scribe (and probably others), as well as the attitudes of the settlers who did not employ scribes:

(26b)   (…) May it please your Excellency to afford relief
        & I would most humbly suggest that you would be
        pleased publickly to make known that a petition in the
        petitioners own hand writing & diction would be more acceptable
        than those dictated & wrote by others (201/065/Anonymous)

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[1] It is more likely that the target here was William Howard, as there is a collective petition from 1826, similar in tone, addressed to the British parliament which states: "the said William Howard has always been an active fomenter of litigious disputes amongst the British Settlers" (CO48/86/200; Mackay 2015). Nearly 50 settlers signed the petition.

Petitions, as this suggests, may have been "dictated" to the commercial copyist. It is, however, doubtful that dictation is understood here literally and the scribe was just an uninvolved passive channel of transmission ("which he by fine words increases to a great length" in Example (26b)). If this had been the case, the complaint would not have mentioned that the "petitioners own (...) diction" was in fact not reflected in a scribal petition. At the same time, the letter also mentions "the samenefs of the writing and style" to be easily identified in the mediated letters. Moreover, the very incentive for delegating petitions at some financial cost probably involved the assumption that a written request composed by a commercial scribe stood a greater chance of success, as the anonymous complaint further suggests: "for he can by his Language give a plausibility even to an act of injustice". On the other hand, it is common sense to assume some degree of negotiation between the petitioner and the scribe. Scribes tended to read out the texts to the petitioners, which is confirmed by a direct comment from another intermediary, Thomas Philipps.[2] At the end of a petition signed with his name and bearing "The mark of X Sarah Torr" he stated "[w]ritten, and afterwards read to Sarah Torr, by me" (*RCC* 22: 346). Moreover, self-corrections, which are fairly common in the case of William Howard, and in particular the modifications of factual significance, must have been introduced at the petitioner's wish.

This and other types of evidence for the participation of the social or professional scribes in the writing of petitions for the 1820 settlers determine the direction of the analysis conducted in this Chapter. Primarily, the discussion focuses on the broadly understood practices of mediated petitioning in this community, with particular attention devoted to two professional scribes and the strategies of composing a scribal petition. Within the practices, technologies of writing that involve scribal production are of central interest because they may allow an assessment of the degree of secretarial input in the finalised letters. A description of scribal practices in the Late Modern period has not been proposed so far, but historians and linguists have analysed these in greater detail in the Early Modern period (Daybell 2013, Chapter 3). In the light of the previous studies, "employing the hands of others" (Williams 2013: 63) emerges as a specialised

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[2] Philipps' intermediary work was designated as such in other letters as well (e.g. *RCC* 22: 340).

communicative event and viewing it as a singular mode of petitioning enhances our understanding of the genre. In the analyses below, I focus on two scribes who penned about one third of the mediated letters in the 1820 settler database (33 out of 113), William Howard and John Carter (see also Sections 5.5.3. and 5.5.4.). The letters that may be attributed to them attest, first and foremost, to their individual practices. Still, the remaining mediated letters written by the social scribes (80 letters) provide a useful reference point in the discussion below.

In particular, the following analyses trace the potential clues that may reveal the technicalities of composing the scribal petition, the channels of the transmission of information between the petitioner and the scribe and the nature of scribal involvement. The three areas under discussion involve routinisation and replication, pragmatics on the page and self-corrections. The degree of routinisation and replication is analysed qualitatively andby means of a computational analysis of *n*-grams. First, based on Carter's letters, I identify the pragmatic routines in the petition and connect these to repetitive lexical realisations and formulae. In the next step, I employ the *n*-gram method to extract the recurrent genre-specific phraseological realisations from Howard's letters and from the letters by social scribes. This allows distinguishing between his idiosyncratic recurrent choices and genre-specific lexical replications. The *n*-gram method also undergoes a detailed evaluation and its findings are juxtaposed with some qualitative observations, pertaining not only the lexical, but also to some recurrent pragmatic solutions. Visual pragmatics is understood as the graphic and layout characteristics of the analysed texts and selected material aspects of the manuscripts, such as paper size (Carroll et al. 2013). I analyse these primarily to assess the significance of planning in advance, but also in order to illustrate the range of features that might have been socially and pragmatically meaningful. Next, self-corrections are analysed with a view to reconstructing the procedures involved in the scribal composition, i.e. the transmission of information between the petitioner and the scribe. In the case of William Howard, also additions and strikethroughs are crucial. In particular, the self-corrections, investigated in greater detail also in the letters by social scribes, are viewed as a potential indicator of the status of a given petition in terms of the distinction into drafts and fair copies. Although research into the Late Modern English personal autograph letters has shown that frequent self-corrections most likely suggest the latter (see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008: 54-55;

Auer 2008: 218; Dossena 2010: 294), the question has so far not been pursued in institutional letters written by an intermediary. I show, in line with the findings of the studies into other types of mediated writing, such as court records and depositions (Grund 2007, 2011, 2012), some self-corrections in fact substantiate the existence of earlier drafts or notes and that they had been used as the basis for the scribal compositions. Overall, the chapter offers a primarily qualitative overview of the petitioning practices by the two professional scribes in order to establish the recurrent lexico-pragmatic grid of the petition, to indicate some differences between Carter and Howard, as well as to indicate how professional practices may have differed from those by social scribes. Finally, the range of the analysed features and the application of different methods illustrate that the scope of analysis into scribal mediation is very broad.

7.2. John Carter

7.2.1. Routinisation and replication

The sample of Carter's letters is very small and the individual letters are brief, revealing a lot of similarity both in terms of structure and language. Still, his scribal compositions are worth investigating due to his exceptional preference for the new model of the petition. Moreover, although on the surface the conventional genre frame, i.e. the rigid demands of the traditional model do not apply in the majority of Carter's compositions, the consistency of this scribe results in a set of fairly stable structural solutions and illustrates the routinisation of a potentially flexible new model. Carter's letters are organised according to the regular scheme and employ similar linguistic solutions to repetitive tasks. 9 in 11 petitions follow the new model in terms of the mode of self-reference (see Chapter Five) and start with the place of writing and the date positioned on the right hand side at the top of the page in one or two lines. This is followed by an elaborate address divided consistently into several lines, e.g.:

(27)   To
        His Excellency
        The R^{t}Honble Lord Chas Somerset
        Governor, Commander in Chief
        &c &c &c

These petitions contain the elaborate address as quoted above (i.e. to Governor Somerset). One further is addressed to his deputy, Rufane Donkin, who is also named "His Excellency". A single letter fails to include an address (158/043/Fryer) and opens with the salutation "Sir" instead. The addressee details in this letter: "To Colonel Bird Colonial Secretary &c &c &c", are placed in the left-hand bottom corner of the page. But for the two traditional petitions, which open with "The Humble Petition of" (158/209/Smith) and "The Memorial of" (223/051/Franz), Carter's letters start with "I beg leave to (respectfully) state/represent". Most continue with "to your Excellency that I came out as a settler with Mr. X's party". Further into the body of the petition the reason for writing, i.e. the request, is stated. This is followed by "which favor will be gratefully/respectfully acknowledged by". Finally, the closing element of the letter, "Your Excellency's Very humble Servant (Very h^{ble} Servt)" precedes the signature. Fryer's letter mentioned above closes in a highly elaborate version of the same formula: "I have the honour to be Sir Very respectfully Your most Obe^{t} Humble Servt". The two traditional petitions end with the closing characteristic for the model "And your Excellency's Petitioner Memorialist as in Duty bound will ever Pray &&&&". All the letters delegated to Carter bear a signature, one has an x-mark and Carter's signature as "Witness" (Smith), six include a signature in a hand different from Carter's (possibly the petitioner's own) and in the remaining four Carter seems to have written down the petitioner's name in his own hand. The consistent presence of the signature in Carter's letters is fairly striking when compared to Howard's practices (see Section 7.3.) and it may be related to his preference for the new model of the petition. Generally, the signature appears of little importance, in particular in the traditional model (favoured by Howard) where the petitioner was named in the opening line of the body, or in the title, and there was no further need to repeat the name in the signature at the end of the document, especially as the latter had little evidential value in a scribal letter.[3] In the new model, favoured

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[3] Metatextual evidence in *RCC* (22: 355-57) shows that for the 1820 settlers a signature was of little evidential value even if its authenticity was unquestionable. For instance, some settlers denied being involved in a controversy expressed in a collective petition, which they had undeniably signed, stating: "being Dark (Being Decvd.) I did not know what I signed"; "Mr. Cross has obtained my signature from My Father, not from Myself" (*RCC* 22: 357), or even "My Signature was obtained without my consent" (*RCC* 22: 356).

by Carter, however, the signature was of significant informational value as it, and it exclusively, identified the petitioner.

Linguistic routinisation is clear in particular in the letters which are relatively short requests for a colonial pass (8 out of 11; Goodhead, Brown, Basset, Leathern, Grimble, Warde, Baston, Searle; Table 7.1). A great deal of similarity of the letters clearly lies in the fact that the ones on behalf of Basset, Leathern, Grimble and Warde were written within the span of eight days between 06/28 and 07/06 of 1824 (see Appendix 7.2 for details of dating). Brown's letter was penned earlier, in April of the same year, while the petition for Ann Goodhead comes from the late September of 1822, and Bastow's and Searle's letters were penned in the last months of the same year. Still, the set is a perfect candidate for a closer analysis of routinisation and replication (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Routines in the body of the short letters by Carter

No.	Routine	Variant realisations	Letters
(1)	OPENING attention seeker	I beg leave to <u>represent</u> to your Excellency that;	7/8
		I beg leave to <u>state</u> to your Excellency that;	1/8
(2)	(2A) PERSONAL INFORMATION	that I came out <u>as a settler</u> with Mr X's party;	7/8
		that I came out with Mr Septon's Party	1/8
	(2B) eligibility	<u>from whom</u> I (have) obtained (obtain'd) my discharge;	8/8
		<u>& that</u> I have obtained my discharge;	1/8
	(2C) profession/ employment	that I am by Trade a / that I am A Cooper by Trade	4/8
		and am residing here as a Labourer;	1/8
		having a Waggon & Oxen of my own which I work to get my livelihood by;	1/8
		have been residing in this place for a considerable time as a Labourer;	1/8
		& have for sometime past been living with Mr Nicholas Hitge at this place;	1/8
(3)	(3A) REQUEST pre-justification	I may <u>have occasion</u> to remove;	3/8
		I may <u>(be enabled to)</u> remove <u>in case of need</u>;	3/8
		I <u>shall be obliged</u> to remove;	1/8
	(3B) REQUEST core act	I shall be obliged by your Excellencys granting me a Colonial Pass;	1/8
		<u>I beg</u> your Excellency will be pleased to grant me a (Colonial) Pass;	4/8

	(3C) REQUEST justification	& therefore <u>beg to request</u> that your Excellency that your Excellency [sic!] will be pleased to grant me a Colonial pass;	1/8
		<u>I shall be much obliged by your Excellency being</u> pleased to grant me a Colonial Pass;	1/8
		<u>I shall be obliged by your Excellencys</u> allowing me a Colonial pass <u>for that purpose;</u>	1/8
		<u>to enable Me</u> to proceed to such part of the Colony;	3/8
		<u>that I may be enabled</u> to proceed to such <u>part</u>, where I <u>may get</u> employ;	1/8
		that I may be enabled to proceed to such <u>place</u> where I <u>can find</u> employ;	1/8
		I may be enabled to proceed to such part <u>of the Colony as my Businefs may call Me;</u>	1/8
		having some Business that calls me to England;	1/8
		Being desirous of proceeding to Cape Town where I think I shall be able to do better than here;	1/8
(4)	CLOSING expression of gratitude	which Favor will ever be most gratefully acknowledged by Your Excellency's Very humble (hum^{ble}) Servant;	8/8

Table 7.1 presents the short requests made for a colonial pass, broken down into four basic parts: (1) opening; (2) personal information (including (2A) settler party, (2B) eligibility for application and (2C) employment or residence in the case of a woman settler, Ann Goodhead); (3) request (including (3A) pre-justification, (3B) core act and (3C) justification); and (4) closing. The conventional epistolary elements opening and closing the letters show the greatest degree of routinisation: their wording is nearly identical, except for a single occurrence of the verb *to state* instead of *represent* and variation between a full and an abbreviated form of the word "humble". Similarly, the second component of personal information, settler eligibility (2B), is fully routinised, the only variable element being the choice between the present perfect and past simple tense and a full or abbreviated form of the verbal ending. The remaining components are not routinised to a similar degree, but their lexical make-up is fairly stable. For instance, in the case of the REQUEST pre-justification (3A), two verbs are used to express the need to travel: *remove* and *proceed*. In the core request element, (3B), the inventory of performative expressions is limited to *I beg/beg leave to request* and *I shall be obliged*, while the

required action on the side of the addressee is *allowing*, *granting* or *being pleased* to grant a colonial pass. Expressing ability as a result of the prospective grant, i.e. the post-request justification (3C) is achieved through a similarly narrow lexical repertoire: *to be enabled* and *to proceed*. Within the components showing this type of lexical consistency, the modality (e.g. *may* vs. *shall* in 3A) and voice/syntactic variants are worth noticing (*can* vs. *may*; *to enable Me* vs. *that I may be enabled* in 3C) as these stand out as flexible elements. Clearly, such variation may indicate pragmatic meanings and involve the core of the attitude building and stance expression. Moreover, the link between the variable stance marking and the stable and narrow selection of lexical solutions indicates that both were embedded within the scribal repertoire. Based on the degree of routinisation illustrated above, a claim may be made that the lexical frame and the variable pragmatic components are most likely Carter's own (cognitive) compositions.

An important distinction emerges from the analysis above: as much as the lexical frame may be viewed as uniform in Carter's scribal compositions, the involved stance and attitudinal components resist the same degree of routinisation. In a sense, a specific *stance space*, as it may be termed, constitutes the variable component inserted into the stable lexical frame. Thus stance, in general terms, is dependent on the broad contextual makeup of each individual case. In other words, the scribe may have encoded some specific pragmatic meanings, such as his own attitude to the petitioner, by means of stance marking. It is much less likely that stance marking reflects the attitude of the petitioner. After all, it needs to be borne in mind that even the less routinised elements derive from the conventional inventory of the genre (e.g. *that* statements) and of the speech act of request in its highly formal version (passivisation, expression of reverence, general "indirectness"). Moreover, the variability presented in Table 7.1 clearly applies to this most risky component of the petition, while both the epistolary routines and expression of factual information do not show a comparable degree of flexibility. Hence the scribal realisations of the latter would have been fully automatised and realised most likely without the same degree of attitudinal involvement.

Apart from revealing the high degree of the routinisation of Carter's compositions, the above discussion has also indicated one-off realisations of the repetitive pragmatic tasks of the petition. Based on the suggestions above, we may venture a conjecture that such distinctive, unique realisa-

tions of the otherwise lexically stable routines may have to some extent been the petitioner's contribution, or, at least, the result of negotiation between the customer and the scribe. For example, a descriptive presentation of the petitioners occupation "having a Waggon & Oxen of my own which I work to get my livelihood by" (223/072/Searle), is a syntactic hybrid of the conventional participle construction and a rather informal clause involving a stranded preposition *by*. A closer look into the use of prepositions by Carter shows the extraordinary character of this type of movement (no other instance of preposition stranding occurs), his own preference being clearly for the construction with the preposition followed by which. Another striking mode of presenting a petitioner is the statement: "& have for sometime past been living with Mr Nicholas Hitge at this place" (178/201/Goodhead). Clearly, it was a challenge to the scribe to name the occupation of a woman settler, in particular, without drawing the attention to the fact that she was unmarried. It would have been risky to request a permission for her to travel alone, a fact that could have at the time raised some moral considerations. According to Nash (1987), Mary Ann Goodhead was a woman servant who had officially emigrated as a wife of one of the settlers in George Scott's party. As it appears, Carter had at least two potential risks to avoid: mentioning the marital status of Goodhead, which contradicted the official sailing lists, and naming her profession bluntly as a servant, a fairly popular and universally demanded occupation. For these reasons, her residence "with Mr Nicholas Hitge" (see Footnote 20 in Chapter Five), i.e. her staying in his inn, is mentioned as a neutral way of providing all the information required by task (2) and, specifically, (2C). Goodhead's petition continues with the following justification: "Being desirous of proceeding to Cape Town where I think I shall be able to do better than here". The striking component of the embedded clause is the hedge *I think*, the only occurrence of this sort of mitigation in Carter's letters. Whether the need to hedge was scribal or personal (the latter being a tempting option given the underlying female voice) is impossible to decide, but this extraordinary form, just like the syntactic construction discussed above, again points to a fracture in the otherwise stable lexical frame applied by Carter.

The remaining letters in Carter's hand (Jane Smith, Richard Fryer and Christopher Franz) present more detailed accounts of the petitioners' background and cover two or three pages. Of the three longer letters, two petitions (Smith and Franz) are, moreover, based on the traditional model,

which sets them apart from the short colonial pass requests. These two pe-titions are also written in more careful and adorned handwriting than the remaining seven letters, which follow the new model. As for Fryer's peti-tion, it follows the new model in terms of the self-reference, but most sen-tences start with *That*, which is a characteristic feature of the traditional model. Jane Smith's motivation, similar to the six petitions discussed above, includes a request for a colonial pass, but as a married woman, she presents a well-argued case, supported by witnesses' statements of fact against her abusive husband in order to justify the need to move on her own. Fryer presents details of his expenditure on the failed crops and asks for employment. Franz, a former soldier who had been wounded multiple times, provides details of his misfortunes and requests the payment of a pension granted to him in Britain. The nature of the three petitions may have required a more diversified and individual approach on the side of the scribe than in the case of the more routinised short requests for a co-lonial pass discussed above.

7.2.2. Visual pragmatics

Pragmatics on the page (also visual pragmatics or prosody; Carroll et al. 2013), has recently received a lot of attention, in particular from corpus lin-guists (Meurman-Solin 2013; Walker and Kytö 2013). In short, the manu-scripts conceived as carriers of specific acts of communication involve a wealth of visual signals to be processed by the recipients. Not of all these are equally meaningful, but many contribute to the overall pragmatic con-text of manuscript production, transmission and consumption. Although the interest of visual pragmatics has been chiefly devoted to the mediaeval and early modern data as posing particularly interesting pragmatic questions in terms of the craft and practicalities of manuscript composition and copying processes, an analysis of late modern manuscript letters may also benefit from this approach (e.g. Sairio and Nevala 2013). Features of layout, such as lineation and spacing, indentations, marked character sizes and embel-lishments, in particular flourished initials, reflect ways of organising infor-mation in historical documents as well as of highlighting their different components. Moreover, as some studies have shown, in the case of institu-tional documents, some aspects of page organisation may have been deter-mined by the modes of filing the leaves, as different signposting effects were required for loose leafs and bound documents (Walker and Kytö

2013). In the case of the 1820 settler petition, these considerations are unlikely to have mattered, as the ordering and filing of the documents lay entirely within the competence of the receiving institution. The Colonial Office in the Cape Colony may have not been as experienced as its equivalent at home, but it is unlikely that the clerical practices were strikingly different here (see Chapter One and Włodarczyk 2013d for details). Thus, all the colonial letters were filed roughly chronologically and numbered accordingly, a procedure which most likely repeated periodically. Moreover, most of the letters have been briefly summarised in the top left hand corner, in the perpendicular script of the clerks in the Colonial Office (see Włodarczyk 2013a: 47) to facilitate later reference.[4]

What then is the relevance of the "pragmatics on the page" for a late modern institutional genre, far removed from the concept of a manuscript as a work of art or at least skilful craft? Compared to the mediaeval or Early Modern manuscripts, the expected repertoire of visual devices employed in a nineteenth-century institutional letter, which was not primarily designed as a display document, is somewhat limited (cf. Grund 2011: 157). In addition, the relative brevity of many of the petitions does not create extensive organisational demands. Nevertheless, the calligraphic hands and the care taken to produce some letters still reflect the importance of penmanship for the contemporary institutional application and illustrates the association of different scripts with different functions for legal, business and private purposes (Dury 2008: 119). Functionally specialised "clerk's handwriting" or a "clerkly hand", as it is referred to by Dury (2008), with a repertoire of scripts, which was no longer taught regularly in the nineteenth century, is amply illustrated in the 1820 settler database by the highly legible petitions compiled by the professional scribes. Selected aspects of the visual pragmatics of the 1820 scribal petitions are characterised below qualitatively in order to address the extent to which these may have encoded the social distance inherent in petitioning. Secondly, some of the visual clues may reveal the status of the manuscripts in terms of spontaneous compositions vs. draft-based fair copies and thus shed some light on the nature of the scribal involvement.

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[4] Replies from the Colonial Office contained exactly such summaries in their titles (158/235/(15)_Erith, J.T.), which indicates that their primary purpose was to serve as a draft of a reply letter.

In terms of the social context of the petitions, material aspects of the manuscripts and visual devices are an important reflection of the social hierarchy and power differential between the parties addressing a request and the officials in charge of granting them. As Sairio and Nevala have shown for eighteenth-century personal letters, visual effects encoded social distance, in particular in the case of the informants whose epistolary literacy was advanced (2013; cf. Williams 2013: 49 on significant space in Early Modern letters). Letters written by the educated and well off were thus not primarily guided by space considerations, i.e. the material resources (cf. Carroll et al. 2013: 55), but many late modern personal letters, especially of the lower and lower middling classes were (Dossena 2012a: 21-22). In the case of the professional scribes employed by the 1820 settlers, choices in terms of paper size and spacing are expected to reflect the institutional epistolary culture of the day. Indeed, in terms of the dimensions of the paper, out of the total of 33 letters penned by the paid scribes, only four use a sheet of a relatively small size, most are regular (probably determining the size of the volume covers used later by the archivists) and seven petitions use large sheets (all penned by Howard), which had to be folded to the regular size for easier storage. Especially, in the case of Carter's short petitions, the use of paper appears lavish, as relatively large blank spaces appear at the bottom of the page.

As for spacing, Carter regularly uses a blank space, between one to two empty lines in size, to mark the beginning of the body of the letter, but he fails to mark the end of the body in a similar way, leaving no empty line before the subscription, the latter placed consistently on the right hand side. As for the former blank space, his behaviour is in accord with the contemporary manuals (Sairio and Nevala 2013). As for the empty space preceding the subscription, the contemporary manuals gave at least two types of advice; one was to place the subscription and signature at the very bottom of the page, thus leaving a considerable blank space. But Carter seems to have followed the opposite suggestion, which advised against it, for fear of attempted additions or forgeries (Sairio and Nevala 2013). With respect to the other features of layout, contrary to the contemporary prescription, which suggested ample margins, Carter left a rather narrow left margin, which in most cases was big enough for binding and in some cases slightly wider than that. The opposite margin was either non-existent or very narrow. The indentation employed by Carter defines the overall impression of a structured and neat

layout, as it runs in a stepwise mode to create a cascade effect at the top. The place and address are right indented at the top of each letter, not as a block though, but also stepwise. Almost on the same page level the elements of the address (see Appendix 7.3) descend in several lines with an increasing left indentation. The datelines are sometimes written in a smaller script, while for the address, and the name of the addressee in particular, larger script is used. Overall, the top of the (initial) page, in contrast to the bottom, is used very sparingly.

Carter's paper was unlined and his lines sloped slightly downwards sometimes, which shows that he probably failed to use a lined sheet as a template. Although his handwriting is careful, very decorative, with many flourishes, its overall shape reveals a fast, efficient process, if not haste: his is definitely a running, not a text hand (cf. Dury 2008: 124). There are few indications of the hand stopping or hesitating, the letters seem to have been written each "in one go" each. The ink colour, for instance, seems to be consistent throughout. As I have shown above, the layout is patterned, but the devices which would have involved planning, such as, for instance, the use of variable sizes or shapes, are limited to the embellishment of capitals appearing in signatures and addressee details. The embellishments are thus used to mark social hierarchy and reverence to the addressee, or signpost the crucial informational components of the petition. This aspect of "visual pragmatics" has not been conceived as, for instance, a tool of semantic emphasis. Carter does not underline the text, either. Based on the observations above, the overall visual design of Carter's manuscripts is that of fair copies or spontaneous compositions, i.e. no planning in advance is involved to indicate the existence of rough drafts.

7.2.3. Self-corrections

Carter's nine letters are strikingly clean: no corrections or strikethroughs may be noticed. This suggests that the submitted petitions were either fair copies based on rough drafts or notes, or spontaneous compositions based on the information provided by the petitioners. Furthermore, the lack of additions and factual corrections suggests that the contents had been consulted with the customers at the level of the rough draft or notes rather than in the process of the writing of the fair copy. For instance, in terms of facts and figures, no corrections were applied to names, place names and sums of money. Thus, these must have been agreed upon with the indi-

vidual customers prior to the penning of the final letter. Nevertheless, in two letters Carter misspelt[5] the names of the heads of parties mentioned in the petitions: Septon (for Sephton; 223/034/Brown and 223/272/Searle) and Carlile (for Carlisle; 223/056/Basset). This indicates that the contents, including sensitive information of this type, would have been agreed upon with the petitioner in the spoken medium, rather than in writing, i.e. the petition was read aloud to the petitioner, rather than silently by the petitioner. Still, whether this would have happened "on the spot" during the compilation of a fair copy, or at a separate stage of note-taking or a rough draft, is impossible to establish.

The only self-correction occurs in an attachment to a petition, on a page indicated as "Copy". Here, the single erasure in Carter's letters (of the word "Wife" overwritten to "&") is found:

(28)   [she] is a Virtuous. Good & well behaved
       {~~Wife~~} >>&<< affectionate Wife to me (158/209/Smith)

If we assume that the overwriting is a compositional error, it seems justifiable as an amplified multinomial expression underlining the virtues of the petitioner wronged by her husband (*virtuous, good & well behaved & affectionate*). Still, in the piece indicated as a "Copy" the strikethrough may indicate a copying error, a jump to the anticipated next word, both as an eye-skip and a mental omission (see the discussion of self-corrections in 7.3.6.). As for the latter, it could have been at first identified by the scribe as a trinomial phrase ("virtuous, good & well behaved"), not as an extraordinary multinomial, hence the premature insertion of the later erased and overwritten *Wife*.

In one letter, an instance of an uncorrected dittography occurs:

(29)   that I am by Trade
       a Brickmaker, & have worked at this Drosdy
       for many Months past but in Case of Work

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[5] "Misspelling" is a problematic term here. Proper names, and surnames and place-names in particular, were not orthographically standardised and a lot of variation may be noticed. As for the surnames of the heads of parties, a standard version may, however, be indicated, as these occur very frequently, both in official documents (embarkment lists) and in autograph letters. Based on these and Sephton's autograph, <ph> spelling is the target form here.

> failing here, I shall be obliged to remove. &
> therefore beg to request <u>that your Excellency</u>
> <u>that your Excellency</u> will be pleased to grant
> me a Colonial paſs (178/272/Searle)

In the same letter, genitive case in the fully routinised closing is realised as *Excellencies* (most likely target would have been "Excellency's" as this form occurs in other letters) (178/272/Searle). Dittography across a line break does not constitute a very strong piece of evidence for a copying error, but its coincidence with the spelling slip may indicate a hasty composition which had not been reread for errors.

7.2.4. Discussion

Bearing in mind the striking neatness of the other letters, the small amount of evidence presented above, i.e. a single scribal correction found in a piece of copied text (where copying errors are more likely to occur than in a spontaneous composition) may be an indication that, excluding this very attachment, Carter did not produce multiple drafts of the petitions. Moreover, a clear scheme emerging from Carter's letters reveals a great degree of linguistic routinisation of the pragmatic tasks realised in the petition and might explain the high level of accuracy, i.e. the almost complete lack of self-corrections (see Table 7.1). As was shown above, routinisation is observed in particular in the short requests for a colonial pass. Still, the odd linguistic forms, such as preposition stranding, or hedging, reveal a possibility of negotiation, and by the same token, a certain degree of contribution on the side of the customer to the otherwise stable structural, pragmatic and lexical frame employed for the short requests. The three longer petitions by Carter, however, involved an individualised approach and a slightly more complex mapping of the pragmatic tasks vs. the lexical realisations. This might have involved the possibility that the expression of the details included in these petitions relied to some extent on the wording of the subscriber, Still, the physical features of the letters, i.e. the probability of their being fair copies and the formalised traditional model applied, even if limited to the selected features (as in the petition signed by Fryer), do not attest to a compilation procedure which would have departed significantly from the compostition of the shorter petitions.

Overall, the striking feature of Carter's letters commented on above, i.e. the almost complete lack of corrections of any kind, indicates at least three possibilities. The first one suggests that his letters were not reread before submitting (see for instance the uncorrected dittography and the slip in 223/272/Searle), which would imply a complete disregard of the rules of nineteenth-century epistolary politeness, an attitude highly unexpected of a contemporary notary (cf. Włodarczyk 2013d; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014: 92). Secondly, his writing might have been routinised to such an extent that Carter was able to achieve perfect accuracy in noting down details from dictation and framing these in the fairly stable matrix at his disposal on the spot. The possibility of writing the clean draft from dictation, however, is highly doubtful and it is indeed unlikely that Carter's letters reveal the phrasing of the delegating petitioner. Thirdly, any errors may have been ironed out in the course of the transition from a rough draft or notes to the clean copy. This may have also involved consulting the involved petitioners. Although the first option may not be excluded completely, the details presented above suggest that either the second or the third possibility were more likely.

In summary, the evidence in Carter's petitions implies a two-step procedure: information collection (notes rather than a full rough draft, or obtaining details in conversation) and the composition of a clean draft. The information provided by the subscribers was most likely verified (probably read out to them) from the rough draft or notes. If the clean draft was read out to the petitioners, which is a possibility, its accuracy must have been one hundred per cent. Alternatively, Carter might have discarded a fair copy if a mistake needed to be corrected, or an addition needed to be made. In such cases he might have prepared another fair copy from scratch. This may have been a fairly costly procedure, but it would have allowed him to live up to the high standards of the epistolary etiquette of the time. However, as no "copying" corrections are present in his writing (but for one erasure), the possibility of his discarding clean drafts until full accuracy was achieved is unlikely. For the same reason, the transmission of information from the subscriber to Carter seems to have been through the spoken rather than the written medium: the scribe did not seem to be working from the petitioner's material, such as some earlier letters for instance (e.g. names of the heads of parties were misspelt). Finally, for the very short petitions requesting a colonial pass, which would not have required extensive processing ef-

fort and which show remarkable routinisation, a possibility may be considered of Carter having only written a fully accurate single draft of each letter, based on the information provided in speech parallel to scribbling the petition, or in conversation preceding the writing down of the petition.

7.3. William Howard

7.3.1. Routinisation and replication

Repeated application of a genre framework is likely to result in a degree of linguistic routinisation of the involved pragmatic tasks. The specific tasks, however, may differ from petition to petition, and the wider their scope, the more likely the departures from the repetitive core of the genre realisation. Compared to Carter's, Howard's customers showed a much wider scope of motivations for petitioning. While 6 out of 22 petitions asked for a colonial pass or a free sea passage, 5 other asked for a loan and the remaining 11 requested the handling of a more or less complex legal or official issue, such as the allocation of plots, transfers of land, liquor licenses or food ratios. In general, the cases presented by the petitions delegated to Howard were more complex than most of those presented in Carter's letters. The intricacy of some of the cases is clear from the mere word counts of the petitions (see Appendix 7.1). Thus, it is possible to speculate that the relatively greater range of pragmatic tasks that Howard's customers required of his petitions would have resulted in a greater structural and linguistic heterogeneity than Carter's.

Howard's letters show a lot of structural consistency; 18 in 22 follow the traditional model of the petition, with an elaborate address to His Excellency the Governor or the Acting governor. The four letters based on the new model fail to contain a similar address, but the formula *May it please your Excellency* is used as an opening here as well. Among the traditional petitions, one letter uses the label Petition and the 17 remaining letters use the label Memorial. 16 in 22 letters include the formula *May it please your Excellency*, only used from 1822 on, and the address, the latter typically decorative:

(30a)   To His Excellency Major General Sir Rufane Shawe
       Donkin Knight of the most honourable Military Order of
       the Bath, Acting Governor and Commanding in chief
       His Majesty's Forces of the Cape of Good Hope &c &c
       (158/140/Wright, John)

(30b)   To His Excellency General the Right Honourable Lord
       Charles Henry Somerset Governor of His Majesty's
       Castle Town and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope
       &c &c &c (178/360/Lee)

Typical closings are illustrated below:

(31a)   for which your petitioner will ever feel himself as in
       duty bound to pray &c (136/159/Erith, J.T.)

(31b)   for which he will feel the utmost gratitude to your
       Excellency, and, (as in duty bound), ever pray &c
       (158/140/Wright, John)

9 in 22 petitions were signed in the petitioner's hand, two have an x-mark of the petitioner, one has both a signature of one petitioner and an x-mark of the other (Stroud & Penny), one further includes the petitioner's signature in Howard's hand and the remaining 9 do not have a signature. In three letters only, the date is placed at the top of the first page; in the remaining letters the details of time and place close the petition, following the signature (if the latter is present).

7.3.2. *N*-grams: Method and functions

The qualitative analysis of Carter's sample conducted above indicated that linguistic routinisation is particularly striking in the relatively short requests for a colonial pass. In other words, the most consistent pragmatic and lexical frame appears to be related to one fairly straightforward illocutionary aim. In Howard's larger sample, however, the complexity of the settler cases is greater and the range of motivations for petitioning is wider, so it is fairly plausible to expect less consistency in the involved routines. Still, as the genre frame of the petition operates in Howard's letters, a similar basic make-

up is used as a starting point for the analysis. As in the case of Carter's petitions, Howard's letters may be broken down into four basic parts: (1) OPENING; (2) PERSONAL INFORMATION; (3) REQUEST; and (4) CLOSING. The specific routines related to the individual parts, however, may differ from the ones established for Carter (Table 7.1).

In order to cope with a more sizeable dataset, automated searches for recurrent identical word strings, i.e. *n*-grams (Greaves and Warren 2010 for an overview; cf. also Rayson 2015) are used instead of a purely qualitative approach. Referred to as clusters, bundles, multi word units, chunks, recurrent word sequences or combinations (see Stubbs 2007: 90 for terminology), *n*-grams are consecutive strings of a specified number of words that are used repetitively. Overall, short combinations, such as two-, three- and four-word *n*-grams are much more frequent than longer *n*-grams, if the same frequency cut-off points are applied (usually at least 20 per one million words). This computational methodology is based on automatic retrieval and extraction of repetitive sequences of word in a text and allows insights into the structures and functions of the identified combinations in order to detect patterned relationships between grammatical and lexical units and pragmatic functions. Although the *n*-gram method is mostly a tool applied to large corpora (e.g. Biber and Conrad 1999), its usefulness goes beyond quantitative results. For instance, studies with qualitative objectives such as Kopaczyk's study (2013)[6] into formulaicity and repetitiveness in relatively specialised data collections have been very fruitful. Moreover, the *n*-gram methodology has facilitated historical pragmatic analyses of a number of speech-related genres (Culpeper and Kytö 2010) and it is a valued corpus-driven approach, i.e. an inductive and assumption-free computational method of text-mining. *N*-grams may reveal genre-specific features (Greaves and Warren 2010: 216) and register differentiation (Biber and Conrad 1999), while Hyland shows that the methodology may be used to distinguish highly competent from inexperienced participants within specialised communities (2008). Assuming that the professional scribes display high levels of genre literacy, the identification of the recurring word sequences in their letters may provide some foundations for a phraseological prototype of the genre of peti-

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[6] Kopaczyk used the *n*-gram methodology to assess the level of standardisation understood, among others, as the replication of identical textual strings, in Scottish legal texts from the fifteenth century (2013).

tion. Moreover, as *n*-gram analysis has not so far been applied with a view to establishing pragmatic routines in a generically homogenous dataset from a single informant (but see a study of an idiolect in Johnson and Wright 2014), the investigation below involves testing what *n*-gram sizes may be most useful for specific aspects of the study.

Determining the functions of recurrent clusters is the chief analytical step of the method. As with any linguistic unit, an *n*-gram rarely performs just one function. However, in most cases it is possible to tease out its most prominent purpose. One of the well-known functional classifications of lexical bundles is fourfold: they may function as stance expressions, discourse organisers, referential expressions and have special conversational functions (Conrad and Biber 2004: 64-67; cf. Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 107-110 for a similar taxonomy, but a different terminology). The classification is designed to cover both spoken and written registers, though some functions are less common in the latter. The last function is obviously limited to conversation and speech-based genres. Some studies implement more specific categories, but usually with reference to this general classification (Biber, Conrad and Cortes 2004: 383-388; Kopaczyk 2012). In the analysis below, I employ the canonical functions: stance expressions, discourse organisers, referential expressions and special conversational functions, but I use the term "genre-specific routines" in place of the last one to cover special functions in writing. Stance expressions in my analysis are mostly related to modality, and more broadly to the interpersonal or interactive function of language (cf. Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 110) and I see these rather narrowly as the expression of the attitudes of the parties involved in petitioning. Discourse organisers are text cohesion devices, such as the strings involving coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. As for referential expressions, I disregard place and time reference, focusing on person reference instead. The fourth fairly wide-ranging function is, understandably, at the core of my attention. In order to shed some light on the replication and routinisation in Howard's letters I focus on the details of the realisations of the petition-specific functions. These may in turn fullfill any of the three remaining purposes of lexical bundles. I use the letters penned by social scribes, which cover a number of idiolects, as a reference corpus.[7] Juxtaposing Howard's data

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[7] The two sets of data are not only comparable as non-autographs, but also because in both the majority of letters largely follow the traditional model of the petition.

against a diversified sample allows indicating both the common and unique *n*-grams, the former pertaining to the general genre frame, the latter being specific to Howard's idiolect, or to that of a/the social scribe(s).

7.3.3. Two-, three- and four-word clusters: Howard vs. Social scribes

The analysis below focuses on Howard's letters excluding the long memorial for J. T. Erith (158/235/Erith, J.T.; see 7.3.6.5.). The spelling of plain text data was normalised manually and the texts were analysed by means of *Antconc* 3.4.3m. Due to the small sizes of the samples, the frequency cut-off point was very low: all the strings that occurred more than three times were counted. The range of a given cluster, i.e. the number of letters in which a string occurs was also set at a minimal level of one letter. In other words, the statistical picture presented below comprises normalised (per 10,000 words) and raw frequencies of two-, three- and four-word *n*-grams occurring at least three times in two separate datasets. Due to small sample sizes no thresholds were set to eliminate recurrent sequences limited to a single letter or informant. Table 7.2 presents the statistics for 21 letters penned by Howard and 80 letters by social scribes.

Table 7.2. 2-, 3- and 4-gram occurrences in Howard and Social scribes

	Howard (21 letters/10,007 words)[8]		Social scribes (80 letters/23,342 words)			
	Types	**Tokens**	**Norm. fq Types**	**Norm. fq Tokens**	**Raw fq Types**	**Raw fq Tokens**
2-grams	522	3,796	532	4,443	1,243	10,370
3-grams	255	1,603	283	1,915	660	4,472
4-grams	148	1,022	167	1,127	389	20,630

As Table 7.2 shows, the differences in the distribution of the 2-, 3- and 4-grams respectively are not striking between the two data samples, either with respect to the cluster types or tokens. Therefore, a detailed look into the identified word strings is needed. Firstly, I present the 15 most frequent bigrams and 3-grams in Howard's letters (Table 7.3).

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[8] As the word count is close to 10,000 words, normalisation is not necessary for Howard's data.

Table 7.3. Howard's most frequent 2- and 3-grams

2-gram type	Fq	Range	3-gram type	Fq	Range
your excellency	97	21	your excellency's memorialist	37	13
of the	96	21	that your excellency's	36	15
that your	79	20	that your excellency	19	15
your excellency's	59	20	cape of good	18	18
in the	39	18	good hope c	18	18
to the	39	14	in duty bound	18	18
excellency's memorialist	37	13	it please your	18	18
your memorialist	37	15	may it please	18	18
of his	36	18	of good hope	18	18
c c	35	17	please your excellency	18	18
for the	33	13	the cape of	18	18
to his	32	19	to his excellency	18	18
his majesty's	31	19	be graciously pleased	17	17
which he	31	14	&c &c &c	17	17
grahams town	29	17	hope &c &c	17	17

Even a cursory glance at the 2- and 3-word recurrent strings reveals genre-specific patterns, such as that of a personal reference to the addressee (*excellency*), the recurrent opening and closing formulae (*may it* please, in *duty bound*) and the discourse marking "that" (*that your excellency(s)*). In particular, the high frequency 3-grams, such as for instance *be graciously pleased*, reveal more information on genre-specific routines than the bigrams. One reason for this is that the shortest clusters are mostly combinations that include function words and conjunctions and little lexical material. More specifically, six of these are phrasal chunks, such as prepositions followed by determiners, which may or may not be genre-related (e.g. *of the*, *in the*, *for the*). Five bigrams involve genre-specific lexical person reference (i.e. *your excellency*, *his majesty's*, *your excellency's*, *your memorialist*, *excellency's memorialist*), but four further two-word chunks include pronominal reference either to the petition or to the addressee (*that your, of his, to his, which he*). The referential conjunction bigrams *which he* and *that your* also have a discourse marking function and may be characteristic for the petition as segmentation devices. Deictic elements, such as the place name

grahams town reveal the location of writing while the series of *&c &c* are typical endings of the elaborate address[9] found in the traditional model. Interestingly, the ranges (i.e. the number of letters in which the *n*-grams occur) are fairly high for both the discourse marking and the deictic sequences. It is important to note that if the ranges equal the tokens, as is the case of for 12 our of 15 items in 3-grams), a specific number of letters that involve a single instance of replication is indicated. This is a diagnostic for how widespread a given lexical chunk is in the database, not just for its frequency. Moreover, similar frequencies of the occurrence of a number of the most frequent 3-grams indicate that they are related to a longer bundle (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 106ff).

The next step in the analysis involved setting Howard's data against the other scribal letters, i.e. those penned by the social scribes in order to filter Howard's idiolectal patterns from the features of the genre occurring in a multi-author set of petitions. As a detailed manual analysis of all the 2-gram and 3-gram types was not feasible given their high scores, its scope was limited to the 50 most frequent types where the frequencies normalised per 10,000 words. For Howard's sample, this involved bigram types with normalised frequencies ranging from 16 to 97. For the sample from the Social scribes, the normalised frequencies varied between 15 and 119. For three-word cluster types specifically the normalised frequencies ranged from 10 to 37 for Howard and from 6 to 30 for the social scribes. The analysis proceeded to identifying the common 2-grams and 3-grams, which are presented in Tables 7.4 and 7.5:

Table 7.4. Common high frequency 2-grams (Howard vs. Social scribes)

2-gram type	Howard		Social scribes		
	Raw/norm. fq	Range	Norm. fq	Raw fq	Range
and your	19	14	19	44	39
by the	16	9	30	67	31
duty bound	18	18	23	54	54
excellency the	26	16	20	47	46

[9] I have excluded bigrams denoting places such as *Grahams Town*, *cape of*, *of good*, *of the Cape* etc., and the ones including ampersands (standing for 'etc.') from further analysis. These were part of the formulaic address, but of little linguistic significance.

excellency will	17	15	23	54	45
for the	33	13	35	81	40
from the	19	10	18	43	21
his excellency	**19**	**18**	**36**	85	75
in duty	18	18	24	56	56
in the	39	18	31	73	36
of his	36	18	26	60	33
of the	96	21	119	278	72
memorial of	16	16	20	48	46
on the	16	8	21	50	30
pleased to	23	16	29	65	47
sheweth that	17	17	25	58	38
that your	**79**	**20**	**59**	134	56
the memorial	16	16	16	39	**38**
to his	32	19	35	82	70
to the	39	14	31	105	46
which he	**31**	**14**	**15**	34	22
will be	24	19	25	59	45
will ever	17	16	18	43	43
your excellency	**97**	**21**	**69**	161	63
your excellency's	**59**	**20**	**18**	44	23
your memorialist	**37**	**15**	**60**	139	33
your petitioner	**25**	**1**	**38**	88	14

Table 7.5. Common high frequency 3-grams (Howard vs. Social scribes)

	Howard		Social scribes		
3-gram type	**Raw/norm. fq**	**Range**	**Norm. fq**	**Raw fq**	**Range**
and your memorialist	11	10	10	23	22
as in duty	12	12	20	47	47
bound will ever	10	10	14	31	31
charles henry somerset	12	12	14	32	32
duty bound will	10	10	15	35	35
excellency the right	10	10	11	26	26
excellency will be	13	12	17	39	35
henry somerset governor	12	12	11	26	26
his excellency the	11	11	17	41	41

humbly sheweth that	15	15	18	44	43
in duty bound	18	18	23	54	54
lord charles henry	12	12	15	35	35
of his majesty's	13	13	6	15	14
sheweth that your	16	16	20	47	47
that your excellency	19	15	12	29	25
the memorial of	16	16	16	37	37
the right honourable	15	15	11	26	26
to his excellency	**18**	**18**	**30**	68	67
your excellency will	17	15	21	50	42

The common 2-grams and especially 3-grams, similarly to the most frequent bundles identified in Howard's letters, reveal a roughly similar range of genre-specific features, including an even larger inventory of addressee-oriented deferential reference (*lord charles henry*, *the right honourable*), formulae (*humbly sheweth*) and discourse organising strings (*and your*, *and your memorialist*). Although the relative frequencies of the shared bigrams in the two datasets differ in a number of cases (marked in bold in Table 7.5), no similar differences in frequencies were noticed for the 3-grams, apart from the 3-gram *to his excellency.* The common bigrams whose distribution differed significantly between the two corpora included five items denoting the petitioner and addressee reference (four premodified by *your*) and two embedded clause marking strings (one including *your*). In this way, the bigram distributions imply several tendencies that are specific to Howard's letters: the relatively greater number of addressee references in the form of *your excellency(s),* (97 vs. 69 of the subjective or oblique case and 59 vs. 18 occurrences of the possessive case per 10,000 words in Howard and the social scribes respectively). At the same time, *his excellency* (19 vs. 36) and *to his excellency* (18 vs. 30) show the opposite tendency, the phrase being relatively less frequent in Howard's letters. Overall, the most common addressee reference in Howard, *excellency*, is typically premodified by the pronoun *your*. As for the petitioner references with this type of premodification, the relative distribution of these in Howard's letters is significantly lower than in the sample from the social scribes (*your petitioner*[10] 25 vs. 38; *your memorialist* 37 vs. 60). Finally, the discourse organising bigrams, *that your* (79 vs. 59) and *which he* (31 vs. 15) occur relatively more frequently in Howard's letters.

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[10] *Your petitioner* only occurs in a single letter penned by Howard (136/159/Erith, J.T.).

Table 7.6. High-frequency 4-grams in Howard and Social scribes (raw fqs.)

Fq	R	Howards 4-grams	Social scribes 4-grams	Fq	R
34	13	**that your excellency's memorialist**	cape of good hope	52	52
18	18	cape of good hope	the cape of good	46	46
18	18	**it please your excellency**	**as in duty bound**	45	45
18	18	**may it please your**	of the cape of	44	44
18	18	of good hope c	**will be pleased to**	37	32
18	18	the cape of good	c c c the	36	36
17	17	good hope c c	**your excellency will be**	36	32
17	17	hope c c c	**excellency will be pleased**	35	31
15	15	c may it please	humbly sheweth that your	35	35
15	15	humbly sheweth that your	**in duty bound will**	35	35
15	15	of the cape of	**to his excellency the**	34	34
15	15	**please your excellency the**	**lord charles henry somerset**	32	32

The four-word repetitive sequences presented in Table 7.6 were extracted with the frequency threshold set at 10 for the social scribes and 6 for Howard (with the minimum range set at 3 letters). The statistics of these most frequent bundles show that the repetitiveness is higher in Howard's letters (61 types/ 717 tokens, i.e. 0.085 vs. 58 types/1245 tokens, i.e. 0.046) than in social scribes. In relation to the total word counts of the samples, the most frequent 4-grams account for 7.2% in Howard and 5.33% in the social scribes, showing a higher distribution of the replicated strings in the letters by the professional scribe. Moreover, as Table 7.6 shows, apart from *that your excellency's memorialist*, the most frequent 4-gram in Howard's letters, the frequency of the extracted strings equals their range, indicating a single occurrence in each respective letter, i.e. very likely a genre-specific feature. In the sample from the social scribes a similar relationship occurs between the frequency and range for a number of the analysed bundles. Such 4-grams indicate with a great degree of certainty a recurrent element in the petition scheme. For instance, the formula indicated above as the transition between the title of the petition and the trigger, *May it please your Excellency*, which opens 18 out of 21 letters by Howard, clearly surfaces as his individual preference. A concordance in the sample by social scribes confirms its infrequent presence in this dataset: seven occurrences in seven letters are found. Interestingly, four out of seven occur in the letters penned by Jane Erith for her husband, two further in the letters by Hand N and one in a letter by Philipps. This suggests the idiosyncratic na-

ture of the formula, and possibly, the influence of Howard's letters on Jane Erith's compositions. Apart from individual preferences, the most frequent 4-grams also indicate some common strings, like for instance, *humbly she-weth that your*, a formulaic opening whose distribution is genre-specific rather than idiosyncratic. In the letters by the social scribes, the 4-grams *as in duty bound* and *in duty bound will* indicate a formulaic closing of the petition, again one specific to the genre rather than to an idiolect. Similarly, *to his excellency the [Governor]* is the conventional beginning of the elaborate address.

However, some limitations of the analysis into the 50 most frequent bigrams, 3-grams and 4-grams are evident. First and foremost, the unit of the letter (i.e. the range), which is central to the analysis of the genre, is not foregrounded enough when frequency analyses are conducted (see Table 7.6). For instance, in the small sample of Howard's letters, a string repeated in as many as 6 letters reaches the range of nearly 30% of the texts, so any frequency cut-off point is problematic. Moreover, despite the normalised distributions, some important aspects of replication escape the attention of the researcher, in particular in a small corpus. For example, although the closing formula, *as in duty bound,* was identified in both datasets, its important element *will ever pray,* can easily escape our attention as the bigram *ever pray* fell below the threshold of 16 occurrences, i.e. did not feature in the list of the 50 most frequent bigrams. The 3-word shared strings did include the string *bound will ever* (10 in Howard, 14 in the social scribes) and *duty bound will* (10 in Howard, 15 in the social scribes) that indicated the formula. A concordance for *ever pray* in Howard's data has shown that the closing "Your memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray" occurs in 10/21 letters, which is clearly not a negligible number. The bigram *ever pray* did, however, find its way into the high-frequency list based on the letters by social scribes, and would have appeared to be unique to this data sample, had its occurrence not been confirmed by a concordance in Howard's letters. Another example involves the 4-gram *to his excellency the*, with a high distribution in the social scribes' sample, but not in Howard's. However, if we look at the 3-grams, *to his excellency* occurred in 18 in 21 letters by Howard. Again, a concordance is needed to establish that in 10 in 18 occurrences the string *to his excellency* is indeed followed by *the* (as in the sample by the social scribes), but in the remaining cases a title (Major or General) follows the string. In other words, the most effective way of handling high frequency

n-grams for the purpose of genre-based analysis is to look closely into the shorter strings, i.e. the 2- and 3-grams. Alternatively, the high frequency 4-grams may be compared against the shorter bundles containing similar strings in order to identify subtle variants of their realisations (such as in the case of *to his excellency*; see also the discussion of the formula *as in duty bound* below) Thus, frequency analyses of short *n*-grams prove useful as a diagnostic for the differences between the two samples of data and may guide more detailed searches. However, limiting the analysis to the most frequent repetitive strings of 2, 3 and 4 words only, especially based on small samples, may result in oversights.

7.3.4. Four-grams: Qualitative analysis

Given the limitations observed above, in particular some omissions that may result from an analysis of the shorter bundles, I have decided to extend the investigation of 4-grams to a more qualitative and more inclusive approach, in order to characterise the routines and replication in Howard's petitions. The analysis presented below involves the 139 types (995 tokens) in Howard and 371 types (2,570 tokens) of 4-grams in the data from the social scribes, extracted with a relatively low frequency threshold set at three (like in the analysis of the 2- and 3-grams), with the range set to the mininimun of three texts (unlike in the analysis of 2- or 3-grams where the range was one).[11] First of all, I have extracted the shared 4-grams (49 types), which proved to be largely extensions of the most frequent 3-grams, with a clear structural position and pragmatic functions in the frame of the genre of petition (addressee reference, openings, closings, request). These were categorised according to the functions referred to above. Then, I have focused on the remaining strings, which may be considered unique to Howard and the ones unique to the sample from the social scribes. Finally, I eliminated the strings of little pragmatic import (e.g. place names; see Footnote 9 above) and arrived at a list of 48 bundle types unique to Howard and 198 bundle types unique to the other sample.

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[11] Setting the range at a greater number is relevant for the aim of the section which is not restricted to the study of the most frequent occurrence only, but involves all the occurrences of a given 4-gram. If, however, a string is limited to a single text, but fairly frequent in this very text, an idiosyncratic usage may surface as a common occurrence, which is a significant diagnostic for the sample from the social scribes.

7.3.4.1. Functional taxonomy

With the three different lists of 4-grams (the common ones, the ones unique to Howard's and the ones extracted from the sample by the social scribes), I have proceeded to the next step, i.e. function analysis. I have assumed that the common 4-grams may be used to characterise a general genre frame, while the ones unique to Howard or social scribes are more likely to reveal individualised realisations. Table 7.7 includes the counts of 4-gram functions and a more detailed presentation of the occurrence of the genre-specific routines. The counts presented as "Total GSRs" refer to genre-specific routines and are relatively high for all the lists of 4-grams (73%, 81% and 84% for common 4-grams, Howard and the social scribes respectively). This clearly confirms the connection between the repetitive strings and the pragmatic makeup of the petition. Person reference, another genre-specific feature, is presented separately from other referential bundles, the latter being relatively uncommon. Discourse organising and, especially, stance bundles are even less frequent in the analysed data.

Table 7.7. Functions of 4-grams: Common, Howard and Social scribes

General 4-gram functions	Genre-specific routines	Common 4-grams		Howard's unique 4-grams		Social scribes unique 4-grams	
	OPENING	6	12%	1	2%	20	10.0%
	PERSONAL INFO	1	2%	9	19%	47	24.0%
	REQUEST	14	29%	12	25%	68	34.5%
	CLOSING	11	22%	8	17%	25	13.0%
	(OPE/REQ)	4	8%	–	–	6	2.0%
Person ref.		13	27%	9	19%	11	5.5%
Discourse organising		–	–	5	10%	5	2.5%
Referential		–	–	4	8%	15	8.0%
Stance		–	–	–	–	1	0.5%
Total		49	100%	48	100%	198	100%
Total GSRs		36	73%	39	81%	166	84%

As Table 7.7 shows, in the set of the 4-grams common to Howard and the social scribes, the 49 types may be described in terms of two general functions only: referential (more specifically, addressee reference) and genre-specific functions (genre-specific routines, i.e. GSR in Table 7.7). The latter were divided along the lines of the petition scheme proposed above based on the letters by Carter (Section 7.2.1., the scheme repeated in Table 7.9) into: (I) the OPENING (including petition title e.g. *the memorial of* X and opening formulae e.g. *humbly sheweth that your*), (II) PERSONAL INFORMATION (e.g. *came to this colony*); (III) REQUEST (e.g. *be pleased to grant*); (IV) closing formulae (CLOSING). The formulaic *may it please your* may occur both as a petition trigger (OPENING) and REQUEST, hence an extra category (OPE/REQ) was added. All in all, genre-specific routines constitute the majority of the shared types (36/49, i.e. 73%) while the remaining types, being addressee-oriented person references, are, lexically, also genre-related. Strikingly, no discourse organising 4-grams, which are not specific to the genre, feature among the cluster that the two datasets share. No stance bundles are observed either, except for the two referential ones (*your excellency **will**/ **would** be*). Compared to the scheme established on the basis of Carter's letters, the shared 4-grams present a more general frame lacking in some details. For instance, the specifics of PERSONAL INFORMATION, such as the eligibility for application or information on employment, do not surface here. Similarly, the *n*-gram analysis fails to capture details of the REQUEST, such as pre-request or post-request realisations. These specific elements of the petition, which do not surface in the list of the common 4-grams may be more open to individual choices.

Compared to the common bundles, Howard's unique 4-grams perform a wider range of functions: on top of the addressee reference and genre-specific routines, also the other referential (4 types; e.g. *in a state of*) and discourse organising functions (5 types; *and for which he*), which may or may not be genre-specific, are observed. Discourse organising bundles in Howard's letters express anaphoric relations as well as cause and effect, and are most likely employed to justify the core act of the petition, the request, or the need for the petition. Moreover, a considerable diversification of person reference in Howard's letters is clear: on top of the purely addressee-oriented bundles, we also have strings referring to both the addressee and petitioner at the same time (4 types include the phrase *excellency's memorialist*). In addition, addressee and

petitioner references occur in matrix clauses in conjunction to the embedded clauses with *that*, or are part of such subordinate clauses. Some of the functions, i.e. the expression of personal information are indicated by a larger number of 4-gram types (9 types) than in the case of the shared strings (1 type). In Howard's letters, the recurring strings involve e.g. *came to this colony*, *belongs to the party*, *which left england under*, *under the sanction of*, *to this colony in* while in the sample by the social scribes, only the string *came to this colony* is found (10 in 10 letters). This discrepancy illustrates the level of detail provided by Howard as the personal background of the petitioner (party membership and date), as opposed to the fairly general type of information indicated by the single *n*-gram in the letters by the social scribes. Similarly, some recurrent strings may be related to the specific parts of the REQUEST, i.e. the pre-request (3 types) or both pre- and post-request (2 types), while in the case of the common 4-grams, only the core speech act of request was reflected in the analysed bundles. Overall, based on function analysis, the 4-grams unique to Howard illustrate the details of the realisation of the core elements of the scheme of the petition (indicated by 81% of his unique 4-grams): the specifics of PERSONAL INFORMATION and REQUEST.

The quantification of the functions presented in Table 7.7, although it is shown in isolation from bundle frequencies, illustrates some aspects of the genre scheme. For instance, the discrepancies in function distribution between the shared bundles (which reflect a general genre frame) and the two other data sets with respect to the PERSONAL INFORMATION routine, indicate a lot of variation in the realisation of this element. Both in Howard's case and in the case of the social scribes the numbers of bundles used to express this routinised component are substantial (19% and 24% of all the analysed four-word *n*-grams respectively), while, in the shared bundles, only a single 4-gram specific to this routine occurred (2%). This indicates that the component of the PERSONAL INFORMATION routine is lexically highly variable. An exactly opposite phenomenon may be noticed if we look into the frequencies of the strings that indicate person reference: only 5.5% of the clusters unique for the social scribes, as opposed to 19% of Howard's and 27% of the common bundles, fall within this function. This shows that there is a fairly broad, but a repetitive set of terms of address in the general frame of the genre as well as in Howard's letters, while the so-

cial scribes do not add many individual realisations to the set shared for the realisation of this function. Person reference is thus, overall, more lexically routinised than the PERSONAL INFORMATION component of the petition.

Apart from the function related differences and the correspondence between the 4-grams and the specific elements of the petition scheme, a closer look into the routines reflected by means of similar 4-grams, such as the ones functioning as the CLOSING, also allows spotting some minute differences in their realisation between Howard's and the shared bundles.

Table 7.8. 4-grams pertaining to CLOSING: Common and unique to Howard

Common 4-grams	Howard's unique 4-grams
and your memorialist as	**ever feel himself** in
as in duty bound	**feel himself** in duty
bound will ever pray	**for your excellency** and
duty bound to pray	he will **ever feel**
duty bound will ever	**himself** in duty bound
ever pray grahams town	pray **for your excellency**
in duty bound to	will **ever feel himself**
in duty bound will	**your excellency and your**
memorialist as in duty	
will ever pray grahams	
your memorialist as in	

As Table 7.8 shows, the closing formula "and your memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray" has a specific realisation in Howard's letters. First of all, the formula is extended to include the VP *feel himself* and continues (after *ever pray*) to mention the object: *for your excellency* (optionally followed by *and your [Illustrious family]*). Thus, the *feel himself* string in the conventional closing formula is Howard's individual choice. The qualitative analysis of 4-grams also indicates the elements in the genre scheme with respect to which Howard does not show any individual preferences, such as e.g. the OPENING formula *humbly sheweth that*.

7.3.4.2. Genre-specific functions

A combined functional analysis of the bundles common for Howard's and the social scribes' data, as well as of the 4-grams unique to the professional scribe indicated the relative degree of routinisation and replication in Howard's letters and pointed to some singular patterns. Table 7.9 presents the routines in the petition scheme and the relevant 4-grams with distributions in terms of frequency and range provided in brackets, with Howard's unique realisations marked in bold print. Overall, the analysis of the most frequent 2-, 3- and 4-grams supplemented by a qualitative study into the 4-word strings has enabled extracting both genre-specific and idiosyncratic bundles, thus facilitating and extending a purely qualitative investigation. First of all, the analysis has established the differences in the routines constituting the core of the petition scheme discussed above, such as the petition opening formula *May it please*, which is Howard's idiosyncratic choice, or the expression of the petition title and trigger, which are similar to those found in the letters by the social scribes. Moreover, Howard's unique lexical or structural choices within the individual components of the petition scheme were also indicated. For instance, as for the REQUEST, Howard's unique speech acts involve subtle modifications of the repetitive constructions found also in the other sample: ***would** be graciously pleased* (next to ***will** be graciously pleased*) or *be graciously pleased **in*** (next *to be graciously pleased **to***). Finally, a bunch of referential or discourse organising bundles, which could not be unambiguously related to the specific routines were also spotted. These may be interesting to study by means of concordances and may, or may not, show specified pragmatic functions. For instance, the string *no alternative but to* works as a pre-request, albeit in only two cases:

(32a)   Your Memorialist therefore has **no alternative but to** intreat
        your Excellency to decide the point (178/292/Weeks)

(32b)   while your petitioner perceiving by his subsequent conduct,
        nothing before him but inevitable ruin, has **no alternative
        but to** lay his case at your illustrious feet (136/159/Erith, J.T.)

Table 7.9. Common routines and routines unique to Howard

Routine	Common (Fq/Range)	Unique to Howard (Fq/Range)
(1) OPENING		**May it please your [Excellency]** (18/18)
title	memorial of; your Excellency the memorial;	
trigger	humbly sheweth that your (15/15); most humbly sheweth that (10/10); sheweth that your excellency's (14/14); that your excellency's memorialist (34/14)	
(2A) PERSONAL INFO settler party	came to this colony (3/3)	**belongs to the party** (3/3); **the party which left** (6/6); **party which left England** (6/6); **under the sanction of** (4/4); **to this colony in** (3/3)
(3A) pre-REQUEST		**the exercise of your** (3/3)
(3B) REQUEST (core act)	will be graciously pleased (13/13); be graciously pleased to (11/11); pleased to grant him (7/7); prays that your excellency (7/7); that your excellency will (12/11); grant him a loan (3/3)	**would be graciously pleased** (4/4); **be graciously pleased in** (4/4); **implores that your excellency** (3/3); **that your excellency would** (3/3)
(3C) REQUEST justification		**a favourable answer to** (3/3); **answer to the prayer** (3/3); **the prayer contained in** (3/3); **the exercise of your** (3/3)
CLOSING	in duty bound will ever to pray (18/18)	**and for which he** (4/4); **will ever feel himself** (4/4)
OTHER		**within the limits of** (3/3); **laws of the/this Colony** (6/4); **in consequence of which** (12/11); **no alternative but to** (3/3); **in a state of** (4/4)

7.3.4.3. *N*-gram analysis: Summary

The discussion above tested the usefulness of *n*-gram analysis for the study of repetitiveness and replication in a generically homogenous and relatively small dataset. Overall, the analysis facilitated building a picture of the individual preferences of the professional scribe against the background of the letters penned by the social scribes. Clearly, however, the *n*-gram method has both strengths and weaknesses when employed to this particular end.

First of all, the method has produced some purely quantitative findings that failed to show substantial differences between the two samples. For this reason, in the analysis of 4-grams, the frequency thresholds were raised from three to six in Howard and from three to ten in the social scribes in order to further test the applicability of the method to the analysed data. Such procedure revealed a significantly higher type to token ratio and a higher distribution of replicated strings per total word count in Howard's bundles compared to the social scribes. Still, an exclusively quantitative analysis again proved problematic chiefly due to the fact that the analysed corpus was small and involved a well-defined analytical unit (a single petition). For the analysis presented above, the parameter of range was of crucial significance to the *n*-gram method. Therefore, striking a balance between the weight of token frequency and their range (i.e. the number of units in which an *n*-gram occurs) appeared of utmost importance in the interpretation of the results. For example, the normalisation of token occurrences against the word count appeared superfluous and even misleading. The latter may be illustrated with a specific instance. The normalised occurrences (per 10,000 words) of the strings *his excellency* (19 vs. 36) and *to his excellency* (18 vs. 30) in Howard as opposed to the social scribes respectively suggest that the phrase is relatively less frequent in Howard's letters. Raw, rather than normalised, frequencies, however, come close to the ranges in both data samples (18 out of 18 per 21 letters for Howard and 68 out of 67 per 80 letters for the social scribes), identifying the phrase *to his Excellency* as the recurrent element (elaborate address in the OPENING) surfacing in almost equal shares of 86% and 84% of all letters in the two samples respectively.

Secondly, the analysis of high frequency short, two- and three-word, bundles yielded promising results. The most common 3-grams appear to be more useful to a genre-based analysis than bigrams as they more rea-

dily revealed repetitive clusters with genre-specific functions. Moreover, three-word *n*-grams clearly indicated a wider scope of cluster functions in Howard's letters compared to the letters by the social scribes, which was confirmed later by a qualitative analysis of the 4-grams. At the same time, the high frequency 3-grams showed high ranges of incidence, indicating a recurrent element of the scheme of the petition, in particular if the ranges were similar or equalled the number of the tokens. As in the case of some shorter bundles, the high frequency 4-grams in Howard's letters and in the social scribes sample tended to indicate a single occurrence in each respective letter. Such 4-grams identified a repetitive element in the petition scheme with a greater degree of certainty than the shorter bundles with similar frequencies and ranges. As the more qualitative analysis into 4-grams revealed, such bundles were usually related either to a longer bundle (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 106ff), or to a recurrent element. Specific realisations of the latter may reveal minute lexical differences and idiosyncratic choices. This finding is far the most significant advantage of the application of the method to a genre-based analysis. This observation may be related to the distinction into syntagmatic vs. paradigmatic overlays of lexical bundles introduced by Kopaczyk (2013). Although the frequency parameter is a core issue in the *n*-gram method, it is important to acknowledge its fluctuations for the shared bundles. Within overlapping lexical bundles, two types of overlaps, i.e. syntagmatic and paradigmatic ones are distinguished (Kopaczyk 2013: 156-157). In the case of the former, i.e. linear overlaps, the frequency differences are crucial as a given shorter bundle may, for instance include variable beginnings or endings (e.g. came ***to this colony***, and ***to this colony*** *in*). Moreover, those syntagmatic bundles "which are more frequent than their further overlaps will also point towards their own characteristic discoursal functions" (Kopaczyk 2013: 156). In the case of the paradigmatic overlaps, shorter bundles are found within longer bundles and they may be expanded in ways which are hard to predict (e.g. the 3-gram *in duty bound* is found in the formula in *in duty bound will pray* as well as in *in duty bound will to pray* and in *he will ever feel himself (as) in duty bound to pray*. But, as Kopaczyk continues, it is possible "to analyse bundles of a given length, and after that to compare the results" (2013: 157). In this way, both the repetitive strings of the specific length and the ones included in longer repetitive strings may be identified. In other words, both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic overlaps

may indicate genre specific patterns of a more or less formulaic nature, although the former *n*-gram type are usually included in a longer standardising formula (Kopaczyk 2013: 218).

To sum up, the *n*-gram method proved useful to the analysis of lexical routinisation of the scribal petitioning practice. However, as I have shown above, limiting the analysis to high frequency items may result in some oversights and a purely qualitative analysis, also with respect to the involved functions of lexical bundles is needed to redress this problem. Thus the final part of the analysis included all the 4-grams. The results of this particular procedure ultimately illustrated the degree of routinisation and replication in Howard's letters and indicated some individual patterns. However, such an analysis would not have succeeded on its own, had the high frequency shorter bundles not been investigated in the first place. In other words, a frequency based analysis of the *n*-grams of different lengths is a prerequisite to a comprehensive analysis of longer repetitive clusters. In the latter case, the significance of normalised frequencies is low. Here, the parameter of the range of occurrences is of fundamental value as is the status of an individual text as an analytical unit rather than the incidence of the *n*-grams in relation to its relative word count.

7.3.4.4. Beyond *n*-grams

Clearly, the analysis proposed above does not capture the replication of pragmatic solutions, even if expressed by a more or less routinised lexical frame. Here, an assumption may be made that if pragmatic solutions that were used to secure the perlocutionary effect of the petition were repeated, it is likely that they have been scribal interventions, rather than petitioner' ideas. Had petitioners proposed such solutions, these would have most likely been individual and unlikely to apply in a wider set of cases. For example, in the REQUEST routine of the petition, one of the justifications for the request for a pass to leave the colony found in Howard's letters was a prospective inheritance promised by an elderly relative. As the examples below demonstrate, regardless of whether the inheritance was real or imagined, the phrasing is most likely the rhetorical effort of the scribe: the relative mentioned in the petitions is *kind and venerable*, *holds an estate* or *is living in good circumstances*, and offers the petitioner *his future welfare* or *maintenance*.

(33a)   That your Excellency's Memorialist
has in England a kind and venerable relative up-
wards of Six[ty] eight years of age, **who holds an
Estate** to which at her decease he is the heir at
Law and who wishes him to return home to his
native country as speedily as poſsible, for purposes
connected with his future welfare (158/159/Austin)

(33b)   That your Excellency's Memorialist **has a kind
and venerable Father** now living in New York in good
circumstances, and who would receive **him with that parental
affection** which has ever distinguished his character, and feel
a pleasure in providing for **his future maintenance** (223/022/Green)

Similarly, the strategy of offering financial security for the prospective
loan (Examples (34a-d)), the strategy of claiming eligibility for a colonial
pass (Examples (35 a-d)) or the flattery accompanying the request (Ex-
amples (36 a-b)) have not been captured by *n*-gram analysis:

(34a)   That your Excellencys Memorialist does not however
solicit **the exercise of** your Lordships paternal goodness
in thus favouring her without offering **the most ample security**
for the use of the public Money (223/036/Cadle)

(34b)   and therefore humbly prays that your Excellency will be
graciously pleased to grant him a Loan of Six Hundred
Rix Dollars and for which he is ready to **give the most
undeniable security** (223/132/Short)

(34c)   and under these painful circumstances he humbly implores
that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant him
a Loan of 1000 Rix Dollars, **for which the most undeniable
Security** will be **given** (223/143/Cooper)

(34d)   and therefore your Memorialist humbly prays that your
Excellency will be graciously pleased to grant him
a Loan of 500Rds and **for which he** will **give security**
by House and Land in Grahams Town (223/232/Webb, Ch.)

(35a) he cannot possibly obtain a livelihood by residing
at **his location** (158/140/Wright)

(35b) who is still living at **his Location** and cultivating the Land
(201/245/Roes)

(35c) and was with him Three Years and Three Quarters
on **his Location** (223/066/Hogg)

(35d) That he has remained on **his Location**
ever since the period of arrival thereon (223/132/Short)

(35e) That he resided upon **his Location** during a period
of Four Years (223/232/Webb, Ch.)

(36a) That your Excellency's Memorialist therefore most humbly
and earnestly prays **for the exercise of your well known**
clemency and goodnefs towards him (178/136/Watson)

(36b) he ventures in great humility to restate his case, for your
Excellency's kind and gracious consideration, hoping
for the exercise of that well known indulgence
^with which your Excellency has deigned to favour
others in similar circumstances (178/168/Hanger)

However, the financial security used as a request-supporting strategy, was
reflected in the list of 4-grams unique to the social scribes:

> *will give good security* (4/4)
> *give good security and* (4/4)
> *good security and your* (4/4)
> *security and your memorialist* (5/5)

In the social scribes sample, a concordance for the word *security*
shows 20 occurrences in 19 letters, including the following *will/can/is
prepared to give good and ample security*; *give ample security*; *eligible
and undeniable security*; *undeniable personal security*. This does not
only show the relative popularity of the strategy in the letters (19 out

of the total of 80) by the social scribes, but also the repetitive modification by *ample* or *undeniable*. Interestingly, only 8 individual hands penned the 19 letters containing the strategy. For instance, a social scribe, Richard White used *eligible and undeniable security* and *undeniable personal security* in his letters. A concordance for another scribe (Hand D) shows the following lengthy and almost entirely stable lexical frame for the request and the post-request strategy that precedes the formulaic closing:

(37a)   And humbly prays your Excellency will be pleased
        to grant him a Loan of four hundred Rix Dollars _
        for which he will give good Security, and your Memorialist
        as in duty bound will ever pray (223/115/Stirk)

(37b)   And humbly prays Your Excellency will be pleased
        to grant him a Loan of One Thousand Rix Dollars
        for which he will give good Security, and Your Memorialist
        as in duty bound will ever pray (223/120/Mouncey)

(37c)   That your Memorialist humbly prays your Excellency
        will be pleased to grant him a Loan of Six hundred Rix Dollars _
        for which he will give good Security, And your Memorialist
        as in duty bound will ever pray (223/123/Murray)

(37d)   And humbly prays your Excellency will be pleased
        to grant him Loan of Six hundred Rix dollars
        for which term he will give good Security _ And your
        Memorialist as in duty bound will ever pray (223/124/Pirie)

The same scribe, however, apparently modifies the frame in one other letter:

(37e)   And humbly prays your Excellency will be pleased
        to grant him a Loan of four hundred Rix Dollars.
        For which he will pay Interest and give good Security
        of the same And your Memorialist
        as in duty bound will ever pray (223/107/Gradwell)

The closest replication of the relatively long element by Hand D occurs in the letters written on Oct 22nd (Stirk), 27th (Mouncey) and 28th (Murray and Pirie), while a different version occurs in an earlier petition for Gradwell (Oct 1st). Carter's replication (see Section 7.2.1.) was also most striking in the letters written over a relatively short span of time. If we assume that such compositions were spontaneous, as we did for Carter, the faithfulness of replication may be explained by memory constraints. In other words, the shorter the time span between each consecutive composition, the more lexically faithful the repetition of the recurring solutions. However, at least for the social scribes another factor may have been at play: they may have worked with the exemplars or petition models which they had at hand, or simply copied more or less faithfully their own compositions (of which they might have kept copies) rather than composed the petitions spontaneously.

Clearly, no computational analysis may capture a full picture of the lexico-pragmatic routines and replication, so further study into the subtle differences in the realisations of specific elements of the petition scheme between Howard and the social scribes, including teasing out the individual preferences for both, may be pursued using the *n*-gram method as a starting point. Moreover, as the rest of this chapter shows, Howard's writing was highly individualised, creative, and subject to self-scrutiny and modification applied in order to meet his own stylistic standards. Thus it remains difficult to characterise in terms of routines and schemes only.

7.3.5. Visual pragmatics

A typical petition penned by Howard follows the traditional model and shows fairly consistent features of layout and spacing. The first element, i.e. the elaborate address is placed at the top of the page in a block of three to four lines and is right indented in most cases. Ample space is left before the next element, the "May it please" line, which has no indentation and indicates the positioning of the blocks of the body of the petition, i.e. the paragraphs and marks the beginning of the left margin at the same time. One or two empty lines follow the formulaic line and next comes the petition title placed centrally *The Memorial of*. In an ample left margin, following another blank line or two, we see the petition trigger *Sheweth*, usually graphically elaborate in larger bold script

at a relatively straight angle, sometimes thickly underlined. Following yet another line space, comes the first paragraph, with a widely indented first line. Paragraphs typically open with a similar indentation with the words *That Your Excellency's Memorialist* and are separated by the blank lines throughout. Sometimes the initial <T> is in larger or otherwise marked script and contains a flourish and the blank space grows in proportion. Not only the initial, but also the entire word "That" which regularly marks paragraph openings, is often rendered in marked script, usually reverse italics and bold. In most cases, ample space is left when the final paragraph ends, preceding the place and date consistently positioned at the end of the petition, in one or two lines, on the left hand side of the page, usually with no indentation. Signatures (if present) are placed immediately below the last paragraph on the right, with or without space, depending most probably on the choice of the subscribing petitioner. In summary, Howard follows the contemporary rules of epistolary reverence as described by Sairio and Nevala (2013). However, three of Howard's letters penned for James Thomas Erith (158/030, 158/094 and 178/072), are strikingly different from the rest of his work and give an appearance of rough drafts, the pages crammed with script, the elements mentioned above absent (but for the "May it please" line), the date and place positioned at the top of the page. The three letters, moreover, are exceptional among Howard's compositions also in that they fail to apply the traditional model of the petition.

An important feature of visual pragmatics in Howard's writing is the use of marked script on full words, phrases and utterances, which occurs regularly in 6 out of 22 petitions, and once in one further petition. A similar device, though limited to the initial character in a word was common in letters from earlier historical periods and has been referred to as the "marked character shape" by Meurman-Solin (2013). The study gives an overview of the *Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* in terms of visual pragmatics. Meurman-Solin shows that in her data, the marked character shape was limited to (uppercase) initials (usually through horizontal extension or changed shape), either in letter opening and closing formulae, or in initials of connectives, such as "and" or "but" (2013). In later periods, through the early nineteenth century, as Dury notes, the script size was a major parameter of variation in handwriting, while the formal education of writing clerks involved the mastery of at least two types of script: large or careful style ("text" or "set" hand) and rapid

smaller script (running hand) (2008: 125).[12] As contemporary corres-
pondence manuals show, script size was related to formality, with legal
documents requiring the former, and ordinary correspondence the latter
type of handwriting. Howard's professional role as a schoolmaster must
have involved mastering a repertoire of script sizes, which he was keen
to apply to his petitioning services. In his writing, marked script, usually
enlargement, but also bold, reverse italics, and a "text hand" shape of
letters, is applied to full words and phrases: names, sums of money,
numbers, central elements of the request, etc. Visual emphasis is not li-
mited to headings or titles, but abounds in the body of the text and per-
forms a variety of functions. Most commonly observed on sensitive in-
formation, special characters may have served as a scribal aid, indicat-
ing the exceptional care taken to reproduce facts and figures and thus
help secure greater accuracy. At the same time, marked script was an at-
tention getter, a guidance for the recipient through the more significant
elements of the text. On occasions, especially in Erith's petitions, the
emphasis achieved by its means seems to have served an expressive
function, as entire utterances, containing reported speech (Example
38(b)), or exclamations (Example 38(c)) were marked by its means (I
use capitalisation to reflect marked script).

(38a)   The price of BREAD and RICE; alarming SCARCITY
        OF MONEY (178/360/Lee)

(38b)   ONE LICENCE; Major Jones, immediately said
        "I know nothing of the Laws of this Colony, therefore
        do not bring ME into any SCRAPE";
        ADDITIONAL LICENCE ! (178/292/Weeks)

(38c)   after three succeſsive applications NO REDREſS
        COULD BE OBTAINED. NO, NOT EVEN FOR
        THE AſSAULT! (136/159/Erith, J.T.)

In Erith's traditional petitions (136/159; 158/235), variable sizes and
shapes of script occur extensively and bold and underline are also used a

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[12] Dury also singles out a mid-nineteenth-century manual that distinguished three
script sizes. One parameter of the distinction was the use of loops (2008: 126).

lot. Also, some other petitions penned by Howard on large folios and marked by exceptionally careful handwriting, i.e. the text hand rather than running hand (Palmer, Lee, Weeks and Cadle), use the device several times on one page, while in Hanger's petition larger script appears only once to mark a single noun phrase *A Colonial Pafs*. However, Roes', Short's and Bond's letters, for instance, also penned on large sheets of paper, fail to contain any marked script. Although special script does not occur throughout Howard's work, its application is an important indication of the extensive effort to think ahead about the visual aspect of presenting an institutional request. In other words, it is hard to conceive that the letters containing such special script were spontaneous compositions. It is more likely that, for the fair copies of such letters, a carefully preplanned draft must have been used.

Overall, the typical petitions scribbled by Howard were carefully organised in terms of their layout and spacing, as I have shown above, but also in terms of other features. Clearly, the scribe used a lining tool, (or manual lining in pencil in some cases) to get the right angle of the lines. Although Howard's handwriting is rather small, sloping, neat and simple, compared to Carter's intricately looped descenders, the overall appearance of his petitions is that of graphically elaborate documents. The flourishes in the address blocks and paragraph initials, the variety of script shapes and sizes, italics and bold, used for emphasis, indicate careful planning ahead of time. Moreover, especially in the case of longer petitions, ink changes occur fairly frequently. In other words, a qualitative analysis of the visual prosody of Howard's petitions indicates, with a much greater probability than Carter's, the existence of rough drafts or extensive notes used for the composition of a fair copy. This observation is substantiated in particular by the letters scribbled for James Thomas Erith, which include external evidence for the use of earlier correspondence (also penned by Howard, or others) as the basis for the fair copies (see Section 7.3.6.5.). Moreover, the fairly frequent corrections found in Howard's work also provide evidence for a copying stage involved in the compilation of the scribal petitions, although drafts or notes remain unattested (see Section 7.3.6.1.).

7.3.6. Self-corrections

Unlike Carter's, Howard's letters include frequent self-corrections: only 4 out of 22 may be viewed as completely correction-free. These, on top of the physical features of the manuscripts, are viewed as significant clues to the technicalities of delegating the petition, the channels of transmission and the scribal involvement and are thus discussed in more detail below.

Corrections, additions and the like in Late Modern English autograph letters and rough drafts have been treated more systematically in Fairman (2008: 199-207), Auer (2008: 215), Fens-de Zeeuw (2011: 146), Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2014: 92) and Włodarczyk (2015). These studies present the various types of amendments in the correspondence of informants from different social strata and demonstrate that corrections, as well as their functions, span the entire spectrum of language use, ranging from punctuation and orthography, through grammatical, stylistic and content changes, to modifications of a clearly pragmatic nature. In terms of the letter-writing practice, the studies mentioned above indicate two options. Firstly, corrections point to the existence of a rough draft, which was a physically separate document that had survived (Włodarczyk 2015). Secondly, a draft may have been written in pencil first, then over-written in ink as a clean copy, with graphite erased to avoid wasting paper (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014). Such, for example, was the practice of Jane Austen, who, like many of her contemporaries, introduced corrections as "afterthoughts upon reading over the letter" or "revisions during the writing process" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014: 84). As the other studies show, corrections in correspondence are visible in what may be treated as a fair (and possibly an only) copy, even though, especially in the case of formal letters and in line with the contemporary epistolary etiquette, self-corrections were not welcome in the Late Modern personal letters (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014: 92, 93). Dossena for instance views self-corrections in business letters of the period as evidence for the fair copy being the only copy due to the financial constraints (Dossena 2010: 294ff), the latter circumstance pertaining to institutional letters seeking financial help and petitions, in particular.

As for the methods of self-correction, apart from erasure, or occasional rubbing out of the text in ink, Late Modern authors used strikethroughs for cancellation, or more commonly, the caret mark below the line to indicate a supralinear insertion (Zeeuw 2011: 146) squeezed in

between the lines. In Howard's letters analysed here, no traces of pencil overwritten in ink are observed. Five illegible erasures and four legible cancellations are found, while the caret mark indicating a supralinear insertion is used in most corrections (64 legible instances per c. 16,600 words/17 letters; on average 3.8 corrections per letter). The erasures, both legible and illegible, differ from the insertions in terms of the timing, the former being immediate, the latter occurring later than the writing itself. Howard's legible self-corrections seem to have been introduced "on the spot" only in four cases (a strikethrough is not accompanied by a supralinear insertion) and the relative frequency of modifications introduced later is fairly significant. Can this be taken as evidence for Howard's letters being the only (and fair) copies, in line with the claim made about autograph letters, i.e. that frequent corrections indicate a rough draft or a draft which is the only copy at the same time (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008: 54-55; Auer 2008: 218; Dossena 2010: 194ff)? Or has Howard simply been a conscientious writer, never quite satisfied with the effect of his work, so the sheer number of self-corrections does not preclude the existence of rough drafts? As some visual evidence presented above suggests, painstaking planning was involved in Howard's work. Moreover, apart from the scribe, the petitioner was in one way or another involved in the process of composition and may have been the source of the corrections. Despite a host of interesting questions that self-corrections in scribal writing may pose, these have not been analysed systematically in Late Modern English, or any other period.[13] Therefore, it is necessary to reach for evidence beyond correspondence to studies into other scribal texts, in order to add more substance to the stipulation that the petitions written in Howard's hand were based on earlier drafts or notes.

In his analysis of the "anatomy of correction" in the manuscripts of the Salem witchcraft trials from 1692, Grund distinguishes the three major techniques of correction, which had also been observed in the studies into the Late Modern autographs, i.e. overwriting, cancellation and supralinear addition, the latter marked by caret in most cases (2007: 7-8). Moreover, the study emphasises the significance of ink changes which may indicate a revision made later than the time of composition. These,

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[13] Studies into the authorship of female letters in the periods of low literacy (Davis 1972; Wood 2009; Williams 2013) are the exceptions here.

however, need to be viewed with caution, as ink changes may have also resulted from technical problems with pen nibs, or a short pause taken by a scribe. Although the Salem records are far removed from the analysed data in time, space and context, some similarities are evident. First and foremost, professional clerks, among others, were involved in their production. Secondly, due to the nature of the legal procedure, scribal work involved a compilation of records from oral testimony, previous notes (possibly also shorthand) or earlier drafts. This indicates that the Salem documents were composed in a multi-stage process rather than at one writing moment (Grund 2012: 4). As the discussion of the practices of the other professional scribe, John Carter has shown (see Section 7.2.), the composition of petitions by an intermediary may have involved several stages as well. Moreover, the Salem records involve "documents written down from model documents or from instructions" (Grund 2007: 18), as must have been the case with the composition of the highly conventionalised genre of petition.

Most importantly, Grund's study aims to address questions similar to the ones arising in connection with the practice of delegating petitions in the Cape Colony. The major difficulty encountered by Grund's study is that "it is not always clear whether a particular error should be ascribed to copying from an earlier source, to the difficulties of recording an oral testimony, or to mental skips in the composition of a text" (Grund 2007: 18). Putting the complexities of recording an oral testimony aside (the number of errors in the documents is too low to corroborate that it had been the case), Grund uses the term "copying/writing" errors to allow for the two remaining possibilities, i.e. copying from an earlier source or mental skips in composition. The most significant clues indicated by Grund's study may reveal some aspects of the textual transmission of the information contained in the witchcraft trials. These involve corrections of errors akin to scribal errors typical of the manual copying,[14] in particular corrected dittography and corrected anticipatory errors (eye-skips, eyeshifts or an-

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[14] Research into mediaeval manuscript copying, or translation, shows that, for lack normative orthographic systems, spelling changes were common in the scribal practice. In seventeeth-century New England, similarly, spelling rules were not codified, so Grund discusses spelling corrections in his work (2007: 11). For this study, however, spelling changes are of lesser relevance as the professional petition writers would have, in most cases, relied on their own notes. For instance, Tieken-Boon van Ostade only points out very few self-corrections of spelling in Jane Austen's correspondence (2014: 87-88).

ticipations; Grund 2007: 19-21).[15] Dittography, a repetition of a set of characters or words, is conventionally viewed as a basic mechanical copying error (cf. marktwainproject). Based on the numbers of these two types of corrections, Grund concludes that, in most cases, previous full-text documents, exemplars, or extensive notes must have been the source for the Salem records.

7.3.6.1. Types of self-corrections

The 64 self-corrections in Howard's petitions occur in 17 letters. In addition, five erasures were identified. In one letter a single erasure occurs (223/149 # in line four of the body; could be "for" "impediment # to their removal"), but no self-corrections. Four further erasures are found in the letters which contain self-corrections. Four letters are completely correction-free (Wright, Watson, Hogg, Howard Party) and, interestingly, these are the ones which do not contain special script emphasis either. It is important to note that 20 out of 64 corrections occur in the long memorial penned for Erith (158/235) and a further 18 are found in the other petitions on behalf of this settler (38, i.e. c. 60% overall), which means that the 12 remaining letters penned by Howard for other petitioners account for only c. 40% of all the self-corrections (26 in 64).

Based on the previous work devoted to corrections, the ones indicated by Grund (2007) as instructive on the nature of the compilation are discussed in greater detail, i.e. the copying/writing category (26, i.e. 41%). These self-corrections are necessary in that they originate from mistakes (typically word omissions) which impair the reception of a text. In the other category, the self-correction does not target a gap, but involves an amendment to otherwise intelligible contents. These corrections may be referred to by the umbrella term "stylistic" (34, i.e. 52%). Most of these, but for the infrequent immediate amendments, are not equally revealing on the mode of composition and constitute more of an "editorial" intervention. A small number of corrections, in particular a modification of a letter in a word, do not seem to be significant for the analysis (four cases, i.e. 6%).

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[15] Grund views both dittography and eye-skips with caution, indicating problematic examples (e.g. dittography at line breaks) which do not provide equally strong evidence for copying from an earlier text.

Table 7.10. Howard's self-corrections

Correction cat.	%	Correction type	No.
Copying/writing	41%	Anticipations	20
		Dittography	3
		Factual	2
		Other	1
Stylistic	53%	Clarity/Style	15
		Detail	12
		Grammar	5
		Meaning	2
Mechanical	6%	Letter correction/ omission/insertion	3
		Slip	1
Total	100%	Total	64

Anticipations, in the analysis below, refer to word or phrase insertions which may be indicative of both a copying error[16] or a composition error, the latter understood as a mental skip, whereby, in the process of writing, the cognition is faster than the hand (Grund 2007: 18; see also Fairman 2008: 199 for "jumps"). Grund is cautious, in particular, when single letters or words are concerned, hence his category of copying/writing errors, to which the present analysis also sticks. Examples (39a)-(39d) below illustrate selected anticipations (marked as superscript placed between slashes) in Howard's letters:

(39a) a detail of which I $^{/feel\backslash}$ would now be superfluous
       (136/159/Erith, J.T.)

(39b) That during the unavoidable $^{/absence\backslash}$
       of your Memorialist (158/235/Erith, J.T.)

(39c) His Majesty the King $^{/of\backslash}$ G^t Britain (223/022/Green)

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[16] I refer to insertions as "anticipations", but essentially the insertions are designed to correct an error resulting from an eye-skip, i.e. the scribe losing track on the source text, or a mental skip.

(39d)   the exercise of that well known indulgence $^{/with\backslash}$ which
           your Excellency has deigned to favour others
           in similar circumstances (178/168/Hanger)

Anticipations indicate insertions aiming to correct an utterance which otherwise seems incomplete or nonsense. The majority of the anticipations involve insertions of a single word, while longer insertions, of a phrase for instance, are infrequent. No anticipations of entire passages occur that could be compared to the ones pointed out by Grund as the strongest evidence for copying, rather than mechanical jumps to the next word in spontaneous composition (2007: 19). An important detail, however, in the data analysed here, may suggest that the anticipations in Howard's work are indeed a result of copying. Namely, out of the 20 anticipations, 16 occur in the letters penned for James Thomas Erith, including 9 in the long memorial. In other words, 9 out of 20 anticipations are observed in a petition which indubitably has been compiled from pieces of previous correspondence (see Section 7.3.6.6. for details). As for dittography, which also belongs to the copying/writing errors, there are two examples of (immediately) corrected repetitions and a single example of an uncorrected dittography; the latter, is however, across the line boundary (Examples 40(a)-(c)):

(40a)   However {I̶} I beg to say that it is now my intention
           to commence an Action at Law against him (158/194/Erith, J.T.)

(40b)   had it remained in the hands {i̶n̶ ̶t̶h̶e̶ ̶h̶a̶n̶d̶s̶} of the original
           proprietor (201/045/Roes)

(40c)   but as
           as Mrs Erith was then, very near the time
           of her confinement, (158/235(15)/Erith, J.T.)

The anticipations and dittographies occurring in Howard's writing are not frequent enough to prove his reliance on rough drafts beyond any shadow of doubt. Still, anticipations occurring in the chunks of text that may be traced back to earlier letters may be viewed as stronger evidence for copying than for composition errors.

    I also singled out a subcategory of self-corrections which may be of interest here, i.e. the corrections of factual mistakes:

(41a)   {~~North America~~}$^{/\text{the united States}\backslash}$ (223/022/Green)

(41b)   The Memorial of {~~John~~}$^{/\text{Joseph}\backslash}$ Short most humbly (223/132/Short)

Examples (41a) and (41b) above show that some kind of negotiation between the scribe and the petitioner must have been involved in the correction of factual information. In particular the corrected first name of the petitioner (in the title of the petition), shows that the contents of the petition were consulted with them at some stage, but the scribe had in the first place relied on his own knowledge or assumptions. Only in the final stage of the composition, possibly a revision stage, did he seek to agree upon the details with his customer.

Finally, an error which I marked as "other" in the copying/writing category deserves some attention:

(42)   of Six$^{/\text{ty}\backslash}$ eight years of age (158/159/Austin)

The inserted ordinal numeral ending /ty\ may indicate that the scribe consulted a written source with the digits 68, which he copied to the alphabetic version mechanically. Only upon the second reading (revision stage or reading out to the petitioner) did he notice that the morpheme was missing.

7.3.6.2. Self-corrections in the letters by the social scribes

The social scribes, similarly to Howard, applied some self-corrections (see Table 7.11): 24 out of 80 letters by the social scribes include these (30%), with the average of 1.7 corrections per letter (word count of 23,342) compared to the average of 3.8 in Howard's letters. The self-corrections singled out in the analysis are a feature of 12 identified social letter-writers and 6 unidentified hands, i.e. 18 out of the total number of 46 social scribes (39%). This shows the rather special status of self-corrections, as 61% of the social scribes fail to make them and 70% of the letters do not involve any. As Table 7.11 shows, some writers show a greater preference for corrections than others: Hand D (5 in 4 letters) and White (six in two letters); Jane Erith made three modifications in one letter; Hand M and Rowles made one correction in two letters respectively. For the remaining social scribes, an odd self-

correction, or two, occur in a single letter. This once more indicates either that the petitioning practices by the medium of the social scribes typically involved the procedures yielding a fair copy (either copied from a draft or compiled from notes), or that the petitions were not reread before submission, for instance for reasons of haste, and consequently, no corrections were inserted.

Table 7.11. Social scribes: Types of self-corrections

Correction category	%	Correction type	No.
Copying/writing	35%	Anticipation	7
		Dittography	4
		Factual	1
		Other	1
Stylistic	27%	Clarity/Style	3
		Detail	4
		Grammar	3
		Meaning	–
Mechanical	38%	Letter correction/omission/insertion	3
		Line break/space management	4
		Slip	5
		Deletion	2
	100%	Total	37

The total number of self-corrections in the letters by the social scribes is 38, including a single illegible strikethrough. The remaining corrections are classified in Table 7.12 based on a set of categories similar to the analysis proposed in Section 7.3.6. The subcategory 'Other' in the 'Copying/writing' corrections involves a single case of overwriting (Example (45)), a type of change which was not found in Howard's letters, but a single occurrence was identified in Carter's writing. However, as some errors in the analysed set of letters involved space management, a new subcategory of mechanical errors was added: *Line break/space management*. These involved squeezing in parts of the words that overflow the page, indicating the lack of a page margin on the right, or deleting parts of words and then starting over in the following line. Moreover, deletions (without accompanying insertions or additions) were also included as another subtype here.

(43)   He has been obliged to exchange
        his stock for a Waggon and Oxen, that
        by the Working of which he might be able
        to {support} >>meet<< his heavy expences, occasioned
        by the mental derangement of his Wife (223/108/Kidwell)

Table 7.12. Self-correcting Social scribes

	Social scribe	Corrections	Letters
1.	Bailie, John	1	1
2.	Greathead, J. H.	1	1
3.	Hand D	5	4
4.	Hand G	2	1
5.	Hand I	1	1
6.	Hand M	2	2
7.	Hand N	2	1
8.	Hand S	2	1
9.	Erith, Jane	3	1
10.	Lloyd, Henry	1	1
11.	NN	9	6
12.	Rowles, Thomas	2	2
13.	White, Richard	6	2
	Total	38	24

Copying/writing errors involve 35% (13 out of 38), stylistic corrections account for 27% (10 out of 38) and the corrections of mechanical errors for 38% (14 out of 38). The overall counts differ strikingly from the categorisation of Howard's corrections (i.e. 41%, 53% and 6% for the respective categories), especially in the case of stylistic and mechanical errors. The stylistic changes in the petitions of the social scribes are much fewer than in Howard's, illustrating the individual preference of the professional scribe for a careful style. On the other hand, the mechanical errors seem to have been of a much greater concern to the self-correcting social scribes (35% vs. Howard's 6%). This also illustrates that the social scribes were preoccupied with managing the material space and may not have consciously controlled the layout of their letters by means of spacing. The pre-planning of the visuals of the page was thus very much the domain of

the professional scribe. The social scribes were also less sensitive to sty-listics issues, and they did not attempt to polish their compositions to the extent to which Howard certainly did.

On the whole, the evidence from the social scribes shows that self-corrections are an individualised practice. For example, three out of the four corrected dittographies occur in the letters penned by Hand D. Al-though two of these are found across a line break (Examples (44b) and (44c)), they may have been copying rather than compositional errors. It is, then, possible that the social scribe known to us as 'Hand D' worked with rough drafts.

(44a)   Seven Hundred Acres {of} of Pasturage (223/120/Mouncey)

(44b)   That your Memorialist is {desirous}
        desirous of increasing his Stock (223/120/Mouncey)

(44c)   and your
        {your} Memorialist as in Duty bound
        will ever pray (223/126/Ford)

Another interesting case involves an unidentified hand who penned one of the letters for David Cawood and his family (223/098/Cawood). This scribe made four different self-corrections, involving a factual mistake, line/space management, grammatical correction and a simple deletion (Examples 45(a)-(c)). Despite a range of nonstandard spellings (e.g. *shiep* for "sheep") and grammar (lack of concord in *comprises* in Example (45c)), the scribe seems to have carefully reread his petition and, as the corrected first name suggests, consulted the contents with the customer(s).

(45a)   The Memorial of David Carwood,
        James Carwood & {John} /William\ Carwood, his Sons
        Humbly Sheweth

(45b)   [At present our stock of Cattle consists]
        of Six Horses, Seventy Draft Oxen{s} Sixty
        Cows & young Beasts

(45c) its also to keep two
       to two Hundred *&* Fifty Shiep *&* Goats;
       and {~~also at present~~}. <u>Three good waggons</u>
       <u>which comprises our free stocks</u>

The above discussion of self-corrections reveals their idiosyncratic nature, indicating that the other potential areas of analysis, such as routinisation and visual pragmatics, would have to be studied individually for every scribe. Still, it may be concluded that the social scribes, just as the professional scribes, seem to have operated within a similar repertoire of practices as indicated above. All in all, dictation would have been unlikely; it is more feasible to imagine the customer's contents being inserted within the structural and lexical frames of an individual scribe. Thus, scribal petitions would have reflected the language of the scribe rather than that of the petitioner. As for the potential contributions of the petitioners themselves, the petitions were most likely read to them prior to their submission, or were, at least, reread by the scribe for the purpose of revision. Some letters may have been based on rough drafts. The social scribes, whose consistency in the application of the traditional model of the petition is remarkable (67 out of 80 letters, i.e. 84%; see Table 5.2 in Chapter Five), must have relied on some sources of their own: they may have either resorted to exemplars, such as the copies of the petitions which had already been submitted and which may have circulated in the community, or petitions available in manuals, or to the memorised models of the petition.

7.3.6.3. Self-corrections vs. features of visual pragmatics

The analysis of the copying/writing errors in Howard's petitions does not conclusively point to a single mode of writing. Clearly, the scribal work that Howard conducted for Erith stands out both in terms of the number of corrections and the mode of composition established on the basis of external evidence. Therefore, Erith's petitions deserve a separate treatment. However, some other petitions also contain meaningful self-corrections, or isolated occurrences that nonetheless point to the existence of notes or drafts (e.g. Roes, Austin and Short) as their basis. Also, it should be borne in mind that only 4 in 22 petitions penned by Howard fail to involve corrections of any sort, which is, overall, fairly striking compared to the almost entirely correction-free writing of John Carter. It is impossible to exclude the possibility

that the four correction-free letters have been written down in a mode different from the letters containing corrections. However, the scope of Howard's sample allows distinguishing at least three different patterns of self-correction: (1) the individualised and highly diversified work for James Thomas Erith (five petitions), (2) the more routinised compositions which contain corrections, though less extensive than in Erith's letters, ranging from one to four per letter (12 petitions, regular and large folios), and (3) the petitions which are correction-free (five, i.e. four and one including an ink blot; regular size). Interestingly, the corrections coincide with the use of marked script in six petitions. In other words, as I have pointed out above, this significant feature of visual prosody does not occur in correction-free letters. The correction-free petitions, in turn, only use paper sheets of regular size. If the paper size is further taken into consideration, it is important to notice that all the petitions written on large folios involve corrections (seven, including Erith's), again one to four per letter (excluding Erith's). Furthermore, if we exclude Erith, the use of emphatic script is restricted to one in five remaining large petitions. As I have demonstrated above, the use of marked characters shape involved planning in advance and, possibly, a rough draft. Although it is hard to imagine that the use of large and more expensive paper would not have involved a rough draft or notes, a stipulation may be made that large sheets imposed an additional financial constraint on the scribe. Therefore, all these involve corrections, because the paper was too expensive to discard, so even if they had been based on rough drafts, but the scribe spotted an error, he did not mind inserting a few modifications. On the other hand, the correction-free letters, which coincide with regular folios, fail to include special script, just like the petitions on large folios. As in Carter's case, the accuracy of such letters may either be the effect of polishing the rough draft, or of a fully routinised spontaneous composition. However, the lack of marked characters in both the exceptional correction-free petitions and in several large ones may reveal a similar procedure, probably typical for Howard. This involved the use of ephemeral notes, rather than elaborate rough drafts which would have included pieces of text carefully marked for emphasis in the fair copies. In other words, Howard's petitions are very unlikely to have been on the spot compositions, regardless of whether the fair copy which has come to us contained corrections or not. After the petitions with corrections contain more than one or two changes. The six petitions which involved regular marking by a special script must have, however, been composed in a procedure slightly different to the rest:

these must have been drafted fairly carefully first and only then copied to produce the final version. Whichever combination of factors we take into account, the general outcome of the considerations above is that the extensive self-corrections in Howard's writing do not prove that the scribe had only produced one version of the petitions, i.e. the fair copy.

7.3.6.4. Stylistic corrections

Stylistic corrections account for over 50% of all the self-corrections in Howard's letters. In most cases, these are word or phrase insertions which either add to the clarity of a given utterance, or supplement a further detail, adding to the precision of the contents:

(46a)   to receive the amount $^{/as\backslash}$ due (223/133/Bond)

(46b)   he begs leave to state that his political principles have always
        been influenced by the most underrating fidelity to his King
        and Country, and under $^{/the\backslash}$ sacred impulse $^{/thereof\backslash}$ he
        Joined the S^ت James's and S^ت Mary Volunteers (223/031/Palmer)

(46c)   that your Excellency's Memorialist $^{/therefore\backslash}$ (who is
        perfectly ready and willing to pay) (201/045/Roes)

(46d)   No action has been commenced, but on the contrary
        he now denies {~~his~~} that it was ever his intention
        to do so (158/235/Erith, J.T.)

(46e)   of which
        I doubt not they will be surprised to hear,
        but $^{/for\ which\backslash}$ I have now the honour, again,
        to make formal application (158/235/Erith, J.T.)

(46f)   That your Excellency's Memorialist most humbly prays
        that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take
        his case into your most {~~graci~~} serious
        consideration (178/360/Lee)

(46g)   the repeated failure of his Crops $^{/the\ sicknefs\ among\ his\ Cattle\backslash}$
        (223/143/Cooper)

In the examples above, the insertions of /as\, /thereof\, /therefore\ as well as other prepositional or adjectival insertions have been marked as the subcategory "clarity/style". Apart from their connective function, these also meet some genre related demands and genre specific constructions. For instance, this is the case when an NP in "but on the contrary he now denies his /original\ intention to do so" (158/194/Erith, J.T.) is changed into a *that*-clause "he now denies {his} that it was ever his intention" (158/235/Erith, J.T.). Similarly, in Example (46e), the ellipsis in a coordinate construction is filled with the phrase /for which\, parallel to the *of which* in the first part of the sentence. The inserted element may otherwise be redundant, but in the institutional text it may actually be required for the sake of clarity and elegance. Repetition of lexical elements, however, and the preference for formulaic collocations, are visible in example (46f), where the scribe started with *graci* aiming for *your most gracious consideration*, but crossed it out (probably on the spot, as the word *serious* is not in superscript) and went for the phrase *serious consideration* to avoid repetition of the lexeme "gracious" in the same line[17]. In contrast to these stylistic self-corrections, Example (46g) involves an extra bit of information, but does not essentially add to the stylistic makeup of an institutional request and is thus categorised as "Detail".

Five grammar-related self-corrections were spotted, most involving an insertion of an omitted article (could possibly have also been categorised as "Anticipations") or other grammatical issues, such e.g. distant subject verb agreement:

(47a)   I beg leave to recommend him to your Excellency
          as /a\ deserving man (178/168/Hanger)

(47b)   the price of Bread and Rice (two efsential necefsaries
          of human existence) {is} /are\ absolutely advanced beyond
          that ability of every British Settler for purchase (178/360/Lee)

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[17] Outside of this example, the adjectives *gracious* and *serious* occur twice each in Howard's letters, including one instance of each in combination with consideration: *serious and humane consideration* and *kind and gracious consideration*. But the adverb "graciously" is fairly frequent with 20 occurrences, 19 in the collocation "graciously pleased". Howard's frequent use of the lexeme might have caused the initial choice in the example discussed above, which illustrates the linguistic routinisation of his writing.

Typically semantic corrections were not observed, but two self-corrections do relate to meaning:

(48a)   the dreary {~~prospects~~} clouds which are gathering
        round us, as the effects (158/030/Erith, J.T.)

(48b)   he begs to declare /adopting\
        {~~accepting~~} the mode
        he prescribes (158/235(15)/Erith, J.T.)

In the former case, the more literal and graphic metaphor "dreary clouds" replaces "dreary prospects" (most likely an immediate correction); in the latter, the collocation "adopt a mode" rather than "accept a mode" is selected. These self-corrections appear to result from the process of spontaneous composition and the visual pragmatics of the letter filed as 158/030, similarly indicates a rough draft. The latter is found on the final sheet of Erith's large memorial, in a cursory note on the margin rather than in the body of the petition.

7.3.6.5. Howard's mediation in Erith's petitions

Two letters delegated to Howard by James Thomas Erith (136/159 and 158/235) require particular attention for several reasons. First of all, both contain duplicates of Erith's earlier correspondence with the colonial officials (Table 7.13). This is not surprising, as quotations of parts or wholes of earlier correspondence were typical for the internal institutional practices of the Colonial Office, where evidentiality was of great significance (see Włodarczyk 2013d). Insertions and extracts of previous correspondence, apart from the need to authenticate the contents of the letters also prove that, (1) a record of earlier correspondence, both in and out, was kept either by the Eriths or by the scribe; (2) in compiling the petitions, Howard relied on written materials provided by the petitioner (in- and out-letters) and/or his own scribal work (out-letters) as copies or drafts. Secondly, the later letter (158/235) is exceptionally long, comprising 15 large sheets, and it relies largely on the earlier letter (136/159), as well on further pieces of Eriths' previous correspondence with the authorities designated as "duplicates",[18]

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[18] Unfortunately, I do not have access to the originals of all the letters listed in Table 7.13.

including one more letter scribbled by Howard (158/194).[19] The best part of thecopious petition is, then, a compilation of the previous letters.

Table 7.13. Copies of earlier letters in Howard's scribal petitions for Erith

Sender and recipient	136/159	158/235
Trappes to Erith, June 5th 1820	√	√
Knobel to Erith, July 18th 1820	√	√
Trappes to Erith (with extract from July 6th 1820)	√	√
Erith's Memorial (to Rufane Donkin), June 8th 1821		√
Erith to James Jones, Nov 1st 1821		√
Erith's Third Memorial (to Rufane Donkin), Nov 17th 1821		√
C. Bird's note with instructions to reply, Dec 8th 1821		√

The lengthy memorial, apart from the new portions of text, in fact constitutes, partially, a word for word copy of the earlier letter (i.e. 136/159) and, at places, a slightly modified version of this and, at least, of one further letter (158/194). Therefore, it undoubtedly records both a copying and a self-revising practice of the scribe. Mechanical work is visible: ink changes are frequent and the handwriting reflects the strain of the scribe. The device used for emphasis in most cases is the underline, which may have been added as an afterthought. Still, marked script is also present, as a signal of careful planning. Marked script, it is worth noting, occurs in the revised piece (158/235(14)) drawn from the first paragraph of the letter filed as 158/174 (see the photos in Appendix 7.5). Finally, the long petition from Erith contains several notes in the margins for the individual paragraphs on pages 2, 8, 12, 13 and 15. In most cases the notes provided additional information or a comment on the content of a given paragraph, indicating the scribe's tendency for unending revisions and modifications. Moreover, the notes may have been designed to facilitate the reading by the clerks in the Colonial Office, indicating the scribe's awareness of the reception procedures involved in dealing with the petitions. In short, a closer inspection of the intertextuality of some of the petitions scribbled by Howard on behalf of Erith opens a window on the nature of the involved self-revisions and

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[19] The first seven sheets of the letter have been included in *RCC* (14: 232-240), but the rest, which covers the duplicates of Eriths' correspondence with the colonial authorities from the year 1821, was skipped in the edition.

the composition process of the scribal petitions. Moreover, the corrections observed in the lengthy petition in the sections copied from the earlier letters penned by Howard, reveal the types of errors likely to occur in the course of a mixed copying and composition process based specifically on the preliminary draft versions, or notes.

7.3.6.6. "Creative copying" changes

Although a thorough analysis of Howard's revisions is beyond the scope of this Chapter and the nature of some changes is similar to the stylistic self-corrections discussed above, selected examples of the scribe's creative composition are quoted below. In principle, the duplicate letters in Howard's work remain unchanged and are marked as "Copy" or "Duplicate" with the exception of modifications in punctuation, abbreviations and capitalisation. As for the earlier letters, which Howard clearly reused in his work for Erith, but did not necessarily mark as "Copies", he rarely copied larger parts without modification. The range of changes is fairly broad: the scribe frequently substituted one word for another (*venture to subjoin* into *take the liberty to subjoin*) and expanded bits of text (*for the inspection of your Excellency* into *in order to convince your Excellency that he has acted contrary to his Instructions*). Some of the changes, as Table 7.14 shows, are purely stylistic (*thereof* to *of which*), or add to the clarity (*an Action for defamation of character* to *an Action against her for defamation of character*). Other modifications, in particular the extensions and substitutions, add substance to the argument of the petition and show the scribe's concern for its pragmatic effect.

Table 7.14. Howard's copying changes

158/194/Erith, J. T.	158/235/Erith, J. T.
That your petitioner in the course of **these** extraordinary proceedings received another Letter from **Cap**^t Trappes, the Duplicate of which he **ventures** to subjoin for the inspection of your Excellency	That your Memorialist in the course of **the** extraordinary proceedings received another Letter from **Captain** Trappes, the Duplicate of which he **takes the liberty** to subjoin**, in order to convince** your Excellency **that he has acted contrary to his Instructions**

and in consequence **thereof** on board **the Brilliant**,	and in consequence **of which**, on board **"the Brilliant"where he provided them with many additional comforts,**
but while on their voyage they behaved in a manner towards your petitioner (without any real cause) which would not fail to excite in his mind the most painful sensations	but while on their Voyage they behaved in a manner **unbecoming their situation, and** which could not fail to excite in this mind some painful sensations,
During your last visit to Albany Mrs Erith had the honor to **hand** you her Memorial, detailing the cruel persecutions I **have** endured from **Capt** Trappes, the late provisional magistrate of this district when, with your usual goodneſs, agreeable to	"During your last visit to Albany, Mʳˢ Erith had the honour to **leave** you her Memorial detailing the cruel persecutions I **had** endured from **Captain** Trappes the late provisional Magistrate of this district, when with your usual goodneſs, agreeable to
the prayer it contained, <u>you was pleased</u> to direct our present worthy Landrost to remove me ^{/from the} rock upon which he has placed me\ to another Location, but added **"That** <u>you was prevented</u> from attending to the other points contained in her Memorial,	the prayer it contained, <u>you was pleased to</u> direct our present worthy Landdrost to remove me from the rock upon which Captain Trappes has placed me, to another Location, but added that "<u>you was prevented</u> from attending to the other points contained in her Memorial,
that he meant to commence an Action for defamation of character	that he meant to commence an Action **against her** for defamation of character
<u>No Action</u> has been commenced! But on the contrary he now denies his^{/original\} <u>intention to do so</u>! and actually charges your Excellency with recommending the plan to him,	No Action has been commenced, but on the contrary he now denies {his} **that it was ever his** intention to do so. And actually charges your Excellency with recommending **such a** plan to him,

It is interesting to observe the lack of concord, or the use of *was* with the pronoun *you* in *That you was*. Interestingly, the form only occurs 4 times in Howard's letters[20] (twice in 158/194 and twice in the copied section

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[20] Some hesitation in the agreement with the verb *to be* may be observed in Howard's letter for J. T. Erith (158/235(22)): "that there **was** 10 pounds" (cf. the correction of "is" to "are" in Example (47b)). These, however, illustrate the singular vs. plural choices in the present tense and are not necessarily related to *you was*.

thereof in 158/235). The larger context of its occurrence is fairly specific: the nonstandard form occurs in the account of a conversation between Jane Erith and a colonial official. As Howard's letters do not contain any other instances of the second person pronoun followed by *was*, or *you* followed by any other verb with a third person singular ending, the fact that it surfaces in the scribal letters indicates that it had originated with the petitioner rather than the scribe. The conversational context of the form and the involvement of Thomas Erith's wife may have also influenced its preservation. In Jane Erith's original letters, for example, you *was occurs* 4 times, albeit 3 of the occurrences (total word count of 41 letters by Jane is c. 15,500; see Włodarczyk 2013b) are alike:

(49a)   when I saw you last **you was kind** enough **as to give me**
        an Order on your own Responsibility for my 15 Blankets

(49b)   The Rice **you was so kindas to give me** is now almost expended

(49c)   By Your kindness I have received 8 Blankets on the Order
        you **was so good as to give me** although very much Moth Eaten

Only a single example of the use of *be* as a lexical verb, not in a predicative construction:

(50)   while **You was** in the Albany District

The examples above show that the form *you was* belonged to Jane Erith's repertoire. The specific environment of the three occurrences above, i.e. a compliment accompanying the expression of gratitude, may explain Jane's choice of this variant, but the existential use in the final example testifies to a possibility of a broader range of use. Thus, the nonstandard form in Howard's letters penned for James Erith may have ultimately been a reflection of his wife's usage. We may speculate that it found its way into the scribal petition (and its copied version) either as recorded by Howard from the spoken account of the conversation (although this option is highly unlikely given the modes of composition described above), or based on the earlier letters from the Eriths, which may have been used as the basis for the composition by the scribe. The following reasons which led to the preservation of the form may be proposed: an oversight (while copying, if we assume that the Eriths had

provided the scribe with their earlier correspondence), or a conscious decision on the side of the scribe to keep the original feature of Jane's language (if we assume the prominence of the conversational context of its occurrence). Clearly, as the same chunk of text was copied to the long memorial, an oversight seems less likely, although we cannot exclude the possibility that such a menial task could have desensitised the scribe to the linguistic norm. On the other hand, in the same piece of text, the tense in "I have endured" was indeed modified to "I had endured". Alternatively, we may assume that not only were some parts of the lengthy memorial fairly faithful copies of the earlier letter (158/194), but also that the latter had been based on previous correspondence. If this was the case, the "duplicate rule" could have applied: Howard would refrain from introducing changes to the previous letters as he was aware of the evidential value of the duplicates and copies (cf. Włodarczyk 2013d). Such an explanation works for the survival of the form in 158/235, as it is found in the duplicate of Erith's Third Memorial (to Rufane Donkin) from Nov 17th 1821 and is marked as such in the long petition. Even here, however, a grammatical (tense change) and a lexical modification occurred (*hand you her Memorial* vs. *to leave you her Memorial*). Clearly, the Eriths were special customers of Howard's, while their relationship may have extended beyond the petitioning business. Alternatively, the Eriths may have simply been more demanding than a regular petitioner, hence their scribal letters involve such a wealth of clues on mediated petitioning.

7.3.6.7. Discussion

The analysis of Howard's scribal letters presented above shows that it is very unlikely that he had written his petitions from dictation. On the other hand, ample evidence exists to show that his compositions were based on earlier notes, drafts or letters (his own or the petitioner's). If, however, Howard used the previous correspondence of his customers to write his own petitions the homogeneity of his spelling does not corroborate menial copying. The evidence from the analysis of Howard's routinisation and replication shows that he might have kept the drafts or duplicates of his scribal compositions for future reference. As the work conducted for the Eriths demonstrates, Howard never quite ceased to edit his compositions. At the same time, his intervention in the letters which he quoted as duplicates was restricted to changes in spelling, abbreviations and punctuation. A grammatical or lexical modification occurred every now and then, but only in

the revised versions of his own earlier compositions which he included in the long memorial penned for Erith (158/235). The multiple corrections found in Howard's letters, as well as the features of visual prosody, such as the preplanned special character marking, testify to a multi-step composition procedure, which was very likely to involve the reading aloud of the letters to the petitioner. Hence, some corrections (e.g. factual ones) may clearly be ascribed to the petitioner. On the whole, Howard seems to have imposed not only the structural and lexical frame upon the contents provided by the petitioner, but also to have implemented his own pragmatic solutions to successfully boost the potential effect of a given request. Finally, Howard's compositions involve a wealth of lexical and rhetorical devices, which are clearly his individual mark on the realisation of the genre.

7.4. Carter vs. Howard

The composition of scribal petitions is a specialised communicative event. The theoretical frame of the analysis, i.e. the communicative project of the petition suggested its unique character as a separate multi-modal step (Chapter Six). However, only a study into some specific discourse and linguistic features of mediated petitions has illustrated the scope of the relevant research questions. In this chapter, an attempt was made to gain some insights into the technologies of the scribal production of petitions and to emphasise the multiplicity of potential diagnostics of the process. Above, features such as the degree of routinisation and replication, the graphics, layout and selected material aspects of the manuscripts (i.e. visual pragmatics), as well as the involved self-corrections,were used as the basis for an assessment of the degree of secretarial input in the finalised letters. These features were also viewed as potential clues to the technicalities of the composition of the scribal petition and to the channels of the transmission of information between the petitioner and the scribe.

In the analysis proposed above, clear differences emerged between the compositions of the two professional scribes, although it was clearly established that none of the scribes wrote their petitions to dictation.[21] This

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[21] This is perhaps not surprising, not only because of the metatextual evidence quoted in the beginning of this chapter, but also because secretarial documents are very often written from notes (their own or the delegator's). For instance, Thaisen (2014: 510) talks about the ephemeral notes or written exemplars used by the scribes of a blind writer, John Audelay (died c. 1426), an obvious candidate for a dictating poet.

section summarises the features analysed as diagnostics of the technologies of composing the 1820 settler petitions by John Carter and William Howard (Table 7.15). Carter, whose sample is much smaller, was mostly approached by petitioners whose cases were relatively straightforward. In line with a well-defined illocutionary aim of the majority of the letters which he penned, Carter produced short, structurally homogenous petitions, mostly following the new model. Lexically, his compositions involved a fairly stable frame employed to perform the individual pragmatic tasks of the genre. Still, some indications of the components which resisted the same degree of routinisation, such as the expression of stance and attitude, may be discerned in Carter's scribal letters. These may have involved the petitioner's own phrasing or could have reflected the specific stance of the scribe towards a given customer. The transmission of the information from the subscriber to Carter seems to have been through the spoken rather than written medium. With the exception of a text sample marked as "Copy", no evidence presented above corroborates that Carter had worked with written material provided by the petitioner or that he had drafted rough versions of the letters prior to the penning of the final ones. In particular, his petitions are almost entirely correction-free, while as for the features of visual pragmatics, despite the rather decorative handwriting and the care taken for the graphic neatness and the layout of the letters, no elements involving careful preplanning, such as special character marking, were found.

Howard's sample was relatively larger and more versatile in every respect, starting with the wider range of the petitioner's motivations. On average, twice as long as Carter's, Howard's letters show a lot of structural and linguistic heterogeneity, despite the fairly consistent use of the traditional model of the petition. Nevertheless, a relatively high degree of routinisation and replication could be established by means of *n*-gram analysis. It is relatively hard to find traces of the petitioner's own phrasing (but cf. the retention of *you was* in Erith's letters), while the genre frame that Howard employed seems to have been of a structural, lexical and pragmatic nature. On top of this, Howard might have proposed his own ways to boost the perlocutionary effects of the petition and to add his own contents to that provided by the petitioners (cf. information on the rich relative as a justification for the request for a colonial pass). Compared to the nearly completely correction-free compositions by Carter, Howard's letters abound in self-corrections: only four in 22 petitions by Howard fail to

involve corrections of any sort. In particular, factual corrections show that the contents of the petition were consulted with the petitioners at some stage, possibly the final stage of the composition. Howard's letters were not only longer than Carter's, but they were graphically also much more elaborate documents. Many devices such as the flourishes in the address blocks and the paragraph initials, the variety of script shapes and sizes, use of italics and bold script, indicate careful planning beforehand. More-over, especially in the case of longer petitions, ink changes occur fairly frequently. This and the number and nature of self-corrections suggest the existence of rough drafts or extensive notes used for the composition of a fair copy. Interestingly, the few correction-free letters, which coincide with regular folio sizes, do not include special script. As in Carter's case, the accuracy of such letters may either be the effect of polishing the rough draft, or of a fully routinised spontaneous composition. Most likely, how-ever, Howard's letters involved a mixed copying and composition process based specifically on the preliminary draft versions, or notes. All in all, Howard emerges as a conscientious writer, never quite satisfied with the effect of his work. The intertextuality of some petitions scribbled by Howard on behalf of Erith opens a window onto the nature of the in-volved self-revisions.

Table 7.15. Carter vs. Howard

Features	Carter	Howard
Av. length (words)	c. 172	c. 353[22]
Complexity of cases	Simple	Complex
Frames	Ready-made, consistent	Diversified
(scribal intervention)	Lexical	Lexical
	Pragmatic	Pragmatic
		Content-related
Visual pragmatics	Spontaneous	Planned
Marked script	–	+
Self-corrections	–	+

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[22] This count excludes the long petition (158/235/Erith, J.T.).

7.5. Conclusions

The social nature of the 1820 settler petitions is a fact. In most extreme cases, like the involvement of William Howard, the petitioner's presence in the practice of delegating the letters must have been limited to the delivery of pure facts and figures. The evidence presented above corroborates this, despite the fact that professional scribes vouched for their own accuracy and implied a verbatim presentation of the petitioners' information: "This was written down exactly as it was stated by Mrs. Willan and Mrs. Bainbridge, by me, William Howard, Head of the Party" (*RCC* 22: 344). The aims of the collaboration between the petitioner and the scribe must have been of a pragmatic nature: a scribal petition was a kind clearly sanctioned by the receiving institution, if not the preferred mode of civil application. The analysis also indicates the role of professional scribes, and in particular of Howard as a community scribe. Howard may have been perceived as an informal institution that offered services beyond the performance of menial tasks, such as copying or taking dictation. His role must have been far from secondary in terms of shaping the pragmatic force and the rhetoric of the 1820 settler petition. All in all, the chapter has demonstrated that filtering autographs from scribal work is an essential step in the analysis of the genre of the petition. Moreover, despite their problematic methodological status, the scribal petitions may be analysed in reference to many features of the genre, in particular the degree of routinisation and replication involved, and the aspects of visual pragmatics and self-corrections. A close analysis of these aspects in the letters by the two professional scribes, with some background from the data from the social scribes, has revealed some characteristics of scribal involvement. Moreover, the analysis also identified the most likely technologies of composition by the two scribes, describing in greater detail the specific step in the communicative project of the petition. In addition, some of the features studied above may be used to support authorship attribution based on text-mining, rather than handwriting exclusively. The analysis above employed some methods that belong to the repertoire of historical pragmatics. Tracing repetitive strings is most fruitful if we aim at revealing the lexico-grammatical patterns in language use, i.e. we approach a variable data set inductively. Thus an attempt at investigating *n*-grams in a small and generically homogenous data sample may seem surprising if not superfluous. After all, the patterns are not unknown: the

specific genre models follow specific repetitive schemes. However, it is important to remember that methods such as keywords and lexical bundles "can tell a great deal about meaning and a combination of several methods can reveal aspects of genre dynamics" (Taavitsainen forthcoming). For this reason, I have supplement the overwhelmingly qualitative analysis presented above with a computational method that yielded some statistical results. Although a qualitative rather than exclusively distributional analysis had to be applied to the extracted *n*-grams in order to account for the significance of the analytical unit of the letter, the added value of this approach is undeniable. Without a closer look into the *n*-grams, it would not have been possible to assess the relative levels of routinisation and replication of the compositions by the professional scribe as opposed to those by the social scribes. Finally, some probing into the method confirms its open-endedness, and as Rayson (2015) states, there is still a lot to learn on how to conduct the analyses by means of *n*-grams and how to supplement the method to achieve good results.

Finally, the studies conducted in this Chapter have demonstrated the usefulness of versatile methods of linguistic analysis for the description of a generically homogenous corpus of texts. Such an approach bridges many perspectives used in the study of historical letters: ranging from handwriting analysis and visual prosody, through discourse structures, and a qualitative study of the typical and exceptional patterns of usage and lexicon based computational linguistic study of *n*-grams. In the analysed data, features of the visual pragmatics and self-corrections appeared equally revealing with regard to the underlying scribal procedure as to the linguistic analysis of routinisation. Clearly, many of the employed methods may be taken further and more details may be revealed to provide an even more comprehensive picture of the analysed genre. Still, the fact that such a variety of research angles may be applied to the study of letters, and have for the first time been comprehensively applied to the study of well-contextualised scribal letters in the Late Modern period, testifies to the explanatory power of their combination.

Appendix 7.1. Howard's scribal letters: Physical and visual features

Petitioner name	Place	Arch. No.	Year	Petitioner party	Petitioner ship	Folio size	Marked script	Corrections	Pp.	Word count
Erith, J. T. (1)*	–	136/159	1820	Erith	Brilliant	large	√	6	4	2,005
Erith, J. T. (2)	GT	158/130	1821	Gardener	Osborne	small		8	1	489
Wright, J. (2)	GT	158/140	1821	Bowker	Weymouth	regular		–	2	367
Austin, J. G.	Waaye Plaats	158/159	1821	Erith	Brilliant	regular		1	2	306
Erith, J. T. (3)	Waaye Plaats	158/194	1821	Erith	Brilliant	regular		4	1	549
Erith, J. T. (4)	Waaye Plaats	158/235	1821	Erith	Brilliant	large	√	20	15	6,554
Watson, G.	GT	178/036	1822	Hayhurst	John	regular		–	2	425
Erith, J. T. (5)	Waaye Plaats	178/072	1822	Erith	Brilliant	regular		1	3	1,204
Howard Party	GT, Salem Hills	178/152	1822	Howard	Ocean	regular		–	2	385
Hanger, E. (2)	GT, Salem Hills	178/168	1822	Howard	Ocean	large	(√)	2	1	559
Weeks, J.	–	178/292	1822	Osler	Weymouth	regular	√	2	3	692
Lee, W.	GT	178/360	1822	Sephton	Aurora	large	√	4	1	581
Roes, D.	GT, Beauty'sVale	201/045	1823	Independent	?	large		2	1	297
Green, J. S.	GT	223/022	1824	?	?	regular		4	1	353
Palmer, T. (1)	GT	223/031	1824	Willson	La Belle Alliance	regular	√	3	1	458
Cadle, S.	GT, Salem Hills	223/036	1824	Howard	Ocean	regular	√	2	1	377

* The numbers accompanying some names indicate multiple petitioners whose letters needed to be numbered (e.g. Erith, J.T. (3) indicates letter No. 3 delegated by this petitioner chronologically).

Name	Place	Arch. No.	Year	Party	Ship	Folio size		Pp.	Word count
Hogg, W.	GT	223/066	1824	Willson	La Belle Alliance	regular	–	1	115
Short, J.	GT	223/132	1824	Sephton	Aurora	large	1	1	183
Bond, W.	GT	223/133	1824	Willson	La Belle Alliance	large	1	1	249
Cooper, J.	GT	223/143	1824	Independent	?	regular	2	1	211
Stroud, J. & Penny, G.	GT	223/149	1824	Campbell, Duncan	Weymouth	regular	(–)	1	131
Webb, C.	GT	223/232	1824	Sephton	Aurora	regular	1	1	144
					Totals		64		16,634

Appendix 7.2. Carter's scribal letters: Physical features

Petitioner name	Place	Arch. No.	Month/day	Year	Petitioner party	Petitioner ship	Folio size	Pp.	Word count
Fryer, Richard	CT	158/034	03/22	1821	Parker	East Indian	regular	2	210
Smith, Jane	PE	158/209	12/04	1821	Wait-Barker	Zoroaster	small	3	360
Goodhead, M. A.	PE	178/201	09/30	1822	George Scott	Nautilus	small	1	135
Bastow, James	Uitenhage	178/252	11/19	1822	Wait	Zoroaster	regular	1	130
Searle, Edward	PE	178/272	12/10	1822	Sephton	Aurora	small	1	109
Brown, William	PE	223/034	04/20	1824	Sephton	Aurora?	regular	1	111
Franz, Christopher	PE	223/051	06/01	1824	Bailie	Chapman	regular	2	339
Basset, Benjamin	PE	223/056	06/28	1824	Carlisle	Chapman	regular	1	93
Leathern, William	PE	223/058	07/06	1824	Parkin	Weymouth	regular	1	106
Grimble, John	PE	223/059	07/06	1824	Willson	La Belle Alliance	regular	1	103
Warde, William	PE	223/064	07/13	1824	Bailie	Chapman	regular	1	118
								Total	1,814

Appendix 7.3. Carter's scribal petition for Edward Searle (Photo of CO 178/272; Courtesy of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service)

Appendix 7.4. Howard's scribal petition for Sarah Cadle (Photo of CO 223/036; Courtesy of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service)

Appendix 7.5. Copying changes in Howard's petitions for J. T. Erith (Photos 158/194 and 158/235(28); Courtesy of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service)

Chapter Eight

Literacies on the move:
Autograph informants

8.1. Introduction

This chapter continues the discussion of genre literacies presented above (Chapter Six), with the focus on the informants active both in the year 1819 in Britain and in the Cape Colony. These autograph informants provide unique material for an investigation into the practice of petitioning in two different points in time and settings, as well as for a comparison of the uses and distributions of the two structural models in Britain and the Cape Colony. For example, David Polley Francis, a farmer from Essex, employed the new model in 1819 and the traditional model in 1820 (the latter a hybrid; see Section 6.3.1.):

(51a) 6 August 1819
       Sir/
       I duly received your letter of the
       5th Inst in which you requested me to transmit
       to you in writing, a Memorandum of those points
       connected with emegration to the Cape of Good Hope
       in which I was desirous of obtaining information
       upon, the reason of my not complying with
       that request. is, that I wish to give as little
       trouble as pofsible and being aware that
       arrangements where makeing by some persons.
       (which I conceived more competent than my
       Self) to solicit Information from Government
       and which I understand are or will be made
       public I am induced to rest entirely
       Sattisfied with the information Obtained
       by those means _ and am only anxious
       to afsertain as early as conveinant if I shall

be accepted by complying with the mode
Government has adopted (…)
(CO48/43/201/Francis, David Polley)

(51b)   (…) That the farm called the vaderlandsche
Riet Valley now held on
perpetual quitrent by Meſs Kirsten
and Scoonberg has been offered for
Sale to Memorialist and which farm
from the nature of the Soil seems
to be well calculated for the purpose
Memorialist came to this Colony
That as Memorialist will have
to incur considerable expence in
Building, and draining the land in
question. he humbly requests your
Excellency (Should he become
the purchaser of the Vaderlandsche
Reit Valley) to exempt him from the
payment of the annual quitrent
of 100 Rx^d as also to permit that the
Sum for which the farm is now
Mortgaged to the Bank may be
transferred to Memorialist without
paying off my preportion of the
Capital at present . . .
and Memorialist as
in duty bound
Shall ever pray &c
(136/082/Francis, David Polley)

Both letters show many formal features (e.g. nominalisations, hypotac-
tic constructions, use of adverbials and past participles, hypothetical
constructions) that are expected of an institutional epistolary request,
as well as some informal ones (e.g. parenthetical *I understand*; zero
relative *well calculated for the purpose Memorialist came to this Col-
ony*). However, the structural features of the traditional model aside,

the letters also differ considerably with regard to some nonstandard features of spelling and grammar, which are more common in 1819 (*preportion* "proportion" being the only such feature of spelling in 1820):[1]

Nonstandard spellings:

> *where* "were"
> *familys*
> *agreculturists*
> *makeing*
> *aſsertain*
> *conveinant*
> *whither* "whether"
> *Sattisfied*
> *taken* (/g/ dropping: *or whither the person <u>taken</u> them out must secure them himself*)

Nonstandard grammar:

- Progressive passive: *arrangements were makeing*
- Preposition stranding: *in which I was desirous of obtaining information upon*
- Subject omission: *and (I) am only anxious*

As the above lists show, in 1819, a few idiosyncratic spellings and one potentially phonetically significant form made their way into the letter. So did the features of progressive passive that was condemned in the nineteenth century (Smitterberg 2014: 327), and of preposition stranding, which occurs above in combination with pied-piping, both condemned by prescriptivists (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006a; van Bergen and Denison 2007). The contemporary evaluation of subject omission in the epistolary genre would have been less straightforward. Nevertheless, the traditional petition written in 1820 does not show such nonstandard features. Have

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[1] I have only quoted samples of the letters, but I have drawn the features from full letters.

the spelling idiosyncrasies disappeared from the user's repertoire? Have they been ironed out as a result of collaboration with the third party? Has the user been extra careful when employing the frame of the traditional petition model?

The third option appears the most likely explanation for the lack of idiosyncratic spellings and nonstandard grammar. On the one hand, the rigid syntactic requirements of the traditional model may have influenced the structures employed. On the other, as Hundt proposes, the relative "standardness" of the letters may have been a result of an avoidance strategy in cases of debated usage (2015: 99). Alternatively, the difference is accidental: the petitioner may have failed to use nonstandard constructions on one occasion, with no specific motivation or purpose. Notwithstanding the causes for the observed discrepancy, in the light of the findings of Chapter Six and Seven, the traditional model of the petition needs to be viewed as a fairly strong filter. Thus, it is not unlikely that some nonstandard features and debated usage have been eliminated from Francis' traditional petition. At the same time, the inconsistency in the application of the model (the self-reference switch) reveals the imperfect nature of the petitioner's genre literacy and opens a range of interpretations that may relate to the users' social background, education and his use of language, not just to the employed discourse structures. In other words, we need to envisage a fairly complex relationship between the externalised genre literacies (the traditional model) and some other factors that may underpin the practice of petitioning and the involved linguistic choices.

8.1.1. Literacy systems

As I have shown in Chapter Six, genre literacies, viewed as the skills necessary to produce texts, form a continuum ranging from the standard (dominant) to the nonstandard (vernacular) poles. Prior to posing the question as to what specific structure, discourse and language features characterise these two extremes, a broader contextualisation of genre literacies is necessary. As Figure 8.1 shows, in the case of the petition, genre literacies belong to a wider range of epistolary literacies, which may in turn be described as specific cultures of writing. The genre literacies embedded in these writing cultures fall within the dominant end

of the scale: they involve prestigious writing activities with a normative orientation and norm-enforcing potential. As such they are accessible directly to some social groups, but not to others. Such writing cultures are open to educated individuals as sites of socialisation, of the exchange of ideas or literary creation. This is *Literacy system (1)* in Figure 8.1. Nevertheless, these may not be easily accessed by those who had not been (classically) educated but only schooled; alternatively such writing cultures may be irrelevant to the needs of the latter group. On the other hand, as *Literacy system (2)* shows, pragmatic (functional) literacies comprise ad hoc writing efforts to cater for some immediate practical needs and belong to the vernacular end of the continuum. Pragmatic literacies are conditioned by technical (basic) literacies and, primarily, the skill of mastering script. On top of the literacy layers, their chief determinants, the systems of education are located: (classical) education vs. (informal) schooling. Regardless of the nature of education, these involve the resources for literacy instruction (cf. Fairman 2006: 57) and shape epistolary and genre literacies, as well as the ad hoc writing efforts. Thus a privileged education (institutional and formalised instruction) with a vast array of supporting means produces literacy types closer to the dominant spectrum (privileged, epistolary, advanced), while a common education (institutional or not; also informal instruction), conducted by means of restricted or minimal resources, is likely to result in vernacular literacy types (common, pragmatic/functional, technical). In general, various literacies are intertwined in complex ways and feed into the actual written performance of the genre (Figure 8.1; Barton 2007: 38; Chartier 1997: 11-12; cf. Vincent 1989; Street 1993; Whyman 2009; Mostert 2012).
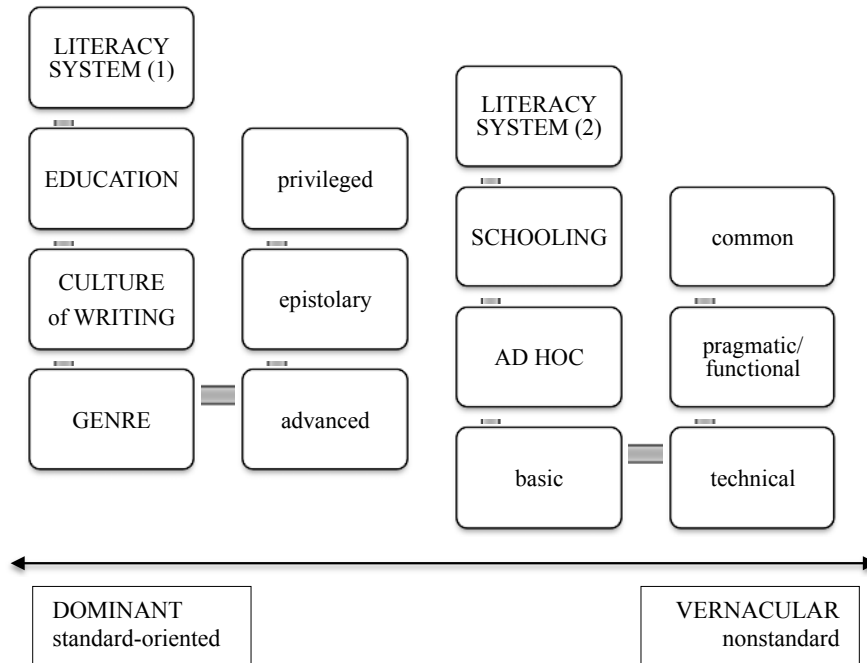
Figure 8.1. Late Modern literacies

8.1.2. Letteracies

As for the Early and the Late Modern period in particular, literacies have been studied from two different perspectives underpinned mostly by the social background of the informants. One line of study, focusing more on the dominant end of the literacy scales, has viewed letters in relation to the normative discourse as a product of a fairly advanced genre literacy. In other words, historical correspondence, involves letteracy (Bannet 2005), or in the more general sense, some sort of literacy culture (Schneider 2008), including vernacular literacy (cf. Newbold 2008). Letteracy, according to Bannet involves the "associated cultural information, such as common conceptions of letter-writing, awareness of current epistolary practices, basic knowledge about where letter-writing was taught and about how it was taught to or to be learned, even how to 'read' and use a letter manual" (2005: xvii). The second line of study into epistolary litera-

cies has grown out of the interest for the vernacular end of the spectrum
and the language of the lower social strata. In particular Fairman's work
on pauper letters (Fairman 2000, 2006, 2007; cf. Laitinen and Auer 2014;
Laitinen 2015; Auer 2015) has tackled the issue of the social stratification
of literacies. In his 2006 paper, Fairman proposes a scale of schooling,
which he refers to as "levels of 'letteracy' – minimally, partly, extensively
and fully schooled" (2006: 56).[2] His definition of letteracy is worth quot-
ing at length:

> I use the terms 'letterate' and 'letteracy', and I place scripts (handwrit-
> ten discourse), texts (printed discourse) and linguistic levels on a scale
> of schooledness, divided roughly into degrees of difference from what-
> ever the textbooks and other supporting sources prescribed as the stan-
> dard for writing for that time. Whole scripts can be graded for
> schooledness, from minimally schooled (a bill or letter, comprehensible
> but largely unconventional), through partly and extensively schooled
> (the lower and upper halves of the scale, respectively) to fully schooled
> (lexically very Latinate, sometimes including Latin and other lan-
> guages, and often syntactically complex). Greater precision can be ob-
> tained by grading each level separately – handwriting, orthography,
> lexis, grammar, syntax and punctuation. (Fairman 2006: 57)

The two lines of study apply the same term, "letteracy", albeit in different
understandings, to replace the lay term "literate" and to specify the dis-
tinction between *literate* and *letterate* informants. The obvious difference
between Bannet's and Fairman's approach is the orientation towards ad-
vanced or maximal letteracy in the former and minimal letteracy in the
latter. As far as the data analysed in this book are concerned, the concept
of the dominant as opposed to the vernacular genre literacy bridges the
two letteracy types. However, as the most recent frameworks of study into
epistolary data from different social strata show (see the volumes by El-
spass et al. 2007; van der Wal and Rutten 2013; Auer, Schreier and Watts
2015), in particular the data from the minimally schooled writers pose a

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[2] Schooling is a basic common-sense factor conditioning literacies and has been dis-
cussed frequently in earlier research: "[g]iven that the correlation between literacy and
letter-writing is generally strong, the numerous mismatches make it necessary to draw a
clear distinction between what it means to learn to write at school, a mere matter of mas-
tering script, and the ability to produce texts (hence letters) that is possessed by only
some of the literate" (Chartier 1997: 11).

methodological challenge. As Fairman puts it, these writers produce "a new form of writing" (2006: 60), meaning a form different from that resulting from the advanced genre literacies or letterness. This has serious consequences for the ways orality may or may not be reflected in letters and inevitably results in hybridity: specialised, genre specific and non-standard features are all found in letters and deconstructing this hybridity is a challenging task (see Martineau 2013). Moreover, minimal literacies are more likely associated with standard varieties rather than with writing dialect (Millar 2012). This realisation obviously challenges the more conventional sociolinguistic approaches to epistolary data: letters do not reflect the variability of language in a straightforward manner.

8.2. Genre literacies: Overlapping informants

This section presents the use of the petition models in the autograph[3] petitions written by the informants who corresponded with the Colonial Office both in 1819 and 1820-25. Positive authorship verification based on manuscript material from TNA yielded a selection of letters that testify to individual, rather than communal epistolary practices in both time periods. Overlapping autograph informants, as this group may be referred to, appear to offer the most appropriate data for analysing the stability and change in the structural choices that individuals made when writing petitions, i.e. the dynamics of the involved genre literacies. Letters written by the same informants in different points in time and settings may reveal their sensitivity to the changes in the social materiality of correspondence brought about by the new colonial reality (see Chapter Six). The choices and literacies may in turn be viewed against the socio-economic background of the involved informants. In the analysis below, three layers of literacy are involved: literacies developed in the course of (classical) education, technical literacies developed either in the course of schooling or learned informally and genre literacies learned via formal or informal instruction. In relation to these, I make the following assumptions: education-based literacies may be inferred from the informants' socio-economic status, a preliminary assessment of technical literacies may be pursued by

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[3] See Section 1.2. on the data and Section 6.2. on the details of the autographed vs. scribal letters identification procedures.

means of a detailed evaluation of punctuation patterns, features of spelling and grammar, while genre literacies are related to the choices between the two petition models. The three literacy types may overlap in different ways and the sections below discuss some patterns. In Section 8.2., I distinguish two types of genre literacy based on the parameters of the petition models and I discuss these against the socio-economic background of the informants. Section 8.3. presents an assessment of users' technical literacy based on their patterns of punctuation. Section 8.4. includes a qualitative overview of other features of technical literacy, such as spelling, use of contractions and grammar. In Section 8.5. I introduce a literacy-based categorisation of all the autograph informants and I conduct case studies into two more frequent nonstandard features. Moreover, I also analyse one spelling and one punctuation feature and relate these to user's socio-economic background and literacies. Section 8.6. offers some conclusions.

8.2.1. Distribution of petition models

The settler candidates and 1820 settlers wrote their letters in a similar communicative context (cf. Section 1.4. on some differences) that involved the same institutional recipient (the Colonial Office) and a similar power differential. However, the issue to be borne in mind is whether the autograph letters analysed here are in fact petitions or not, and if the traditional model was a potentially applicable or useful solution in all cases. As I have shown above, the major illocutionary purpose of the petition involves making a request, which is also the chief criterion for categorising a given letter as belonging to the genre. However, letters are rarely limited to a single illocutionary aim, as they serve multiple purposes in most cases. The potential illocutionary aims of letters should be read in their immediate context, rather than exclusively through the explicit presence or absence of well-specified moves or speech acts (Chapter One, Examples (6) and (7)). Based on these premises, I would like to argue that the candidate letters are all embedded in the context of their application for the Cape of Good Hope colonisation scheme, i.e. the macro speech act of request, hence the traditional model of the petition remains a relevant option for the writers. In the Cape Colony, the settlers engage in the correspondence with the Colonial Office in order to exploit the citizen-

institution relationship and to reach out to the authorities for some assistance towards improving their living conditions. Thus both the 1819 and 1820-25 settler letters are petitionary by nature.

Overall, 57 overlapping informants were identified based on the available material. Among these, petitioners whose practices involved scribal assistance in some letters (R. Emslie, J. Ingram, J. T. Erith, C. T. Thornhill, H. Sephton) and writers whose authorship could not have been identified beyond a shadow of doubt (W. Hartell, W. Gilfillan, W. Howard and J. Smith) were excluded. The 298 letters written by the remaining 48 verified autograph informants were examined with respect to the petition models characterised above (Table 8.1). First of all, the analysis confirmed my previous findings as to the relatively low frequency of the traditional model in the candidate letters, only used by four informants in this set (4 in 187 letters; i.e. c. 2%).

Table 8.1. Use of petition models by autograph informants

Model	Models per informant					Models per letter			
	1819		1820-25			1819		1820-25	
	Informants	%	Informants	%		Letters	%	Letters	%
Trad. & new	4	8	27	56	Trad.	4	3	34	31
New only	40	92	21	44	New	183	97	77	69
Total	48	100	48	100	Total	187	100	111	100

In the same group, for the years 1820-25, 27 informants employed the model (34 in 111 letters; i.e. 32%; cf. Włodarczyk 2010a: 16; Włodarczyk 2013a: 59).[4] This demonstrates that 24 (i.e. 50%) of the analysed informants extended their repertoire of petition models after reaching the Cape Colony: i.e. only used the new model in 1819, but wrote at least one traditional petition between 1820-25.[5] Another group showed a stable pattern:

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[4] The previous estimates were based on different numbers of petitions (rather than informants) and the selected samples did not distinguish between autographs and scribal petitions. Hence, the estimates are not uniform, but illustrate the same tendency.

[5] This is not to claim that the involved informants had not known how to write a traditional petition in 1819. Instead, the focus is on the significance of employing the model in 1820-25 in the Cape Colony.

20 (42%) informants consistently followed the new model in both periods. The four remaining informants had the traditional model in their externalised repertoire already in 1819 (8%; Table 8.2).

Table 8.2. Changes in the genre repertoires of autograph informants

Model consistency	Informants	%
Extension to trad.	24	50%
No extension (1819 new only)	21	44%
No extension (1819 trad. and new)	4	8%
Total	48	100%

8.2.2. Socio-economic background

In this subsection I am looking into the occupations of the two groups of the 48 autograph writers (see Section 5.4.1. on the socio-economic background of delegating informants). The first group only used the new model in 1819, but extended their repertoire to the use of the traditional model in the Cape Colony. The second group only employed the new model in both points in time. The sample includes men only. The classification follows Woods' (1968) and has been presented in more detail above (Section 5.4.1.). Table 8.3 shows the results:

Table 8.3. Socio-economic background of overlapping autograph informants and repertoires of petition models

Occupation	All	Extension to trad.	New only	Trad. in 1819
Farmers/labourers	8	6	1	1
Skilled artisans	12	8	3	1
Trade	7	2	4	1
Army/navy	8	4	4	–
Professionals	12	3	8	1
Unknown	1	1		–
Total	48	24	20	4

As Table 8.3 shows, 20 in 48 informants were manual labourers (farmers or skilled artisans), 12 were professionals and seven and eight respectively were merchants or army/navy people. Manual workers could be placed socio-economically among the lower and lower middle classes, with a rather limited educational background. The professionals were involved in the occupations that required a more extensive, possibly public school education, and most likely represented the opposite extreme of the society, i.e. the upper classes, with a high economic status. Tradesmen and army/navy employers fall somewhere in between, into the middling sorts of British society, characterised by a fairly stable and modest, but sufficient, income.

The two groups, which differ with respect to the use of the petition models, reveal one significant difference: over 58% of those who extended their repertoire of petition models (14 in 24) are manual workers, as opposed to only 20% in the group restricted to the use of the new model only (4 in 20). In other words, in the first group only c. 42% belong to the middling and higher orders of British society, while in the second group this ratio is c. 80%. The epistolary activity of the upper middle and upper classes of Late Modern England could be expected to exceed that of the lower sorts, and the available data show that, on average, the second group wrote letters more frequently than the first group with the ratios of 4.87 vs. 6.95 letters per informant respectively.[6, 7] However, both groups were fairly prolific correspondents and writing experience does not appear to be a strong distinctive factor. This may be explained by the

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[6] Although we can never be sure how fragmentary historical data are, the 1819 collection in particular offers a fairly comprehensive insight into the petitioner's choices because it provides the full coverage of the applications surviving in connection to the Cape of Good Hope colonisation scheme (Mackay 2015). The 1820-25 data are smaller in size and it is fairly likely that examining a greater sample would change the numerical results. Moreover, the analysis is largely based on negative evidence: even in 1819 the involved informants could have written petitions that followed the traditional model to other addressees, or other letters which have not survived.

[7] The *RCC* database provides a complementary resource which includes the letters from the petitioners in question, but I have not found much additional evidence there, except for a single informant. *RCC* contains a traditional petition signed by Thomas Pringle (*RCC* 15: 398-99), whose MS data only include new petitions for 1820-25. Still, Pringle was among the four informants who had also written a traditional petition in 1819, so his repertoire remains stable.

leading role of some autograph informants in the application scheme: nine in the first group and eight in the second group were party leaders. As the socio-economic information shows, the heads of emigrant parties were recruited from different social strata, but had to engage in extensive correspondence with the authorities due to a variety of organisational tasks and activities. Thus their experience with letter-writing does not reflect the predictions that could be made based on social background, while their literacies may have been more of an 'ad hoc' nature rather than to have developed in the course of formal education.

Still, four informants did not follow either of the two patterns (M. Bowker, J. Brown, J. Goodwin and T. Pringle). These informants employed the traditional model in both periods (but Brown failed to use the new model in the Cape Colony), two of them (Bowker and Pringle) wrote at least 16 and 15 letters respectively. These informants have diverse socio-economic backgrounds: a farmer, a skilled artisan, a trader and a professional. Although we are only looking at four informants here, their autographs suggest that rare as this externalisation of genre literacy (i.e. the use of the traditional model in 1819) must have been, it had not necessarily depended on the users educational background or social status, i.e. the traditional model of the petition clearly featured in both the educated and schooled literacy systems (see Figure 8.1).

The analysis above shows that in this particular communicative setting the motivations of pragmatic literacy, i.e. the practical need to engage extensively in correspondence has clearly overriden the potential implications of social background. Indeed, institutional epistolary exchange in the early nineteenth century, with its specific letter-writing culture is a relatively "democratic" site where class distinctions and social background do not necessarily define degrees of participation. This obviously differs from the nature of epistolary literacy understood as the culture of writing of the personal letter and literary creation. The letteracy in this understanding remains as closed to the lower social strata as Figure 8.1 suggests.

8.2.3. Patterns of genre literacy

The structural choices of the petitioners active in 1819 and 1820-25 revealed a very low share of the traditional model in the candidate corpus, and its relatively higher occurrence in the Cape Colony (2% vs. 32% in

the sample by the overlapping autograph informants). Moreover, two different patterns of user practices emerged: one group extended their repertoire from the new model in 1819 to the use of the traditional model in 1820-25; the other group used the new model exclusively and consistently. A small number of users (4) used the traditional model in both points in time. In my previous work I have linked the growing popularity of the traditional petition model in the Cape Colony to users' aspirations to the dominant genre literacies (Włodarczyk 2013c: 91-92), which were most likely favoured by the addressee (see Section 6.4.). I have suggested that the extended repertoire of petition models characterised the group of petitioners whom I referred to as "Learners", i.e. whose genre literacies were of a vernacular rather than of the standard nature. The application of the traditional petition model in the Cape Colony may be seen as an improvement or extension of the genre literacies which they had at their disposal in 1819. The second group of petitioners, the "Experts", was positioned at the dominant or standard pole of literacies. These users were characterised by a stable, though limited, repertoire. The analysis conducted above involved setting this hypothesis against the socio-economic background of the 24 autograph informants who failed to use the traditional model in 1819, but did so in 1820-25 (potential "Learners"). The profiles of this group have been set against the profiles of the 20 informants who only used the new model of the petition in both periods (potential "Experts"). Indeed, the socio-economic background of the two groups differs substantially (see Section 8.2.2.), while the two distinct genre practices may be associated with the two genre literacy poles. Below, I discuss some motivations which may have guided the choices of the "Learners" as opposed to the "Experts".

8.2.4. "Learners"

Most "Learners" represent professions of the middling, if not the lower, orders of British society (58% are manual workers). As an economically underprivileged group, these informants may have been most sensitive to the changing literacy demands in the specific context of the petitioning in the Cape Colony. The awareness of these demands, also for autograph writers, may have been related to the communal practices of petitioning overall: not only did the Colonial Office appear to have a preference for

the formal mode of the petition (see 6.4. and 6.6.), but a large group of settlers actually adjusted their petitioning practices to this demand in particular through the employment of scribes (see Chapters Six and Seven). The formal traditional petition model came "into fashion" among the social and professional scribes and became widespread through their services. Communal involvement in letter-writing most likely resulted in a high incidence of metadiscussion, hence a growing awareness of the technicalities of the two petition models and of their pragmatic consequences (see the petitions on behalf of Hodgkinson and Bager in Section 6.4.). The sensitivity of the lower and lower middle class informants to this type of "educated" discussion may seem debatable at first sight, but bearing in mind that mere survival was often at stake, it becomes only natural that these petitioners in particular drew on all the available resources to boost the chances of a positive response to their requests. Moreover, 9 in 24 "Learners" have written hybrid petitions (cf. Section 6.3.), which indicates that they struggled to employ the traditional model and had not mastered all its requirements. Overall, the "Learners" were characterised by their "newly acquired attention to form" (Włodarczyk 2013c: 93).

8.2.5. "Experts"

In the analysed data, there is no evidence that informants in this group employed the traditional petition model. In terms of their socio-economic background, the majority of "Experts" (80%) belong to the middling or higher social classes. Possibly, this involves having received a prestigious education that resulted in epistolary literacy types closer to the dominant scale of literacy. A full spectrum of internalised genre literacy, including the knowledge of the traditional model of the petition most likely characterises this group. More importantly, however, the "Experts" do not externalise this specific skill. In avoiding the use of the traditional model, these informants show that they are not sensitive to the formal demands on the petition which may have emerged in the Cape Colony (Section 1.4.). This may be related to their stable social position and relatively wide educational background, which preclude linguistic insecurity. If the traditional model of the petition seems to have been gaining ground in the Cape Colony, these informants knew better: the formal model was not attractive to them as they may have been more sensitive to its artificiality than to its

growing popularity. As the traditional model of the petition is convention-
alised and fixed to a large extent, an analogy may be made here to the use
of epistolary formulae. Research has shown that just as some formulae
tend to go out of use among the higher social classes, they tend to linger
on among the lower classes (Rutten and van der Wal 2014: 134-35). In
other words, different types of linguistic and social behaviours are pres-
tigious and appeal to different social groups. Finally, the potential prag-
matic implications of the use of the traditional model did not appeal to the
"Experts" either, as they would have been more likely to boost the
chances of a positive response in other ways (through patronage or lin-
guistic creativity). The "Experts" may have been as attentive to form as
the "Learners", but they might have employed stylistic means in ways
which did not require, nor would have easily been accommodated in the
use of the pre-patterned structure of the traditional model (cf. Auer 2015).

8.3. Technical literacies: Punctuation

This aspect of literacy is close to its more conventional understandings re-
flected in the features of punctuation, spelling, morphology and syntax,
regarding their uniformity and the relative closeness/distance to a con-
temporary standard. In this subsection, patterns of punctuation are de-
scribed and analysed, while features of spelling and morpho-syntax are
discussed in Section 8.4. Punctuation was regularly employed in English
from the invention of print and developed into patterns of use in this me-
dium during the Renaissance (see Salmon 1999; cf. Lennard 1995 for a
historical sketch of punctuation and Rodríguez-Álvarez 2010 for an over-
view of punctuation instruction in the Early Modern period). Manuscript
data, however, do not conform to any regular punctuation systems either
in the Early Modern nor in the Late Modern period (Williams 2013;
Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014; Feens-de Zeeuw 2011), although conven-
tionalised practices in aristocratic letters in the early eighteenth century
have been noticed (Fitzmaurice 2008: 86). Handwritten data are, then, an
obvious site for studying punctuation patterns as the reflections of indi-
vidual technical literacies. Although punctuation is just one aspect of the
complex of technical literacy skills, individual repertoires and frequencies
of use may indicate the levels of writing experience and participation in
written cultures. Moreover, low occurrences, lack of punctuation or lim-

ited repertoires may be helpful in identifying inexperienced writers as patterns of punctuation may coincide with features such as spelling inconsistencies, overcapitalisation, or archaic usages (formulae, etc.). Thus studying punctuation may be instructive in identifying those informants who are further removed from dominant literacies.

In their work on diachronic changes in the Dutch sailing letters, Rutten and van der Wal (2014: 303) linked the development of punctuation as a change from above, along with the patterns of formulaic language use, which functioned as "a safe option for less-experienced writers" (i.e. women, the lower classes and periods of low literacy). Consequently, as the authors continue "[i]f punctuation characterises the written code and, therefore, is also linked to writing experience, we would expect similar distributional patterns in the rise of punctuation" (2014: 267). In particular, punctuation would have been more frequent for the upper classes and the Dutch data confirm this as "the textualisation of society must have promoted the use of punctuation first and foremost among those who were most involved in the written culture" (2014: 269). But how can we measure the involvement in the written culture of those informants who fall outside of the upper classes? Certainly, many 1820 settlers had extensive experience in letter writing, despite the fact that most were neither of an upper class background nor educated in the privileged system.

Most recent studies underline the latter aspect by showing that educational and schooling patterns would have been of decisive importance for literacies (Fairman 2007). Educational opportunities in Late Modern Britain were obviously stratified (see Auer 2015: 136-139). For instance, Allen (2015: 204ff) distinguishes between educated (public schools, grammar school, home tuition) and schooled informants (local schools) and Fairman talks about grammatical vs. mechanical schooling (2015: 67-68) to differentiate the educational systems available to the upper classes from those available to the middling and lower sort of British society. Obviously, participation in the written (epistolary) culture seems to have been more the share of the educated or grammatically schooled authors rather than the rest. However, it is hard to say how exactly the types and degrees of schooling would have translated into punctuation practices, as "[p]unctuation and capitalisation were the two least fixed features of the standard in the first years of the nineteenth century, and variation in these

areas is to be seen across the [standard to vernacular] spectrum" (Allen 2015: 209; see Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 45). Moreover, punctuation in the early nineteenth century seems to be first and foremost idiosyncratic, like in the manuscript writing in the earlier periods (cf. Salmon 1999: 52). Therefore it is important to look into the patterns of use of individual informants, rather than to expect some general effects of uniform punctuation systems. Despite some work on Late Modern spelling and capitalisation (Osselton [1984]1998; 1985) and abbreviations (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006b), punctuation repertoires and frequencies have so far not been assessed systematically as potential markers of writing experience and of participation in written cultures. This section seeks to redress this gap by presenting the punctuation repertoires and patterns of the autograph informants based a comparison of their practices in 1819 vs. 1820-25.

8.3.1. An overview

I have followed Salmon's definition of punctuation in the analysis below:

> Fundamentally, all punctuation is a method (albeit a very crude one) of conveying meaning which is not expressed lexically; this meaning may be of three kinds: (1) grammatical, indicated by punctuation in its 'separating' function, whereby units within the sentence are marked off from one another and sentence distinguished from sentence; grammatical punctuation also places the sentence within one of the categories of statement, question, or exclamation/command; (2) emotional, marking a speaker's attitude to a statement; (3) logical, indicated by punctuation in its 'linking' function, by which is shown the degree of closeness in the semantic relationship between structurally independent grammatical units. (Salmon 1998[1962]: 48; cf. 1999: 348)

Primarily, the above definition indicates the structuring function of punctuation. Although a range of other mechanisms of segmentation operated in the Late Modern period and earlier in English (i.e. such as formulae, parallel structures, linking words, paragraphs, gaps, indentations, capitalisation), these were disregarded here. More importantly, the analysis excluded the connection of punctuation marks to discourse units, although of primary importance to other studies (Williams 2013; Rutten and van

der Wal 2014).[8] Moreover, a preliminary qualitative analysis has shown that punctuation uses are not exclusive, so there is no reason to view consecutive punctuation marks independently (e.g. '._' were viewed as one punctuation unit, i.e. the '.'). Similarly, punctuation marks (mostly periods, but also colons and dashes) used in name initials, titles, etc. and other conventionalised abbreviations, occurring mostly in openings, closings, dates and numbers, were disregarded (e.g. full stops in &c. &c. &c.). The marking of word breaks across the line (at the end of a line or at the beginning of the next line, usually through an equal sign; cf. Fitzmaurice 2015: 167) was not counted either as this "material" concern seems to have been more related to the efficient use of space than to the structuring purposes. Moreover, no uniform punctuation models seem to have been followed in the period, which justifies these decisions. Overall, punctuation seems to have performed a supporting function rather than operate as a meaningful segmentation system (cf. Rodríguez-Álvarez 1999).

Examples (52) to (57) illustrate the use of punctuation in the analysed sample. Starting with Adams' petition: the first seven lines of the body of the letter below include five punctuation marks, but only four punctuation units. The first period precedes *I beg*, which opens a new clause, thus marking a clause (but not a sentence) boundary. The sentence boundary is marked by exclamation marks, followed by *and* which starts a new sentence. This sentence includes an infinitival subordinate clause which is marked by a comma; the sentence ends with a period. So far, it seems, there is a correlation between segmentation and the use of punctuation. The next three lines include verbless clauses for the purpose of exclamation and enumeration, all of which are indeed marked by punctuation. However, these lack the conventional sentence structure (subject or verb) and may be interpreted as belonging to the matrix clause *and have it in contemplation*. In the next sentence, this time a structurally full one (*all of which, will require nearly four thousand rix dollars,*) the comma marks the noun phrase boundary rather than a clause. In some further letters by this informant, similar observations may be made: punctuation is overall used for the pur-

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[8] Segmentation of historical data is a methodologically challenging task and involves risks of imposing the researcher's intuitions on the data (Williams 2013: 68), hence I have not pursued this. Moreover, punctuation is viewed here in a narrow perspective: as a diagnostic of skills learned as a result of formal instruction, while its functions are not discussed in greater detail, hence the connection to discourse units was not of primary importance.

pose of segmentation, most commonly into sentences and clauses. But little uniformity is found when it comes to the specific functions of the involved marks: in the petition below, periods, commas, a dash and exclamation marks are all used. In other letters by Adams, we also find a colon, semicolon and a hyphen used to this end. John Bold for instance uses a double dash, or an equal mark in a similar way, which is an unusual practice.

(52)   My Lord /
    1. Mr Rivers having requested me to inform
    2. him the amount for which I memorialized your
    3. Excellency by way of pecuniary aid. I beg to inform
    4. you I have expended since leaving England
    5. 5000 Rix dollars waiting in anticipation of Crops!!
    6. and have it in contemplation to cultivate and
    7. enclose 15 Acres more land, to increase my Herd.
    8. Sadly reduced! to purchase a Cart, Plough &c,
    9. my Waggon & old Plough worn out, to Build
    10. a new Cottage my old one injured by the heavy
    11. Storm! all of which, will require nearly four
    12. thousand rix dollars _ towards which I shall feel
    13. obliged by your afsisting me with the loan of
    14. one thousand rix dollars and upwards as your
    15. Excellency may think proper I have the honor
    16. to be. (223/072/Adams, Thomas Price)

The letter from David Polley Francis quoted above, and partially repeated below for convenience sake, shows similar patters in lines 6 (a comma) and 15 (a dash). Line 7, however, shows an entirely random punctuation mark: a period between the extended noun phrase (subject) and the verb. Oddly enough, a comma before *that* also delimits the verb. Moreover, Francis uses a virgule following the address *Sir/* (although a line break marks the address anyway) and brackets to mark a relative clause, which is also marked by a period at the end of line 9.[9]

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[9] Such instances are not very common e.g. *on board the. Fanny Transport* in the letter by John Ingram (136/045), an informant excluded from the sample analysed in this Chapter (see Section 8.2.1.).

(53)   Sir/
1. I duly received your letter of the
2. 5th Inst in which you requested me to transmit
3. to you in writing, a Memorandum of those points
4. connected with emegration to the Cape of Good Hope
5. in which I was desirous of obtaining information
6. upon, the reason of my not complying with
7. that request. is, that I wish to give as little
8. trouble as poſsible and being aware that
9. arrangements where makeing by some persons.
10. (which I conceived more competent than my
11. Self) to solicit Information from Government
12. and which I understand are or will be made
13. public I am induced to rest entirely
14. Sattisfied with the information Obtained
15. by those means _ and am only anxious (…)
        (CO48/43/201/Francis, David Polley)

Even the narrow functions of the rare marks, like for instance the question mark are not entirely consistent, as Example (54) below shows. The question mark in line 12 follows a long indirect request (starting in line 8), which includes an embedded question, so the construction is in fact affirmative. Semantically, however, the question mark may be justified by the presence of *whether*. But another question mark, following an affirmative request sentence, *I would beg leave* (lines 6-8), does not even involve a question word. In this letter, the informant appears to mark the speech act of request by a question mark, regardless of the mood or the presence of interrogative elements (cf. Williams 2013: 78-79 on speech act related uses of punctuation in the Early Modern period).

(54)
1. From the best information which I have
2. been able to collect as to the existing state of the district in which we
3. are to be located, I am very sure that precautionary measures, as
4. to some wholesome regulations in the local management of my

5. party; and for our Self defence demands my serious attention!
6. I would therefore beg leave to submit to His Excellency the Governor
7. the propriety of enrolling the Settlers as Volunteer Corps, upon their
8. own resources? And I shall feel greatly obliged Sir, if you will
9. have the goodnefs to inform me, whether you will do me the honor
10. of a Letter to His Excellency and to the Landrost of the District, that
11. I may have the advantage of Introduction, in the hope of being Invested
12. with a Commifsion for that purpose?
    (136/038/Willson, Thomas)

Some writers use punctuation, and serial dashes in particular, to avoid empty spaces at line ends: in Example (55) below, 4 out of 12 lines end with a dash. Perhaps Heath as a lawyer was influenced by the rules against the dividing of words across line breaks specific to legal discourse (Fitzmaurice 2015: 167). Some users who were not involved in the legal profession, too, show a similar pattern of marking an empty space by long vertical lines (or a series of dashes, e.g. Hogsflesh 136/036), which might have worked as a precaution against additions or forgeries. The extract from Heath's petition closes with a period and another paragraph follows in the manuscript. Punctuation marks (period, dashes or commas) very often coincide with paragraph divisions in this way. Similarly, punctuation marks may be followed by a capitalised word that marks the beginning of a new clause or sentence.

(55)
1. I have been regularly brought up
2. to the Profefsion of the Law _ but thro' _
3. heavy lofses and the ill Conduct of my
4. late Partner, am now Destitute of all _
5. resource. _ Situations are at this time
6. so scarce, that it is almost considered a
7. favour to employ Persons: _ and altho'

8. I have made every Application, both thro'
9. the medium of the Daily Papers, and _
10. private Channels, yet such applications _
11. have hitherto remained unanswered, and
12. my Family in consequence in great distress.
    (48/34/626/Heath, John)

The amount of punctuation seems to be dependent on the length and relative complexity of the content: the longer the letter, or the more complex the content, the more punctuation. For instance, the extract below is heavily punctuated to facilitate structuring and comprehension of the relatively complex syntactic relations and the parenthetical insertions (marked by virgules). The relationship between punctuation and complexity may be explained by the "principle of closure" discussed recently by Bergs and Pentrel (2015). In a psycholinguistic perspective on early Englishes proposed by these authors, this "language independent strategy" (2015: 259) surfaces in the need to close chunks of discourse as soon as possible due to memory constraints.

(56)   The information humbly solicited from Your Lordship
        is, - whether the word "Holder" has reference to the [Principal]
        [Emigrator], /under whom Individuals, or Families, are neceſsarily
        obliged to Emigrate in conformity to the conditions, contained
        in the Circular/ or to the [Individuals or Families,], severally
        and separately, that may have continued, from the time
        of their first location in the Colony, upon the Lands _
        allotted to them, to the time specified by his Majestys Government,
        when the same is to be measured, and granted at a
        quit Rent to the Holder thereof.
        (CO48/44/404/Latham, Joseph)

Not only do individual users differ from one another with respect to their punctuation patterns, but many exhibit a lot of inconsistency (user internal variation). Example (57) below illustrates this: lines 4 through 9 include an enumeration of the pieces of personal information on the settler candidates, or a list of names, occupations, ages and addresses (cf. Bainbridge's petition, Example (6) in Chapter One). Although in line 4, the individual

bits of information are separated by punctuation marks (including an "odd" period separating the words *occupation* and *Taylor*), further entries in the list are not separated by punctuation, or segmented in any other way (e.g. William Good is described in a new line, but Stuart Gibson Taylor is not).

(57)   My Lord
      With compliance to the circular
1. concerning emigration to the Cape of Good Hope wee
2. the undersigned begg leave to recommend ourselves unto
3. His Majestys councill
4. Tho[s] Francis [ocupation]. Taylor, N[o] 19 Kingsrow Pimlico, 3 [child] under 14 [years] wifs 27 [years]
5. mans age 30 years John Harper Taylor N[o] Leicester Court Leicester [feilds]
6. 4 children under 14 years wifs age 25 years mans age 38 years
7. William Good, farmer N° 7 Vine Street Spitlefeilds 3 children under
8. 14 years wifes age 26 mans age 27 years Stuart Gibson Taylor
9. No 103 Wardour Street Soho wifes age 19 mans age 22 (CO48/41/431/Bainbridge, Thomas)

Overall, in the analysed sample, punctuation marks are multifunctional (cf. Rodríguez-Álvarez 2010: 45 on systems of punctuation in the Renaissance). Individual practices may yield to some generalisations, but the most common punctuation marks (commas, periods and dashes; see Section 8.3.4.) are used interchangeably to mark phrase, clause, sentence and paragraph boundaries, or boundaries of the individual elements of the epistolary structure (e.g. the opening address form). However, punctuation is by no means a must: many structural or syntactic elements do not coincide with punctuation marks and random punctuation also occurs while individual users show variable patterns.

8.3.2. Overall quantification

As I have indicated above (Section 8.3.1.), the analysis below focuses on educated/schooled punctuation in the body of the letters. The quantification is limited to 126 (c. 34,000 words) letters by the overlapping autograph informants (61 letters for 1819 and 65 letters for 1820-25). Punctuation was traced separately in the 1819 and 1820-25 letters to allow comparison with the changes or stability of genre repertoires. Overall, 13 different punctuation marks were distinguished (Table 8.4; cf. Rodríguez-Álvarez 2010: 38-40). The three most frequent marks (periods, commas and dashes) account for over 80% of all punctuation marks; if we add the apostrophe, we are left with 10% for the remaining 9 marks. These are indeed relatively infrequent, in particular equals signs, hyphens, exclamation and quotation marks are few and far between, indicating idiolectal uses in some cases. Table 8.4 shows punctuation frequencies for the candidate and colonial letters. Minor differences aside, the punctuation repertoires and frequencies are fairly similar in the two settings and a general quantification fails to reveal considerable differences. The ratio of punctuation marks is, however, somewhat lower for the colonial letters (5.77 per 100 words) as opposed to 6.45 per 100 in 1819. The difference observed between the two datasets is statistically significant.[10] The higher punctuation ratio does not seem to agree with the prediction that longer letters involve more punctuation, as the average letter length in this sample for 1819 is c. 215 words vs. c. 326 words in 1820-25 and the colonial autograph section is larger in terms of the word count. If low punctuation frequencies may be related to minimal schooling and high frequencies to comprehensive (classical) education and bearing in mind that the epistolary practices in the Cape Colony may have required an "improvement" in user literacies (cf. Section 8.2.4.) for a considerable number of autograph writers, the distribution of punctuation does not reflect any such general improvement in this respect.

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[10] The results were verified for statistical significance by means of the Wilcoxon test. Test score was estimated at z= - 1.65 with p-value equal to 0.1. If significance level of 0.1 is assumed, the H0 hypothesis needs to be rejected: the differences between the two data sets are statistically significant.

Table 8.4. Punctuation of overlapping autograph informants: 1819 vs. 1820-25

Punctuation mark	1819	%	1820-25	%
. period	148	17.5%	231	18.9%
, comma	417	49.3%	622	50.8%
_ dash	121	14.3%	169	13.8%
' apostrophe	44	5.2%	83	6.8%
; semi-colon	18	2.1%	32	2.6%
: colon	17	2.0%	2	0.2%
- hyphen	8	0.9%	4	0.3%
( ) brackets	14	1.7%	28	2.3%
/ virgule	24	2.8%	16	1.3%
! exclamation mark	1	0.1%	7	0.6%
? question mark	26	3.1%	9	0.7%
= equal sign	–	–	5	0.4%
" "quotation marks	7	0.8%	16	1.3%
Total	845	100.0%	1224	100.0%
No. of letters	61		65	
Word count	13,099		21,192	
Punctuation per 100	6.45/100		5.77/100	

8.3.3. Informant patterns

The analysed informants differ dramatically with respect to their use of punctuation: for 1819, the lowest score is 1.3 (Richard Hayhurst) and the highest is 16.8 (John Heath); for 1820-25, the frequency ranges from 0.5 (Richard Gowar) to 12.5 (Thomas Palmer) per 100 words. These scores are consistent for some writers (e.g. Hayhurst scores 1.0 in 1820-25), but for many there is a rather considerable discrepancy (e.g. 5.4 for Richard Gowar who scores 5.9 in 1819; 7.5 for John Heath who scores 9.3 in 1820-25; and 4.2 for Thomas Palmer who scores 8.3 in 1819). Such discrepancies are common and attest to a great variability of individual punctuation practices: the time, place, situation, etc. must have influenced both the frequency of punctuation and possibly the involved punctuation repertoires. Figure 8.2 illustrates punctuation distributions for all the 48 autograph informants in 1819 and 1820-25. The graph shows some similarity in distribution for the

two points in time: clearly the majority of the informants are placed somewhere between 5-8 punctuation marks per 100 words, i.e. they cluster around the mean occurrences for both periods (6.45 for 1819 and 5.77 for 1820-25).[11] Some inconsistency is thus not unusual. For instance, 18 (37.3%) writers show a discrepancy of over 3 marks per 100 words, with the largest discrepancy exceeding 8 (Charles Crause, 13.29 in 1819 vs. 5.16 in 1820-25). For the remaining writers (over 60%), however, the discrepancies range between 0.10 (John Bailie) and 2.99 marks per 100 words (see Appendix 8.1 for details). As for extreme practices, the numbers of informants with low scores (below 4 marks per 100) do not differ strikingly between the two periods (12 informants in 1819 vs. 11 informants in 1820-25; i.e. a quarter of all autograph writers). On the other hand, the number of informants displaying the average scores of punctuation is greater in 1820-25. Similarly, in terms of overpunctuation, there is a difference: it characterises nine informants (19%) in 1819 and only three (6%) informants in 1820-25, despite the fact that the colonial letters are relatively longer.[12]
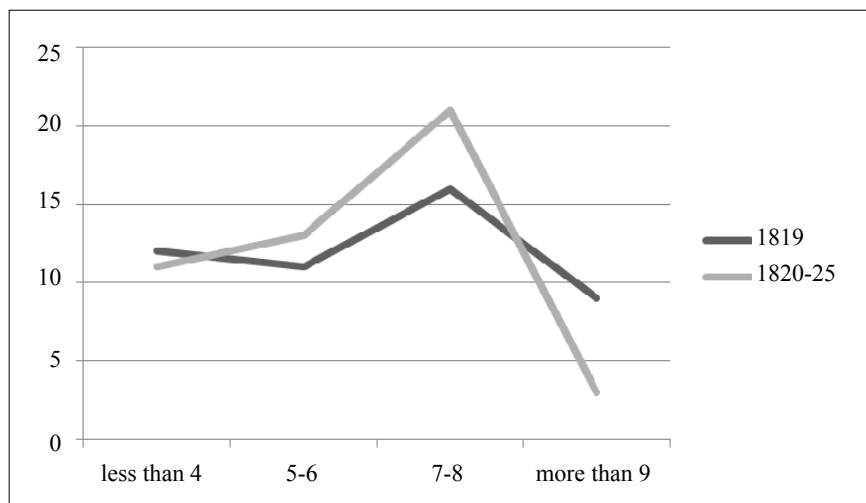
Figure 8.2. Punctuation frequencies (per 100 words) in 1819 and 1820-25

[11] The relative similarity of distributions here indicates that despite the unequal sample size, and very small samples for some users, some overlap may still be observed.

[12] Perhaps the relatively larger number of average punctuation in 1820-25 is justified by the larger sample sizes. In other words, the 1819 patterns may be more unusual due to the smaller sample size overall and the brevity of the letters.

Overall, evaluating the punctuation in two different points in time allows demonstrating that extreme practices are not necessarily stable individual characteristics: extremely low punctuation values in particular may be a one-off occurrence. Moreover, despite considerable discrepancies for some users, punctuation frequency does not seem haphazard for the majority of informants.

8.3.4. Socio-economic background

Mean frequencies of punctuation uses for 1819 and 1820-25 were calculated for individual informants in order to juxtapose these with their socio-economic background (Table 8.5). Among the nine informants with the lowest scores (below 4 per 100 words), seven were manual workers, and two were professionals (albeit with the 3.9 and 4.0 scores respectively). A greater variety of backgrounds characterises the 11 informants with the highest scores (over 8 per 100 words): this group includes three professionals, two army members, two farmers, two tradesmen, one skilled artisan and one whose profession remains unknown. Thus, some correlation of underpunctuation with the lower socio-economic status and the involved schooled literacies may be observed: seven out of 20 manual workers in the analysed sample of 48 informants had the lowest possible frequency scores. Still, for this socio-economic group both average and high punctuation scores were also observed, while some professionals used punctuation very rarely, which shows that the extremely low punctuation scores aside, it is hard to make further generalisations.

As for punctuation repertoires, the 12 informants who used the most restricted sets (between 1-3 marks) included six manual workers, three professionals, two army members and one tradesman. As for the 14 informants who employed an array of over 5 different marks, 3 were manual labourers, four were in trade, two were army members and four were professionals. Similarly to punctuation frequencies, some correlation of the most restricted repertoires with manual workers may be noticed (six out of 20 in the entire sample). The extreme sets aside, the mid range uses (4-5 different marks) were most common (22 informants) and here, similarly to the punctuation frequencies, the socio-economic background was diverse. All in all, for the majority of informants, punctuation repertoires do not seem to be linked in a straightforward manner to their socio-economic background.

Table 8.5. Punctuation: Socio-economic background of informants with extreme frequencies and ranges of marks

Punctuation	Informants	Farmers/ Labourers	Skilled artisans	Trade	Army/ navy	Professionals	Unknown
	48	8	12	7	8	12	1
Fq per 100 words							
1-4	9	2	5			2	
8 and more	11	2	1	2	2	3	1
Range of marks							
1-3	12	2	4	1	2	3	
5 and more	14	3		4	2	4	

8.3.5. Genre literacies and punctuation

In this subsection I look into the individual patterns of the overlapping informants in order to juxtapose these with their preferences in terms of the petition model. As was indicated above, 24 informants extended their repertoire of genre models following emigration to the Cape Colony (the "Learners"), while 20 used the new model consistently and failed to apply the traditional one (the "Experts"). As I have noticed above, manual workers were by far more represented in the former group. Here I discuss the correlations between the punctuation frequencies of the two groups of users. In the "Learner" group, six informants with the lowest punctuation frequencies are found (below 4 per 100 words). Interestingly, seven informants with extremely high punctuation rates also belong to this group. The remaining 11 informants (c. 46%) show average scores. Among the consistent users of the new model, there are two informants with the lowest scores and four with the highest frequencies, while the remaining 14 writers (c. 67%) in this group tend to show average rather than extreme scores. In other words, the distributions of average punctuation frequencies differ between the two groups and indicate a greater share of underpunctuators among the users who extended their repertoires of petition models and a considerably greater share of average users in the group which only used the new model. Thus, stable preferences with respect to

the petition model seem to characterise those users who exhibit average rather than extreme patterns of punctuation.

Overall, the technical aspect of literacy, the use of punctuation, that has been analysed in this section does not seem to correlate very strongly with the socio-economic background of the petitioners: informants who use punctuation the least and the most frequently represent different occupational groups. However, the lowest and average punctuation scores in the Late Modern period, rather than the highest, may indeed have characterised manual workers, i.e. the representatives of the lower social strata. In terms of the remaining occupations, punctuation patterns are more diverse. Clearly, the relatively small sample sizes, as well as the nature of the involved categories of description, may have blurred some patterns. Moreover, the fact that the analysed sample involved writers with fairly extensive experience in letter writing may have also determined the results of the analysis. In other words, an attempt at correlating technical literacies with the implications of schooling characteristics for the socio-economic categories applied may have failed because (1) the educational background of the informants did not match their socio-economic categorisations; (2) the sample was fairly uniform with respect to the users writing experience, which, moreover, did not reflect the users socio-economic standing and the educational background in a straightforward manner; (3) punctuation alone is not an adequate diagnostic of technical literacies overall. For this reason, the analysis below pursues the reflections of other technical literacy skills of the autograph informants.

8.4. Technical literacies: Qualitative evidence

In this section I take a closer look into the letters from the overlapping informants with the lowest and highest punctuation scores. On top of punctuation, the technical skills necessary for writing involve the ability to spell words in a comprehensible way. Spelling skills would have clearly been stratified in the Late Modern period. As Tieken-Boon van Ostade shows (2009: 42-43), if spelling was taught at all in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, it would have been at home (cf. the claim that grammar schools only accepted pupils who could already spell; Fairman 2006). Spelling books available for home schooling did not, however,

teach a system of rules and were used to teach the children to read and not to write (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 43). It is thus likely that more prestigious forms of education involved the rules of spelling as codified in printing and the prescriptive discourse. Still, as Tieken-Boon van Ostade continues, the relationship between spelling and educational background is rather complex: well-educated writers may very well have been bad spellers (2009: 50; cf. 2006a and 2014). Idiosyncratic spelling alone may thus not indicate vernacular literacies. Moreover, two further aspects pursued below involve the use of contractions and selected grammar features; the latter frequently viewed as indicators of nonstandard users (Mesthrie and West 1995; Allen 2015; Hundt 2015).

Table 8.6. Autograph writers with lowest punctuation scores

Name	1819 fq	1820 -25 fq	Mean	Technical literacy	Occu- pation	Genre literacy	1819 fq	1820 -25 fq	Mean
Hayhurst, R.	1.3	1.0	1.2	Vern.	SA	Learner	3	2	2.5
Felton, G. H.	3.0	0.5	1.8	In-bt	F	Learner	2	1	1.5
James, S.	3.3	0.6	2.0	Vern.	SA	Learner	6	1	3.5
Gowar, R.	5.9	0.5	3.2	Vern.	SA	Learner	3	1	2
Hockly, D.	5.1	2.0	3.6	Vern.	SA	Learner	5	3	4
Bowker, M.	2.4	4.9	3.6	In-bt	F	n/a	4	3	3.5
Carney, J.	3.6	3.9	3.7	In-bt	SA	Expert	2	7	4.5
Turvey, E.	2.9	5.0	3.9	In-bt	P	Learner	3	4	3.5
Holditch, R.	3.4	4.6	4.0	Dom.	P	Expert	2	5	3.5

8.4.1. Vernacular pole: Underpunctuators

In the data from the 9 informants listed above (Table 8.6), multiple spelling idiosyncracies and some inconsistencies occur. Few of these may be viewed as phonetically meaningful, indicating lack of rhoticity (*Govenor*, *mothe*, *Eff* "erf" i.e. a plot of land), or /h/-dropping (instances of /h/ insertion: *has* for "as", *hour* for "our"). Other misspellings involve common words (e.g. "there", "their", "family", "necessary", "possible"; cf. Allen 2015: 209-211), or genre specific terms, some of which may have been new to the writers ("Memorialist", "colonial", "emigration", "excel-

lency", "relieve", "settlers", "deposit", "colonial", "sanction"). The confusion as to the geminates (e.g. *alowe*, *sittuation*), word-medial (e.g. *repetion*, *circomstance*) and word-final (e.g. *sorey*, *lickley*) reduced vowels, along with the omission of 'silent' letters (e.g. *exelency*, *quit* "quite"), occurs most frequently (cf. Fitzmaurice 2015: 167-168). Some sounds, in particular the long /i:/ and /ʃ/ posed particular difficulty (*releive*, *compleat*, *received*, *posision*, *sancioned*). Some idiosyncratic spellings of long, usually Latinate words (e.g. *profigate*, *provibilety*, *recomoation*) may indicate that the authors most likely had not used these actively before. Some spellings may be phonetically meaningful (*will* "well", *whin* "when"), but the samples are too small to corroborate this. Other spellings may be archaic (*informd*, *sufferd*; cf. Allen 2015: 209). An extraordinary lower case first person pronoun *i* "I" occurs in letters from one informant. The list below presents the idiosyncratic spellings by the most extreme underpunctuators.

accustomd	insolvant	releive "relieve"
alowe "allow"	invant "infant"	repetion "repetition"
annexd	jet "yet"	rescourses "rescources"
apeared	knowlidge	rote "wrote"
appropeatied	leve "leave"	sancioned
busneſs	lickley "likely"	securety
calld	lowar "lower"	servent
circomstance	memorialest	setlers
colonel "colonial"	memorielist	sittuation
colonil "colonial"	memorilest	soons "sons"
compleat "complete"	neams "names"	sorey
considerd	necesary "necessary"	substituded "substituted"
constraind	neſsary	sufferd
deposit	nesceſsary	their "there"
deposite	obtaind	there "their"
disirous	on bouard "board"	thir "their"
ecserted "exerted"	partey	trubel "trouble"
emergation	posable "possible"	usfull "usefull"
exelency	posision "possession"	veſsells
famly "family"	profigate "profligate"	wether "whether"
govermment	propper	whare "where"
governer	provibilety "probability"	whin "when"
gratefull	quit "quite"	wich "which"
gratiously	receaved	will wishes ("the consent &
hed "head"	receved	will wishes of all parties")
informd	recomoation "recommendation"	

One further aspect of technical literacy, the use of contractions, is of interest here. Some of these may have been part and parcel of letter writing conventions earlier, but their use was strongly condemned in the eighteenth century (Austin 1994: 302; cf. also Mitchell 2012: 247). Some researchers point out, however, that the rules for private letters allowed contractions and the contemporary spelling standard was dual in nature, i.e. it was different for epistolary spelling and for printed texts (Osselton [1984]1998; cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 43). The 1820 settler petitions were, however, not personal letters, thus it makes sense to assume that contractions should not have appeared in them, also due to the fact that such shortenings may have been considered disrespectful (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006b: 139). The underpuncuators indeed did not use many contractions, only *Damd'd* ("damned"), *Morn^g* ("morning"), *Tho* "though" and *Mem^{rs}*, *Mem^{rst}* ("memorialist"), *Tis* ("this is") were found in the sample.

As for the grammar features that violate the contemporary prescriptive rules, these are fairly numerous. Starting with the unmarked plurals, they range from the lack of subject verb agreement, double negation, negation without *do*-support, unmarked adverbs and genitives, subject and object omissions, preposition omissions, *be*-passive to archaic verbal forms (Examples (58)-(67)). Two further instances of solecisms, i.e. the use of infinitives, where a gerund form is required, were also found (*opportunity of bring up*; *When bring them down the Country*). Most of these features are limited to individual data sets, but variable agreement and subject omission are attested for the majority of the underpuncuators.

(58)   Plural marking
     • aged 32 <u>year</u>
     • seven <u>month</u>

(59)   Subject/verb agreement
     • we <u>wes</u>
     • Your lordship <u>think</u>
     • <u>he</u> in common with other settlers <u>have had</u> to encounter

(60)   Double negation
     • I wish fairly to state my case & <u>not</u> to give it <u>no</u> false colour

(61)   Negation without *do*-support
          • If I mistake <u>not</u>

(62)   Subject/Object omission
          • (I)[13] lost eleven Bullocks
          • to give (you) trouble, but
          • Should not trouble (you) with questions
          • fourth year (I) had eight Acres

(63)   Adverb marking
          • <u>humble</u> begs

(64)   Preposition omission
          • To inform you by letter (of) the Particulars
          • Aſsigned (to) them

(65)   Genitive marking
          • As it is <u>memorialist</u> intention

(66)   *be*-passive
          • Richard Townend and family <u>is not come</u>

(67)   Archaic/stylised/regularised verb forms
          • <u>*prayeth*</u>

All in all, the underpunctuators use many idiosyncratic spellings. Variable subject verb agreement as well as subject omission occur fairly regularly. Nevertheless, the features discussed above are by no means spread evenly among the nine informants. For instance, one informant, Robert Holditch, a surgeon, stands out in that his letters contain no such spellings and none of the grammar features enumerated above. On one occasion only, does this informant omit a preposition (*writing you*), and makes a slip on another: *I have had hoped*. Miles Bowker, for instance, shows occasional idiosyncratic spellings and uses a contraction (*Tis*), but no morpho-syntactic nonstandard forms. Carney's, Felton's and Turvey's data involve many misspellings, but only one or two of the grammatical features mentioned above. A greater amount of such features, on top of multiple idio-

_____

    [13] I use round brackets to indicate the omitted element.

syncratic spellings, is characteristic for Hayhurst, James, Gowar and Hockly. The uneven distribution of the features indicates at least three different categories of technical literacies: (1) vernacular, with multiple nonstandard features of both spelling and grammar; (2) in-between, involving mostly idiosyncratic spellings, and occasional grammatical features; (3) dominant, with no (or occasional) spelling idiosyncrasies or no, or an occasional, nonstandard grammatical construction. In terms of genre literacy, the underpunctuators falling within the first category belong to the "Learners" group. In the in-between category, Felton and Turvey are also "Learners", but Carney is an "Expert" and so is Holditch. Unlike for the other underpunctuators, his technical literacies are close to the dominant pole, despite his low punctuation scores.

8.4.2. Dominant pole: Overpunctuators

Table 8.7. Autograph writers with highest punctuation scores

Name	1819 fq	1820-25 fq	Mean fq	Technical literacy	Occupation	Genre literacy	1819 marks	1820-25 marks	Mean marks
Griffith, C.	10.3	6.4	8.4	Dom.	A	Expert	4	2	3
Colling, T.	10.0	6.9	8.5	In-bt	P	Expert	1	3	2
Wait, W.	9.2	8.4	8.8	In-bt	T	Expert	3	7	5
Reed, W.	8.7	8.8	8.8	Dom.	F	Learner	7	3	5
Crause, Ch.	13.3	5.2	9.2	Dom.	A	Learner	1	7	4
Burnett, B.	11.7	8.7	10.2	Dom.	F	Learner	6	4	5
Dyason, G.	13.7	6.7	10.2	In-bt	T	Learner	5	4	4.5
Palmer, T.	8.3	12.5	10.4	Vern.	SA	Learner	5	4	4.5
Latham, J.	10.4	10.8	10.6	Dom.	?	Learner	7	5	6
Heath, J.	16.8	9.3	13.1	Dom.	P	Learner	6	5	5.5

Compared to the underpunctuators, the letters of the overpunctuators (Table 8.7) contain considerably fewer misspellings (*faitful*, *anctiously* "anxiously", *duering* "during", *whome* "whom", *manificently* "magnificently", *Excillency* "excellency", *sufferes* "sufferers", *Intire* "entire", *Majastrate* "magistrate", *consequintly* "consequently", *oblight* "obliged", *lett*

"let", *proclimation* "proclamation"). Two users show inconsistencies: *establishment* vs. *istablishment* (Burnett) and *Excellency* vs. *Excillency* (Charles Crause). Two informants do not use <e> in the regular past tense forms (e.g. *recoverd*, *saild*; Reed and Colling). On the whole, idiosyncratic spellings of common words, e.g. pronouns are very rare. Similarly, genre specific terms are mostly spelled in a standard way (but for "excellency") and not many instances of misspellings of Latinate words occur (*Majastrate*, *Proclimation*) A feature of spelling that was not spotted in the underpunctuators' group is variable use of long *s*, and the use of <ss> instead (*assure*, *issue*, *less*; Charles Crause, George Dyason and Burnett). George Dyason uses <ss> consistently in his colonial petition, but in his 1819 letter he uses long *s*. The two other informants use <ss> once each: Crause in his 1819 and Burnett in his colonial letter. Overall, the use of <ss> might be viewed as an innovation, as the long *s* started to disappear from print around 1800 (Fens-de Zeeuw and Straaijer 2012: 319).[14] As for contractions, these are a regular feature of one informant (*tis*, regular contractions of verbal forms: *I've been*, *cou'd* 'could', *wou'd* 'would', *shou'd* 'should', *rec'd* 'received', *preffer'd* 'preffered', *arisi'g* "arising"; Palmer). Another informant uses two contractions (*thro'*, *altho'*; Heath). Few of the morpho-syntactic features noted above occur: subject omission (Example (68)), preposition omission (Example (69)), double determiner construction (Example (70)) and the verb form *broke* for "broken" (Example (71)). A frequent feature of underpunctuators, variable subject verb agreement, was not found.[15] It is important to notice that three of the examples below come from Palmer's letters.

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[14] The distribution of long *s* in handwritten material is very much underresearched. The earliest instances of <ss> discussed in the literature come from 1803 (Fens-de Zeeuw and Straaijer 2012: 330). The authors observe these in Lindley Murrays' private letters. Prior to this date, however, the grammarian only used long *s* in geminates, and, as the authors note, his switch coincides with the disappearance of the grapheme from *The Times*.

[15] There are some instances of variable distant agreement, but these are not on a par with the occurrences noted for the underpunctuators. In the example below, the NP *precautionary measures* is the subject of the 'that' clause and the verb *demands* does not agree with it in terms of number. This may be due to another NP, *Self defence*, (part of the PP modifying the subject NP) preceding the main verb directly "I am very sure that precautionary measures, as to some wholesome regulations in the local management of my party; and for our Self defence demands my serious attention!" (136/038/Willson).

(68)   and (I) am now at a considerable expence

(69)   accept an offer made (to) me

(70)   I arrived at <u>this the</u> place directed

(71)   on my return I made
       application for them, and found the head of one
       of my Casks <u>Broke</u> open, and a number of
       valuable Articles taken out

Overall, the overpunctuators present a much narrower repertoire of non-standard features compared to the informants with the lowest punctuation scores. Based on the classification proposed above, six in ten come close to the dominant pole of technical literacy, three fall in-between and one is close to the vernacular end of the spectrum. Unlike in the former group, for frequent punctuators genre literacy does not seem to depend on technical literacy: seven in ten overpunctuators are "Learners", including five informants with dominant technical literacy skills.

What then does the analysis mean for genre literacies? The results seem to be different for the users with low and high punctuation scores. In the former group, the three aspects of technical literacies, which seem to be close to the vernacular pole, may in general be connected with the vernacular nature of the other literacies that characterised this group: their education (mostly manual workers) and genre literacy ("Learners"). On the other hand, the results for overpunctuators present a much more complex picture. Their socio-economic background is diverse (with only two manual workers), their genre literacies are mostly of the "Learner" type (but three "Experts" are also found), while their technical literacies come much closer to the dominant pole (with the exception of one informant, placed on the vernacular pole and three informants with infrequent nonstandard features). This clearly shows that the "Learners" were heterogeneous not only in terms of their punctuation practices, but also in terms of the other aspects of their technical literacies. In other words, the extension of the structural repertoire of the petition, although more common for manual workers (in socio-economic terms), was as much a share of the autograph writers with the technical literacies of vernacular type as of those whose technical literacies could be placed closer to the dominant pole.

8.5. The nonstandard feature pool

Mesthrie and West have studied the nonstandard pool of grammar features in a sample of the colonial petitions (1995: 122-129). The features they indentified involved the dative of advantage, *do*-support, double negation, variation in the use of relative clauses, variable subject verb agreement and unmarked plurals. This partially overlaps with the features studied by Hundt as nonstandard input into New Zealand English (2015), while further features that she analyses as nonstandard in Late Modern English include: regularised past participle forms, adverb marking, reflexive and oblique pronouns in subject position, negation without *do*, preposition stranding, *be*-passive and progressive passive. As I have shown above in a qualitative study into the occurrence of such features in relation to literacy types, the underpunctuators and "Learners" informants clearly show a more frequent use of such features, as well as of the features of nonstandard spelling (see Sections 8.4.1. and 8.4.2.). In this section, I attempt to connect user socio-economic background and genre literacies to the distributions of such features[16] for all the autograph informants. Although a comprehensive quantification of such features is impossible and beyond the scope of this study, the pool allows a differentiation into frequent users, infrequent users and users who do not exhibit any such features. Above, I have proposed a classification that involved a three-fold differentiation into the following categories of literacies: (1) vernacular, with multiple nonstandard features of both spelling and grammar; (2) in-between, involving mostly idiosyncratic spellings, and occasional grammatical features; (3) dominant, with no (or occasional) spelling idiosyncrasies or no, or an occasional, nonstandard grammatical construction. For the purpose of this section, which focuses on grammar rather than spelling, the "dominant" category is split into (3a) the users who show some nonstandard spelling and/or a single grammatical form; and (3b) the users who employ no nonstandard grammatical constructions (but may show idiosyncratic spellings).[17] The 108 autograph informants in the 1820

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[16] The strictly syntactic features, such as variable relative clauses (with the exception of odd or obsolescent forms) and preposition stranding were not included in the analysis.

[17] The more fine-grained categorisation involves some amendments of the categories presented in Tables 8.6 and 8.7. In particular some in-between users may now be classified as (3a), i.e. closer to the dominant literacy pole.

settler database are classified based on these four different categories placing them between the two extremes of technical literacies (Appendix 8.1). The results are presented below:

Table 8.8. Literacy types and occupations of autograph writers

Literacy categories	Informants	Farmers/ Labourers	Skilled artisans	Army	Trade	Profes- sionals	Unknown
(1) Vernacular	8		7	1			
(2) In-between	30	6	11	3	5	3	2
(3a) Dominant	28	4	6	4	1	9	4
(3b) Dominant	42	8	9	4	8	10	3
Total	108	18	33	12	14	22	9

As Table 8.8 above shows (see Appendix 8.2 for details), 8 (7%) informants are closest to the vernacular pole, 30 (28%) may be placed in-between, and 28 (26%) fall fairly close to the dominant literacy pole, but show an occasional nonstandard grammatical feature, while the remaining 42 are very close to the dominant literacy pole (39%). As for the occupational status of the autograph informants, a clear majority of the professionals belong to category 3 (19 in 22), thus showing a correspondence between extensive educational background and literacy. However, as far as the remaining professional groups are concerned, it is hard to make any generalisations: for example, farmers, labourers and skilled artisans are found in all categories. Even if a rough dividing line between categories (1) and (2) vs. category (3) is drawn, we still see 24 in 51 informants from the lower social strata (famers and labourers) placed closer to the vernacular literacy poles and the remaining 27 in 51 closer to the dominant end of the scale. Like in the analyses conducted in Chapters Six and Eight, it is impossible to establish straightforward correspondences between the socio-economic factors and literacy types, or the occurrence of nonstandard grammatical features.

However, the classification above shows that 42 in 108 (39%) of the analysed informants come close to the dominant literacy pole (category 3(b)), so their letters do not provide promising material for the study into nonstandard features of input into a new colonial variety of English.

However, at least 11 of these informants show idiosyncratic spelling features, some of them even a considerable amount of such spellings. The petition in Example (76) shows multiple idiosyncratic spellings; still the writer applied all the conventions of the genre and employed rather specialised lexis to this effect. This includes the use of complex high formality constructions such as *which* relative clauses, nominalisations (*falling of his house, still remaining*, *proeving* "providing"), adnominal adjuncts and adverbials (*Greatly diminished*, *much remembered storm, humbly and earnestly*), participial clauses (*having Resided*), inversion (*should he be*), hypothetical clauses, linking with *thus*, formal cohesive devices such as *thearon*, marked word order (*thus humbly and Earnestly to pray*) and some lexical devices, such as the binomial (*so Great and desirable*).

(76)   To His Excelency the Right Honorabel
        Genaral Lord Charels Henry Somerset
        Governor and Comander in Chief
        of the Forces of the Colony of the Cape
        of Good Hope &c &c &c
        Stephen Gradwell of M^r· Richard Hayhurst[18] Party
        Humbly
        Sheweth _
        That your memoralist having Resided on his Location
        ever since his arrival thearon and through the failure
        of Crops and the fall^ing of his house in that much *
        Rememberd storm which fell in Albany in October 1823
        and other Loſses in Cattle &c _ He finds his *
        Fund Greatly Diminished, which has induced your Memoralist
        thus humbly and Earnestly to pray that your
        Excelency will be pleased to Grant him a Loan of about
        Six Hundred Rix Dollers, with which should he be so
        Fortunate as to obtain so Great and Desirable a favour from
        your Excelency, it would ^enabel him to purchas a few

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[18] Unmarked possessives of personal names of the heads of settler parties appear to be a genre-specific feature (see Section 8.5.), hence I do not consider these nonstandard.

> Cattle and other necefsaery articels _ that would aquire him
> the meanes of still Remaining on his Location and proeving
> for his Famely by unwearied Industery, and your
> memoralist as in Duty bound will ever pray"
> Lower Caffer Drift October 24th _
> Stephen Gradwell _ (223/117/Gradwell, Stephen)

As for the next dominant literacy category (3a), the users largely employ genre specific language as illustrated in Example (76) above, with the exception of a single, sometimes strongly stigmatised nonstandard feature. These features include variable subject verb agreement (11 users), preposition omission (three), addition (one; Example (77a)), subject omission (two), verb omission (one; Example (77b)), reflexive pronoun subjects (two; Example (77c)), double negation (two), negation without *do* support (one), progressive passive (one; Example (77d)), passival form (one; Example (77e)), regularised verb form (one; Example (77f)), unmarked adverb (one; Example (77g)) and awkward relative clauses (one; Examples (77h) and (77i)). Some of these features were illustrated above (Sections 8.4.1. and 8.4.2.), while the remaining ones are illustrated in Examples (77a)-(77i):

(77a)   onboard of the first Vefsel (136/063/Daniell)

(77b)   he felt it (was) his duty (158/154/Barry)

(77c)   her Husband being in a Sick bed, and herself near her confinement (223/144/Campbell)

(77d)   his being proceeded against (158/104/Dyason)

(77e)   the improvements
         Making and nearly Compleated (178/057/Mahony)

(77f)   will never be forgot (158/059/Martinson)

(77g)   to behave unhandsome (136/078/Neave)

(77h)   The Robbery of yesterday has deprived me of every Milch
        Cow I had, and I have now the painful task, to hear the entrieties
        of a young Family for that Aliment, their tender years require
        <u>a deprivation of which</u>, will in all probability be the cause of
        bringing them to an early Grave. _ (249/xxx/Brown, John)

(77i)   but without I have <u>another</u>
        <u>place to remove to</u>. little progreſs
        will be made (249/xxx/Brown, John)

The remaining 38 informants (35%) categorised as "vernacular" or "in-between" offer the most promising material for the study into the non-standard grammars of early nineteenth-century English. Example (78) illustrates a letter which is close to the vernacular literacy pole. Despite the substitution of the word "memorialist" with *memorial*, the petition follows some genre conventions (the address, title, trigger and *that* structure in one case), but it is overwhelmingly constructed by means of paratactic constructions (*also*). Although the features mentioned above may not be numerous (variable agreement in *your Memorial have been also*, the awkward relative clause *wich want of Draft oxen is a great lost to hime* and subject omission in (he) *is much Cramped*), there is little compositional complexity or creativity involved. Moreover, a repetition (*a Waggon a New one*) and the colloquial *Cramped for Money* show fairly low formality levels and incomplete control over the process of writing.

(78)   To His Exallincy the Righ Honble
        Lord Charles Somerset Governor and
        Commander of all ^{the} forces at the Cape
        of Good Hope &c &c &c
        Memorial of Isaac Bedman[19]
        of Mr Himmans Party, Farmer and
        Limeburner, Humbly shewith, that

---

[19] The surname is not fully legible, but the petition was most likely submitted on behalf of Isaac Debnam (Hyman's party; Nash 1987: 83). This may be a simplified spelling of *Debenham*.

your Memorial has been at a very
Heavy Expince in Cultivation
to the amount of above R 600_00
without reseving any benifit
your Memorial have been also
at a great Expince in Opining
a fine Stone Quary and allso
Limestone Quarry _ your Memorial
Hase been able to Purchase a Waggon
a New one, but has not been able
to make his arrangements for Cattel
wich want of Draft oxen is a great
lost to hime and as He is obliged to
give Creadet for lime is much Cramped
for Money to Cary on his busneſs
(223/103/Debnam)

Based on the 38 vernacular and in-between informants, the following fea-
tures may be added to the nonstandard pool on top of those mentioned
above: regularised verb forms (Examples (79a-d)), *after* perfect tense
(Example (80)), unmarked adverb and the archaic *for to* (Example (81)),
do support (Example (81)), dative of advantage (Example (83)), *be* pas-
sive (Example (84)), variable noun plurals (Example (85)) and *what* rela-
tive clause (Example (86)).

(79a)   where the settlers <u>are</u> <u>station</u> (136/076/Hare)

(79b)   But on attending at the Office this
        morning I <u>learn</u> with much regret
        your Indisposition. (136/066/Goodwin)

(79c)   I <u>haved had</u> undergone (158/035/Wilkinson)

(79d)   <u>wrote</u> by others (201/065/Anonymous)

(79e)   whe Have <u>Broke</u> all (249/292/Hanton)

(79f)   he should have <u>forfeit</u> (249/292/Hanton)

(80)   we are <u>after walking</u> (136/076/Hare)

(81)   nor <u>Scarse</u> Sufficent Bed Cloths <u>for to</u> preserve His
        family for the Cold of the Season with <u>Scarce</u>
        a House over them (158/075/Edkins)

(82)   <u>does</u> most humble and respectfully <u>prays</u> (223/019/Parker, George)
        <u>did</u> memorial (249/092/Powell)

(83)   your Memorialist then built <u>him</u> a house on a
        spot of Ground (223/175/Webb, Charles)

(84)   when the time <u>was expired</u> in which he was contracted
        to Major Pigot (223/175/Webb, Charles)

(85a)   whilst <u>other</u> enjoy them (136/051/Kolbe)

(85b)   such rapid <u>progresses</u> (136/051/Kolbe)

(86)   I could not recover it to my conscience to take
        money even by way of loan <u>what</u> I think has been
        collected under misrepresentations (223/118/Crause, Charles)

8.5.1. Selected nonstandard features: A quantification

Some of the nonstandard features (see Sections 8.4.1. and 8.4.2.) are extremely rare, or even one-off occurrences. Table 8.9 presents some quantitative evidence for the selected features from the autograph section of the 1820 settler database.

Table 8.9. Distribution of selected nonstandard features

Feature	Example (Fq)
Double determiner	this my (1)/ this the (3)
Double negation	(4)
do support	do (3)/ did (5)
for to	(3)
Archaic verb forms[20]	beggeth (1)
	prayeth (2)
	hath (1)
Unmarked adverbs	(10)
Reflexive pronoun subject	(5)

Only two features, the variable verb subject agreement and subject omission, are more frequent in the analysed letters. Neither of the forms is retrievable via corpus searches so I have tagged the autograph section of the database manually for these. The first feature, lack of concord, is defined as the absence of the *–s* ending of singular present tense verbs in the 3rd person, its presence in other persons, or a confusion of singular and plural forms of *be* in both the present and the past. The feature has been widespread in varieties of English (Hickey ed. 2004; see Wagner and Kortmann 2007 for an overview). Thus its prevalence explains the fact that although it has been strongly stigmatised by Late Modern prescriptivists (Laitinen 2009), it has surfaced in nineteenth-century letters more commonly than other nonstandard features (cf. Allen 2015: 213).

Table 8.10. Nonstandard subject verb agreement

Subject feature								
Number	**No.**	**%**	**Person**	**No.**	**%**	**PoS**	**No.**	**%**
Singular	16	46%	3rd person	27	77%	Pronoun	9	26%
Plural	19	54%	1st person	7	20%	NP	26	74%
			2nd person	1	3%			
Total	35	100%		35	100%		35	100%

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[20] The counts disregard the formulaic *sheweth* which belongs to the fixed repertoire of the traditional model.

Lack of concord characterises 21 informants, i.e. 19% of all the autograph petitioners (35 instances; Table 8.10). In terms of subject type, singular subjects are slightly less frequently omitted (16/46%) than plural subjects (19/54%). Most cases involve third person subjects (27/77%; including 13 singular and 14 plural). There are only 7 (20%) instances of first person and one instance (3%) of second person (*you was*). Pronominal subjects[21] are clearly in the minority (9/26%), the rest involve nominal subjects including 14 (40%) personal, 10 (28%) abstract and 2 (6%) inanimate subjects. Among the personal subjects, there are 10 cases of petitioner reference by means of *Memorialist* and 7 pronominal self-references (*I*), i.e. 49% of cases involve self-reference. Two of the examples involve subject omission (Examples (88) and (89); marked with Ø) in additional to concord violation. Example (89) is a case of distant agreement where lack of concord may have resulted from non-adjacency to the expressed subject. Both subject omission and distant agreement may be conducive to concord violations.

(87)   Hier wich is the Case now; me and my Son as Got
        Cattle and Propperty to Give Sercuritey for
        the Same if Wanted (249/292/Hanton, William)

(88)   and memorialist is consequently under
        a Temporary inconvenience and Ø pray that
        your Excellency will be Kind Enough
        to Grant him the Loan (223/102/Cluster, William)

(89)   your memorialists at first calculated upon,
        thro unavoidable disappointments, and
        unforeseen obstacles arising from local
        circumstances _ Ø most humbly prays your
        Excellency for a Government Loan (223/137/Bradshaw, Samuel)

In terms of the verbs involved in concord violations, 22 (63%) cases involve *have* (12 instances) or *be* (10 instances), mostly as a copula (perfect

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[21] Cf. Pietsch (2005) on the constraints of the Northern Subject Rule; cf. Dylewski 2013: 204, 206).

tense, existentials, passives; cf. Dylewski 2013: 204). As far as verb se-
mantics goes, six instances involve genre-specific verbs: *pray*, *trust* and
remain. This, together with the relatively high frequency of concord vio-
lations in self-reference shows that involvement, understood as spontane-
ous, less monitored written usage, may have been the reason it had sur-
faced in the first place. Self-reference, as well as the speech act verbs and
verbs denoting stance, have been viewed as indicators of personal in-
volvement, which is a characteristic of letters, especially private, as a text-
type (Biber 2001: 98-99; Włodarczyk 2013b: 208-209). However, the 17
self-reference cases of concord violations are only a fraction of all nomin-
al self-reference forms in the autograph section of the 1820 settler data-
base (472 items).

It is important to underline that even this relatively frequent nonstan-
dard feature only accounts for a fraction of potential concord instances
overall and the prevailing mode of subject verb agreement was standard
in nature. For the majority of users (18 in 25), concord violation has been
an isolated occurrence. The users who employed the feature twice or three
times were: John Bold, Samuel Bradshaw, William Hanton, Daniel Hock-
ly, James Hogsflesh, John Ingram, Samuel James and Richard White.
Among them Hanton, Hockly and James were regular users of other non-
standard features mentioned above, i.e. their writing comes close to the
vernacular literacy pole (Category 1). Bold, Hogsflesh and White were
classified as falling in-between on the continuum (Category 2), while In-
gram and Bradshaw only showed an isolated feature of nonstandard usage
and were classified as closest to the contemporary standard (Category 3).
The distribution of the analysed feature thus cuts across the proposed lite-
racy categories and it does not seem to be systematically related to any of
them. In particular its presence in the letters of the petitioners close to the
standard literacy pole indicates that, unlike other nonstandard features,
this one has not been eradicated even from the most norm-oriented letters.
For the more regular overlapping autograph users it is also interesting to
ask about the changes in usage over time. For instance, for Bold and
Bradshaw, concord violations were found both in the candidate and in the
colonial letters. In the case of Hogsflesh and James, however, the feature
did not surface in their colonial letters. On the other hand, Hockly (and
some other overlapping informants who had the feature) showed the fea-
ture in their colonial letters, but not in the candidate petitions (Adams;

Crause, John; Gowar; Ingram; Kolbe; Marshall; Palmer and White). The petition model employed did not seem to have an effect on concord violations: the feature is distributed almost equally in the new and traditional model and six instances occur in hybrid letters. The distributions per informant, however, show that the preferences were individual, though their stability over time is not easy to determine due to small sample sizes. However, it is important to bear in mind that the processing requirements of the non-iconic third person self-reference involved in the traditional model may have also added to the variability of subject verb agreement in the 1820 settler database.

Subject ellipsis is another fairly frequent feature in the analysed data. To my knowledge, subject ellipsis has not been studied systematically in Late Modern epistolary discourse. In English as a non pro-drop language subject omission is not typical. Studies into modern English material show that this feature is text-type sensitive and is characteristic for conversation and CMC (see Torres Cacoullos and Travis 2014 for further details). As far as the more conventional written text-types are concerned, letters have exhibited subject ellipsis most frequently (see Teddiman 2011 for an overview). As for Late Modern English correspondence, most recently Hundt excluded this and other elliptical constructions as "typical of letter writing as a genre" from the pool of nonstandard features in her letter corpus. Hundt's tentative suggestion was that ellipsis might be a "marker of familiarity" (2015: 78, 78f). Regardless of whether subject ellipsis is a nonstandard or a stylistic feature, Late Modern grammarians noted that "elliptical style"[22] was a conversational feature that could be emulated in letters, but not in more serious writings (Hodson 2007: 37), thus its presence in the 1820 settler petition is not entirely surprising. Subject ellipsis is not easy to define, especially if clause or sentence boundaries are not regularly marked by punctuation, as is the case in the data. In a sense it is a gradable feature that depends on the recoverability of the antecedent. Thus in the tagging I have relied upon the premise that the instances quoted below both involve ellipsis, although in the first case it appears less striking than in the second. In Examples (90 and 91), the petitioner is the referent of the omitted pronoun:

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[22] Both Hodson (2007) and Hundt (2015) refer to the remark made by Lindlay Murray concerning, specifically, the omission of relative pronouns, not of subjects.

(90)   I came down from thence lately to Cape Town and Ø am at present
        employed by Apsey Hatter Market Square (223/181/Moltby, F.)

(91)   Carracter will bear the Strictest investigation
        in morals or workmanship Ø Can attend
        in london if Required (48/45/88/Powell, J.)

Overall, 137 instances of subject omission were found in 85 autograph
letters by 67 informants, i.e. c. 62% of all petitioners in this subdata-
base. This accounts for only c. 8% of all the cases of the expressed peti-
tioner reference in the subjective case (1650 in total; 992 instances of *I*,
180 of *he* and 458 nominal genre-specific reference). Subject ellipsis,
which was anaphoric in all cases, was normally not used with referents
other than the petitioner (first or third person, depending on the petition
model), but for two cases of third person reference to third party. 29 in-
formants only used the feature once and 20 informants used it twice. 18
informants omitted subjects three times or more, the highest frequency
being 8 per informant (Bold). Example (90) illustrates subject omission
in a coordinated construction: this type is by far most frequent account-
ing for 100 instances (73%). Within these, 85 were coordinated by *and*
and 15 by *but*. Coordination is a common environment for subject dele-
tion in present day English as well (Biber et al. 1999: 156). Table 8.11
presents the most frequent words (mostly verbs) that have triggered sub-
ject ellipsis on more than one occasion:

Table 8.11. Most frequent triggers of subject ellipsis

Trigger	No.	%
be	51	37 %
have	26	19 %
Modals	25	18 %
Adverbs	6	4 %
Lexical verbs	11	9 %
One-off	18	13%
Total	137	100%

The copula *be* and the verb *have*, in auxiliary and lexical functions, are not surprisingly the most common triggers here. Modal verbs are also relatively well represented. In particular *can* and its negated form *cannot* are worth mentioning (nine instances). The adverbs that triggered subject omission in two cases each involve *also*, *humbly* and *most*. As for the lexical verbs, *pray* occurred three times and *wish, find*, *remain* and *lost* were found twice. The modal *can* is related to the expression of the (lack) of ability, the adverbs (except for *also*) and lexical verbs are used to express respect towards the addressee, to give the details of the petitioner, to perform the request or to justify it. Thus the triggers of subject omission, beyond the auxiliaries, are specific to the genre. The remaining triggers that account for 13% of ellipsis only occurred once. These form a relatively uniform category including mental verbs and markers of stance, such as: *inform*, *know*, *see*, *perceive*, *beg*, *assure*, *intend*, *feel*, *hope*, *trust*, *doubt* and *sorry*. This particular finding is in line with Torres Cacoullos and Travis (2014) who observed unexceptional *I* ellipsis in formulaic expressions or (intonationally distinct) discourse markers (such as *I know*) in present day conversation in English. For instance, subject omission occurs in four out of six instances of *sorry* in the autograph section of the database reflecting a similar tendency to omit the subject in a fixed phrase that usually expresses stance. Overall, however, subject omission appears to perform a genre-specific function related to the need to express details, especially of personal information in a succinct manner:

(92)   & your Memorialist is a Maried Man and has Two
        apprentices. Ø is greatly encouraged by the public
        but Ø is not enabled to push himself forward
        (223/157/Wright, Benjamin)

(93)   I have obtaind a Superfiecal knowledge of Trade
        in general, but from the present depression of all
        Branches Ø am unfortunately precluded putting
        my Experience to any purpose by which to obtain
        a Livelihood for my Family (CO48/44/460/Rowles, John)

(94)   and heaving selected a a party consisting of differant
        mekanics. as well as Farmer & Gardener
        _ Ø Should presume there can be no obgection
        to the party proceeding under my derection
        and now onely waiting (CO48/44/720/Marshall, John)

In terms of the literacy classification proposed above, 8 (12%) users of the feature come closest to the nonstandard literacy pole (Category 1), 23 (34%) were classified as in-between (Category 2) and 36 (54%) are close to the dominant pole. However, the users in Category (1) and (2) employ the feature more consistently (82 instances, i.e. 60%) than the informants who belong in Categories (3a) and (3b). The latter are typically one-off users of the feature.

The quantification of the two more frequent morpho-syntactic features, nonstandard subject verb agreement and subject omission, has demonstrated highly individualised patterns of distribution. These patterns cut across the literacy categories, although consistency in their use appears greater for the users closer to the nonstandard literacy pole. An important aspect of the two features is that they bear a close connection to the formal (self-reference) and lexico-pragmatic (expression of involvement and stance) aspects of genre specific routines established in Chapter Seven (7.2.1.). This may explain their relatively random distributions in relation to the literacy classifications and the socio-economic status of the informants. Modes of self-reference in particular were a highly pragmatically sensitive feature of the petition. As I have shown in Chapter Six, these were the main sites in which the pragmatic effects of petitions could have been manipulated and adjusted (see Examples (10) and (11) in Section 6.4.). Petitioners not only had difficulty mastering the nonconventional third person self-reference (hybrid petitions), but they were sensitive to the pragmatic import of self-reference forms. Similarly, the connection of the two features to the expression of stance, underlines the more spontaneous, unmonitored forms (cf. stance features in scribal petitions; Sections 7.2.1. and 7.4.). Hence the connection between the self-reference modes and the two morpho-syntactic features quantified above explains the fact that neither of these could have been unambiguously related to the literacy classifications I have proposed.

8.5.2. Technical literacies: The apostrophe and long *s*

The analyses of morpho-syntactic features conducted above were based on the entire autograph sample, but the studies into punctuation and some features of spelling have so far been limited to the overlapping informants in the 1820 settler database. Clearly a similar comprehensive study based on the entire autograph section of the 1820 settler database with a view to punctuation and spelling is not feasible, but I have decided to pursue two understudied features in the full autograph sample. Below I conduct case studies into one spelling and one punctuation feature, i.e. the use of the apostrophe and long *s*. These have rarely been investigated in the Late Modern data, probably as they may only be extracted from manuscripts. The distributions of the two features are discussed against the literacy categories proposed above.

Hardly any accounts exist of the development of the use of the apostrophe. In a recent study Allen (2015: 216) states that "this punctuation feature had not fully matured by the start of the nineteenth century". For instance Jane Austen shows a lot of variability in its use (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2014: 122-124, 213-214). Following the study into punctuation conducted above, a similar conclusion may be made: the apostrophe is not only an infrequent or an optional feature (c. 6% of all the punctuation marks; Section 8.3.2.), but also the rules for its use are fairly loose, as is the case for punctuation in general. As the apostrophe marks clipped forms (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 46), and the rules of early nineteenth century epistolary discourse involve the avoidance of contractions, it may be expected that it indeed did not occur very frequently. Table 8.12 illustrates the distribution of the apostrophe in the 1820 settler autograph letters:

Table 8.12. Distribution of the apostrophe

Position	Fq	Position	Fq
medial '	191	's	123 (64%)
final '	14	–	–
Total	206		

58 in 108 (54%) autograph informants use the apostrophe (see Table 8.13 for the most frequent users). The central function of the apostrophe is the marking of possession (64% of instances, only one instance of *'s* as a contraction: *it's*). Moreover, it occurs in the conventionalised contractions (*altho'*, *thro'*) and in past tense and other verbal clipped forms (*return'd*, *aris'g* "arising").

Table 8.13. The most frequent users of the apostrophe

Name	Fq	Literacy type
Palmer, Thomas	19	(1)
White, Richard	15	(2)
Osler, Jane	13	(3b)
Biggar, Alexander	9	(3a)
Goodwin, John	7	(2)
Brown, John	6	(3a)
Holditch, Robert	6	(3b)
Carter, John	5	(3a)
Heath, John	5	(3b)
Woodcock, Robert	5	(3b)

As for the possession marking function, the respectful recipient-oriented items, genre specific address and place names (all most likely very frequent in print) are most commonly marked by *'s*. Table 8.14 presents the variability of marked vs. unmarked possessives of the most frequent items for which the apostrophe was applied. Respectful terms of address show some variability, with the marked and unmarked forms distributed fairly evenly. Contrary to these, the items referring to the petitioner, i.e. *Memorialist* and *petitioner* each show just a single occurrence of the form with an apostrophe. This suggests that the apostrophe might have been connected with the highly sensitive sections of the petitions, its use involved conscious control, and might have been related to the aspirations to dominant literacies. The rules for the use of the apostrophe might have indeed been genre specific, as its occurrence with the names of party leaders shows. Among the 22 occurrences of the word "party" only eight have an apostrophe (e.g. *Parker's*, *Wilson's*). Some instances of the unmarked possessives occur, too: *Richard Hayhurst party, settler*

with the Deal party, *of Wilson party*. The remaining 11 instances of inflected genitive with a name of party leader are marked with the *-s* ending, but not by the apostrophe.

Table 8.14. The most frequent items with the apostrophe

Items with '	Spelling variants	Fq	No apostrophe	Fq
Excellency's	Excellencies' (1)	39	Excellencys	23
Majesty's	–	25	Majestys	25
Lordship's	Lordships' (2)	13	–	53
Graham's (Town)	Grahams' (2)	11	–	45
thro'	–	9	–	–
altho'	–	8	altho, altho:	4
wou'd	–	8	would	150
Simon's (Town)	Symon's	5	Simons, Symons	12

Although the majority of the users of this punctuation mark have only applied it once, it has been fairly frequent for some (Table 8.13). Out of the nine regular users of this feature, who account for 79 (38%) instances altogether, five come close to the dominant literacy poles.

Long *s* was eradicated from printed English at the end of the eighteenth century (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 40), but it continued to be used in handwriting well into the nineteenth century (Feens-de Zeeuw 2011; Feens-de Zeeuw and Straaijer 2012). The graphemic variant survived for the longest time in the medial word position followed by short <s>, i.e. <ſs>. Thus, as I have mentioned above (Section 8.4.2.), the replacement of such sequences by <ss> may be viewed as an innovation, which as Feens-de Zeeuw and Straaijer have shown must have been the case for the grammarian Lindlay Murray (2012: 230). According to the authors, the survival of long *s* may have been due to the influence of eighteenth-century spelling books (2011: 232). However, it is unlikely that in the early nineteenth century the <ſs> variant for doublets would have been considered old-fashioned. As for the use of long *s* in other positions, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2014: 17-18), who finds word initial instances in Jane Austen's will (1817), notes that these might have involved a deliberate stylisation adequate to the solemnity of the occasion.

The analysis of this feature is conducted based on the entire 1820 settler database (including the scribal petitions) as the occurrence of the innovative geminate variant was very rare overall. In the 1820 settler database, long *s* does not occur in word initial positions. Overall, there are 1087 target words with the geminate (592 target words in the autograph and 495 in the scribal section), and the use of <ſs> is overwhelming, with only 47 instances of <ss> (33 in the autograph and 14 in the scribal letters; listed in Example (95)). The ratios of the conservative vs. the innovative variant are 11:7 in the candidate letters, and 35:26 in the autograph sample, while in the scribal petitions it is 17:14. Thus the occurrence of <ſs> ranges between 60-80% of all the words which show variation. In one letter, the <ss> variant is an isolated occurrence split by a line break (*neces/sity*).[23] For eight autograph informants and two scribal letters, a single occurrence of the variant was found. Three further writers (George Dyason, Thomas Butler and Hand N) used <ss> consistently in their colonial letters, and do not show variation with <ſs>, but the remaining informants do. For example George Martinson uses the following forms: *kindneſs*, *passage* (2), *distressing*, *distressed*, *distreſs*, *Pass*.

Table 8.15. Distribution of long *s*

No.	Autographs	1819		1820	
		<ſs>	<ss>	<ſs>	<ss>
1.	Belfield, George			1	1
2.	Burnett, Bishop	3		5	1
3.	Butler, Thomas		3		8
4.	Crause, Charles		1	8	
5.	Dyason, George	2			3
6.	Goodwin, John	0	1	2	4
7.	Hanton, William			4	1
8.	Hogsflesh, James	6	2	1	

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[23] I have not included the variants such as *posſesion*, *esential* in which the target geminate is replaced by a single <s>, as these may reflect a feature of the spelling of geminates as well as the absence of long *s*. Such variants were infrequent anyway.

9. Kolbe, George Augustus					7	1
10. Martinson, George					2	4
11. Moltby, Frederick					1	1
12. Oldham, Wesley					3	1
13. Wright, William					1	1
Total Autographs			11	7	35	**26**
Scribal	**Hand**	**Arch. ref.**				
14. Abeona Survivors	Hand N	158/145				3
15. Erith, J. T.	Jane Erith	201/034			10	3
16. Forbes, Ann	Hand N	158/144			5	2
17. Heads of Parties	Unidentified	158/094				4
18. Rafferty, John	Hand K	223/140				1
19. Wentworth, William	Hand R	223/099			2	1
Total scribal					17	**14**
Total Autographs and Scribal					52	40

The list presented in Table 8.15 above includes six informants who were active in 1819 and in the Cape Colony. For two users, Butler and Goodwin, the colonial letters show an increase of <ss> compared to the 1819 letters. On the other hand, two further users, Crause and Hogsflesh use the variant in 1819, but not in 1820-25. The evidence for the <ss> innovation is very limited: only two users (Butler and George Dyason) show patterns that may be described as completed change, while in the case of Goodwin we could talk of change in progress. Interestingly, Goodwin and Dyason were merchants, while Butler was a former navy officer. All the three informants were users of the traditional model of the petition, while Dyason and Butler were classified as "Learners" above, i.e. they belonged to the group of users who seemed to have been sensitive to the involved social prestige of the traditional model of the petition. In terms of socio-economic back-ground, especially the traders are good candidates for social climbers as well as "aspirers" in the sociolinguistic understanding, so it is not surprising to see the innovation spread in their writing. As for the scribal use of <ss>, the variant occurs in Hand O and the unidentified scribe of a collective petition (158/094/Heads of Parties) as the only

option. Jane Erith, a frequent petitioner, has three occurrences of the innovation against ten occurrences of <ſs>.

Overall, the <ss> variant is extremely rare in the analysed letters. As for the lexemes with the innovative variant, "pass", "possible", "necessary", "distress" are frequent overall and involve variable realisations. One could speculate that in the case of the word "pass" (four informants use the <ss> here; but Jane Erith and Moltby for instance use both *Paſs* and *pass*), the users could have been exposed to the word as a written or printed label of an official document. Similarly, the word "passage" must have been a frequent one in public prints or newspapers. The items could then have been the ones affected first by an incipient change towards the new graphemic realisation. Some of the words below involve the use of <ss> in word final positions, but it is more likely that the frequency of the items explains the adoption of the innovative variant.

(95)

address	expression	Pentaress Cumpaney
addressing	impossible	permission (2)
assemblies	Impossiable	possessed
assistance	issue	possible (5)
assure	less	professed
Baltinglass (3)	loss (2)	progresses
blessing	necessary (2)	success
distress (2)	necessity	uneasiness
distressed	oppression	vessels
distressing	pass (4)	
express	passage (4)	

As the two case studies have shown, also the two spelling and punctuation features show fairly unique distributions in the 1820 settler database and may be related to the specialised communicative event of petitioning. Moreover, the distribution of some innovative features which were at the time only slowly spreading to the handwritten texts may be related to the users literacies and their socio-economic background, as well as their social aspirations.

8.6. Conclusions

In this chapter, a system of literacies relevant to the Late Modern period was proposed as a framework for the concept of genre literacy. In the case of the 1820 settler petition, as was shown above, the event of migration resulted in a significant shift in terms of genre literacy practices. The discussion above aimed at explaining the changes in the distribution of the traditional model in the candidate and colonial letters of the autograph writers active in both settings. Following the presentation of external motivations behind the popularity of the model in the Cape Colony (Chapters Five and Six), the discussion above focused more on potential user internal (socio-psychological) grounds and cognitive skills. Like in the case of all epistolary communication marked by social inequality of the sender vs. recipient, not only the factor of recipient satisfaction and the involved concerns for the most proper or "polite" mode of petitioning are important, but also users' linguistic insecurity. This is likely to underlie aspirations to dominant literacies: the prestigious modes of petitioning. Moreover, following the assumptions made in Chapter Six, the view of genres as skills was pursued here. This view involves a facet that deserves a discussion in its own right: i.e. the aspect of improvement and learning. As I have shown elsewhere, the 1820 settler database includes evidence for the changing literacy skills of individual users (Włodarczyk 2013c). Also, many "Learners" have written hybrid petitions (Chapter Six), which demonstrates that the use of the traditional model posed a challenge to them. Similarly, the example of a colonial letter by Francis discussed above (Example (51b)) corroborates this. In a colonial letter, this author, moreover, shows fewer spelling idiosyncrasies or nonstandard grammatical constructions than in his 1819 petition. As I have shown in my previous work, it is possible that the individuals whose petitions attest to the attempts at learning (i.e. aspirations to dominant literacy) were involved in a community (or communities) of practice (Włodarczyk 2013c). As Chapter Six has demonstrated, communal letter writing practices involved smaller and larger, looser and tighter networks of users engaging in the petitioning projects. For the autograph writers, such networks may have been traced, but it would not have been possible to link these directly to the practice of petitioning in most cases.

Still, it may be proposed that for the autograph "Learners" such networks or communities of practice would have been oriented at developing the most effective ways of addressing the institution that made crucial decisions as to the practicalities of their early colonial life. The practices would have included metadiscussions and possibly the exchange and imitation (or at least influence) of some exemplars of petitions, most likely the letters written by the 1820 settlers themselves, rather than model letters in manuals (cf. Pietsch 2015). There is metatextual evidence that letter writers made and kept copies both of their out- and in-letters. Assuming this has been the case, nineteenth-century letters, especially emigrant or lower order correspondence, should in general be viewed as a self-contained domain of linguistic conventionalisation (as the cognitive approach to the petition presented in Chapter One has predicted) with relatively little correcting input from the contemporary written standard English (cf. Pietsch 2015: 238). In his study into Irish emigrant letters, Pietsch postulates that the practice of letter writing may have been guided by the norm of such a "quasi-standard" (2015: 239; cf. the notion of "intended standard" or "intended supraregional variety" in Rutten and van der Wal 2011). In other words, in individual datasets and communities of users, local "quasi-standards" would have developed and guided their practices. For the 1820 settlers, such a local epistolary norm involved the traditional structural model of the petition. The model, as I have shown above, not only gained ground in the Cape Colony overall, but it was also employed in more and less successful ways, or imitated more or less accurately, by the "Learners".

The analysis above has made it clear that diverse aspects of various literacy types cluster differently not only for socio-economic and other groupings, but also for individual users. Literacies are not just complex multi-layered systems, but also individual and dynamic domains which may only be accessed via multiple windows: first of all, that of idiosyncratic and unusual practices and, secondly, that of the patterns common for the analysed set of data. Albeit selective, the analysis above has indicated the nonstandard features which are characteristic for the investigated data. Some of these have been marked in the literature as nonstandard features of Late Modern English (e.g. variable agreement, *be*-passive, irregular verb forms; e.g. Hundt 2015 for an

overview). Some of these, for instance concord violations, subject omissions, the use of the apostrophe and long *s* have been quantified and analysed in greater detail. The genre-specific nature of these features shows that they may have been part of the epistolary quasi-standard developing among the 1820 settler petitioners in the early years in the Cape Colony.

Appendix 8.1. Punctuation frequencies and repertoires of marks (Autograph overlapping informants)

Name	Fq/100 words (1819)	Fq/100 words (1820-25)	Fq average	Difference value	Occupation	Genre literacy	Individual marks (1819)	Individual marks (1820-25)	Individual marks average
Adams, Thomas Price	5.6	6.9	6.2	-1.4	T	EXPERT	6	5	5.5
Ames, John	7.1	4.3	5.7	2.9	P	EXPERT	7	5	6
Bailie, John	6.7	6.6	6.6	0.1	P	EXPERT	3	4	3.5
Biggar, Alexander	5.6	8.8	7.2	-3.2	A	LEARNER	5	7	6
Bold, John	4.9	5.8	5.3	-0.9	SA	LEARNER	3	4	3.5
Bowker, Miles	2.4	4.9	3.6	-2.4	F	n/a	4	3	3.5
Bradshaw, Samuel	1.9	6.8	4.3	-4.9	F	LEARNER	2	3	2.5
Brown, John	3.3	8.3	5.8	-5.0	SA	n/a	4	4	4
Buckley, John	5.4	3.4	4.4	2.1	SA	EXPERT	3	1	2
Burnett, Bishop	11.7	8.7	10.2	3.0	F	LEARNER	6	4	5
Butler, Thomas	3.7	5.4	4.5	-1.8	A	LEARNER	2	6	4
Carlisle, John (& Fred)	8.2	7.2	7.7	0.9	F	EXPERT	5	5	5
Carney, James	3.6	3.9	3.7	-0.3	SA	EXPERT	2	7	4.5
Colling, Thomas	10.0	6.9	8.5	3.1	P	EXPERT	1	3	2
Crause, Charles	13.3	5.2	9.2	8.1	A	LEARNER	1	7	4
Crause, John	2.0	8.5	5.2	-6.5	A	EXPERT	5	4	4.5
Dyason, George	13.7	6.7	10.2	6.9	T	LEARNER	5	4	4.5
Dyason, Izaac	6.9	7.0	7.0	-0.2	SA	LEARNER	5	4	4.5

Name	Fq/100 words (1819)	Fq/100 words (1820-25)	Fq average	Difference value	Occupation	Genre literacy	Individual marks (1819)	Individual marks (1820-25)	Individual marks average
Felton, George Henry	3.0	0.5	1.8	2.5	F	LEARNER	2	1	1.5
Francis, David Polley	6.9	2.4	4.6	4.5	F	LEARNER	5	3	4
Goodwin, John	4.3	3.8	4.1	0.5	T	n/a	3	3	3
Gowar, Richard	5.9	0.5	3.2	5.4	SA	LEARNER	3	1	2
Griffith, Charles	10.3	6.4	8.4	3.9	A	EXPERT	4	2	3
Gurney, Charles	6.0	5.0	5.5	1.0	P	LEARNER	4	2	3
Hayhurst, Richard	1.3	1.0	1.2	0.3	SA	LEARNER	3	2	2.5
Heath, John Henry	16.8	9.3	13.1	7.5	P	LEARNER	6	5	5.5
Hockly, Daniel	5.1	2.0	3.6	3.1	SA	LEARNER	5	3	4
Hogsflesh, James	9.1	5.9	7.5	3.3	SA	EXPERT	5	2	3.5
Holditch, Robert	3.4	4.6	4.0	-1.2	P	EXPERT	2	5	3.5
James, Samuel	3.3	0.6	2.0	2.7	SA	LEARNER	6	1	3.5
Kolbe, George A.	6.8	6.3	6.5	0.5	P	EXPERT	4	3	3.5
Latham, Joseph	10.4	10.8	10.6	-0.4	?	LEARNER	7	5	6
Mahony, Thomas	6.4	2.9	4.7	3.6	P	EXPERT	2	2	2
Marshall, John	8.1	7.2	7.6	0.9	SA	LEARNER	2	4	3
Neave, Joseph	7.8	8.1	8.0	-0.3	P	EXPERT	7	5	6
Palmer, Thomas	8.3	12.5	10.4	-4.3	SA	LEARNER	5	4	4.5
Powell, James	4.5	6.5	5.5	-2.0	F	LEARNER	3	4	3.5

Name								
Pringle, Thomas	7.7	7.1	7.4	0.6	P	n/a	6	4	5
Reed, William	8.7	8.8	8.8	-0.2	F	LEARNER	7	3	5
Rowles, John	4.5	5.8	5.2	-1.3	T	LEARNER	6	4	5
Seton, Thomas	4.9	4.0	4.5	0.9	A	EXPERT	3	4	3.5
Stanley, John	6.9	1.6	4.3	5.3	T	EXPERT	5	2	3.5
Synnot, Walter	3.6	7.4	5.5	-3.7	A	EXPERT	3	3	3
Turvey, Edward	2.9	5.0	3.9	-2.2	P	LEARNER	3	4	3.5
Wait, William	9.2	8.4	8.8	0.8	T	EXPERT	3	7	5
White, Richard	5.1	4.1	4.6	1.0	P	LEARNER	4	5	4.5
Willson, Thomas	8.7	7.2	7.9	1.5	A	EXPERT	9	8	8.5
Woodcock, Robert	7.3	4.6	6.0	2.7	T	EXPERT	5	5	5

Appendix 8.2. Literacy types and occupations: Autograph informants

No.	Name	Petition model	Reference	Literacy type	Occupation
1.	Adams, Thomas Price	New	136/064	3a	T
2.	Ames, John	New	158/009	2	P
3.	Anonymous	New	201/065	2	?
4.	Atherstone, John	New	136/091	3a	P
5.	Bailie, John	New	136/054	3b	P
6.	Ball, James	Hybrid	201/235	3b	P
7.	Ball, William	Hybrid	178/357	3a	A
8.	Barry, John	Trad.	158/154	3a	SA
9.	Belfield, George	Trad.	201/101	3b	F
10.	Biddulph, John B.	New	136/142	3b	A
11.	Biggar, Alexander	New	178/138	3a	P
12.	Bold, John	Hybrid	178/109	2	SA
13.	Bowker, Miles	New	249/125	3a	F
14.	Bradshaw, Samuel	New	223/137	3a	F
15.	Brown, John	New	249/xxx	3a	SA
16.	Buckley, John	New	201/004	3b	SA
17.	Burnett, Bishop	Trad.	178/227	3b	F
18.	Butler, Thomas	New	136/069	2	A
19.	Caldecott, Mary	New	178/122	3b	?
20.	Campbell, Duncan	New	223/144	3a	A
21.	Campbell, Mary H.	New	201/006	3a	?
22.	Carlisle, John	New	178/115	3a	F
23.	Carney, James	New	249/294	2	SA
24.	Carter, John	New	249/022	3a	P
25.	Cluster, William	New	223/100	3a	?
26.	Cock, Thomas	Trad.	158/024	3b	P
27.	Colling, Thomas	New	136/062	2	P
28.	Crause, Charles	New	223/118	3a	A
29.	Crause, John	Trad.	223/067	3a	A
30.	Daniell, Richard	New	136/063	3a	?
31.	Debnam Isaac	Trad.	223/103	1	SA
32.	Doe, Thomas	Trad.	178/015	3b	SA
33.	Dyason, George	Trad.	223/122	2	T
34.	Dyason, Isaac	Trad.	158/204	3a	SA
35.	Edkins, John	Trad.	158/075	2	SA
36.	Erith, Jane	New	201/172	2	SA
37.	Felton, George Henry	Trad.	178/232	2	F
38.	Francis, David Polley	Hybrid	136/082	2	F
39.	Frayer, Percival	Trad.	223/004	3a	SA
40.	Freemantle, Richard	Trad.	223/023	3b	SA
41.	Fulgon, George V.	Trad.	158/131	3b	F
42.	Gilfillan, William	New	223/119	3b	A

43.	Goodwin, John	New	136/066	2	T
44.	Gowar, Richard	Hybrid	136/114	1	SA
45.	Gradwell, Stephen	Trad.	223/117	3b	SA
46.	Griffith, Charles	New	136/065	3b	A
47.	Halstead, Richard	Trad.	201/104	3b	SA
48.	Hanger, Edward	Trad.	223/236	3b	SA
49.	Hanton, William	Hybrid	249/292	1	SA
50.	Hare, John & Foster	Hybrid	136/076	2	SA
51.	Hartell, John	Trad.	201/020	2	F
52.	Hayhurst, Richard	Hybrid	223/079	1	SA
53.	Heath, John Henry	Trad.	158/061	3b	P
54.	Hockly, Daniel	New	136/070	1	SA
55.	Hogsflesh, James	New	136/036	2	SA
56.	Holditch, Robert	New	136/092	3b	P
57.	Honey, Jeremiah	Hybrid	178/065	3b	F
58.	Hougham, Hudson	Trad.	158/173	3b	F
59.	Ingram, John	New	136/045	3b	T
60.	James, Samuel	Trad.	249/005	1	SA
61.	Kolbe, George A.	New	136/051	2	P
62.	Latham, Joseph	Hybrid	136/085	3b	?
63.	Lloyd, Henry	New	201/002	3b	P
64.	Mahony, Thomas	New	178/057	3a	P
65.	Mainman, Thomas	Trad.	223/007	3b	F
66.	Marshall, John	Trad.	249/050	2	SA
67.	Martinson, George	New	158/059	3a	SA
68.	Miller, William	Hybrid	178/088	3a	SA
69.	Moltby, Frederik	New	223/181	3b	P
70.	Neave, Joseph	New	136/078	3a	P
71.	Norden, Benjamin	Trad.	201/225	2	SA
72.	O'Callaghan, Henry	New	223/073	3a	?
73.	Oldham, Thomas W.	New	158/185	3b	T
74.	Osler, Jane	Trad.	178/066	3b	SA
75.	Palmer, Thomas	Hybrid	158/176	1	SA
76.	Parker, George	Trad.	223/019	2	T
77.	Patrick, Benjamin	Trad.	158/216	3b	T
78.	Powell, James	Hybrid	249/080	2	F
79.	Pratton, William	New	158/072	2	SA
80.	Pringle, Thomas	New	136/034	3b	P
81.	Quince, John	Trad.	178/270	3b	F
82.	Rayner, William	New	136/079	3b	SA
83.	Reed, William	Trad.	201/003	3b	F
84.	Rowles, John	Trad.	223/026	2	T
85.	Rye, George	Trad.	223/063	3a	F
86.	Seton Thomas	New	136/043	2	A
87.	Shawe, Samuel E.	New	178/044	3b	T
88.	Slater, Thomas	Trad.	158/156	3a	P

	Name	Petition model	Reference	Literacy type	Occupation
89.	Smith, John	Trad.	223/003	1	A
90.	Stanley, John	New	223/131	3b	T
91.	Stringfellow, Thomas	Hybrid	158/097	3b	P
92.	Synnot, Walter	New	136/096	3b	A
93.	Thornh, George	New	158/130	2	?
94.	Thornhill, Ch. C.	New	223/105	3b	T
95.	Tucker, Henry	New	158/039	3b	P
96.	Turvey, Edward	Trad.	223/146	3a	P
97.	Vallentine, Peter	Hybrid	223/145	3b	SA
98.	Wait, William	New	136/074	2	T
99.	Wallace, James	New	249/262	2	F
100.	Webb, Charles	Hybrid	223/175	2	SA
101.	White, Richard	Trad.	249/010	2	A
102.	Wilkinson, Stephen	Hybrid	158/035	2	F
103.	Willson, Mary Ann	New	136/099	3b	?
104.	Willson, Thomas	New	136/038	3a	P
105.	Wilmot, Benjamin	Trad.	223/043	3a	P
106.	Woodcock, Robert	New	136/035	3b	T
107.	Wright, Benjamin	Trad.	223/157	2	SA
108.	Wright, William	Trad.	158/179	3b	T

*Shaded fields designate overlapping informants.

Literacy types:
 1– literacy type close to the vernacular literacy pole
 2 – literacy in-between the vernacular and the dominant pole
 3a – literacy close to the dominant pole (with an occasional nonstandard feature)
 3b – literacy type closest to the dominant pole

Occupational categories:
F – FARMER/LABOURER
SA – SKILLED ARTISAN
T – TRADE
A – ARMY
P – PROFESSIONAL

Conclusions

A growing emphasis on the practices of written communication, including the factors of literacy and genre conventions, has opened new perspectives on the linguistic variation found in historical letters. The importance of these practices, including their social materiality, for the scope of variation found in the 1820 settler database has been of major concern to this study. Its perspective has primarily been discourse- and practice-oriented and grounded in the methodological tools of historical pragmatics. This has relied on pragmatic conceptualisations of historical interaction and the findings of historical genre studies with the concept of practice in focus. The analysed petitions have offered a unique opportunity to observe closely the local context of the letter-writing practice. The transfer of the global institutional practices recognisable in Britain to a relatively small, well-defined site of interaction, the 1820 settler community, has enabled such observation. In the Cape Colony, not only the local material constraints were likely to have shaped the petitioning practice, but also the community's internal dynamics and the nature of the relationships with the institutional addressees of the petitions were of major significance. The internal dynamics has involved interpersonal and intergroup conflict (Nash 1982, 1987) set against the background of breaking social hierarchies, on the one side, and chances for social advancement regardless of social background, but also the growing pressures of the privileged strata to maintain the status quo of social order (Lester 2001), on the other. The study conducted above has attempted to integrate the historical (socio)pragmatic perspective on the rapid genre change observed in the 1820 settler petition with the perspective of the *literacies on the move*. In this concluding part I briefly summarise the research gaps that the study intended to fill in. I also provide some clarifications as to the frameworks and perspectives employed to this end. Moreover, this section includes a succinct overview of the contribution that the findings have made to the field of historical linguistics.

Unlike most types of historical data, petitions are abundant. The ubiquity of the petition in the Late Modern period is evidenced in the ample historical record of the practice in many languages and locations (see van Voss 2001). If this institutional written form of the macro speech act of request is ubiquitous in space and time, it is feasible to conceptualise it in a fairly uniform way in terms of the involved models, structures and conventions, as well as by means of the existing terminology referring to forms of discourse. However, apart from rare attempts (Held 2010), historical genre studies have not been able to comprehensively answer the questions as to what defines the institutional written form of request, or whether (and possibly how) it differs from any other written requests, or what distinguishes petitions from other letters. Therefore, this study has provided a model of viewing petitions in a particular well-specified context of interaction by proposing a set of categories and mechanisms that may be relevant to the pragmatically-oriented descriptions of written requests beyond that particular context, in different spaces and times (Chapters Four and Six).

Chapter Two has shown that the Late Modern period had been the Cinderella of English historical linguistics prior to the revived interest it has received over the last two decades. Nevertheless, with the exception of some interest for the pauper letters, the institutional letter of petition still remains the Cinderella of research into historical letter-writing. Understandably, the personal letter, due to its relative informality, has stolen the limelight, while the ostensibly highly formal, routinised and fixed institutional exchange has not been equally appealing. This has nevertheless been surprising because, with growing literacy rates in the Late Modern period, petition writing, or petition attempts in institutional contexts, must have constituted the first, if not the only, literacy exercise for a significant section of contemporary societies. Thus petitions, even if not many submitted these regularly, may have constituted a starting point to a potential path of active, spontaneous literacy, in particular for the representatives of the lower and middling social strata who have already had some basic literacy skills. In particular the practices, agents and the petition models involved, as well as the ways through which these could have been accessed by ordinary people in the Late Modern period are an important area of study which has so far not received the attention it deserves.

Not only the aspect of learning and the complexities of the transmission, the accessibility and the nature of epistolary models in the period of literacy growth and spread across the social spectrum, but also lifetime

changes in individual literacies may be traced by studying the Late Modern petition (Laitinen and Auer 2014). In the Late Modern period, mobility characterised European societies and beyond, while research has shown that basic literacy was conducive to mobility (Richards 2006: 65; Lyons 2012: 6). The experience of migration, in turn, was likely to have had serious consequences not only for individual idiolects and the emigrant variety in which these functioned – through processes of levelling and adaptation in the longer run – but also fairly immediate effects on individual literacies and the connected practices of writing. The former aspect of mobility has been studied frequently by historical dialectology of colonial varieties and has been fairly well understood within the existing models of new dialect formation (Trudgill 2004; Schneider 2007). The latter issue, the changing literacies, however, have only very recently received some attention and require more space in historical linguistics, in particular as a cross-disciplinary endevour. The data selected for analysis in this study have allowed investigating some linguistic reflections of the effects of migration of a number of individuals who left Britain for the Cape Colony in the year 1820. Their petitions, submitted in Britain and in South Africa have first and foremost testified to the changes in individual literacies and writing practices and their special character lies in the fact that they were written in two different points in time and determined by different contextual settings (Chapter One), albeit framed in similar, but dynamic genre structures (Chapters Four and Six).

This study has devoted ample space to characterising the research frameworks (Chapters One and Three). However, the integrative nature of the analyses conducted above justifies revisiting these and clarifying potential overlaps with the related subfields of historical linguistics. In a forthcoming collection devoted to historical (socio)pragmatics, Taavitsainen and Włodarczyk have defined the field as "an inter- or cross-disciplinary endeavor aiming to place linguistic data from the past in broad contemporary contexts of society and culture, and activity type and genre to reveal the situational dependency on time and space and the importance of co-text of language specimens" (Taavitsainen and Włodarczyk forthcoming). Taken the nature of the letters analysed above, two questions arise as to the applicability of (socio)pragmatics to the study into the 1820 settler petition: (1) If a pragmatic perspective is based on the analysis of discourse chunks, in particular written discourse in the case of a historical study, is there a need to delimit historical pragmatics from historical discourse analysis if the

fields of "pragmatics and discourse analysis" have often been conflated (Brinton 2001; Taavitsainen and Jucker 2010)?; (2) What is the added value of the (socio)pragmatic perspective for the aims of the study and for historical linguistic insights into the 1820 settler data?

In relation to the first problem, indeed, the analysed data do not attest to letter exchange (i.e. only rarely can we trace the letter-response dyad). Therefore, the focus of this study has fallen on the production side (the agents and their participation mechanisms and framework rather than the perlocutionary effects or addressee responses; cf. Włodarczyk 2015). This has determined the aims and limits of the study: the data have been analysed with a view to capturing the constructs involved in the practices of petitioning (i.e. abstractions or conceptualisations of the relevant linguistic and extralinguistic actions) through specific discourse and language features. In this sense, has its perspective been pragmatic (especially in the sense of negotiability, which is mostly inferred from both the message and the response), or has it simply been an exercise in discourse analysis? Clearly, the notions of discourse and pragmatics are linked in intricate ways: discourse involves specific frames and structures, but these are inevitably grounded in social transactions. The latter, in turn, result from the dynamics and negotiation of social conventions at a given context, space and time. Focusing on genre as a site of social interaction and its background in cultural practices, this study has shown that a combined (socio)pragmatic, i.e. socioculturally oriented, and discourse analytic, i.e. structure-oriented, approach to the petition is not only necessary, but also fruitful. In the analyses undertaken above, discourse structures that characterise the genre have emerged as (socio)pragmatically determined by the activity and mobility of the agents in space and time (*literacy on the move*). Therefore, despite the fact that the main focus of this study has been on the petitioner choices, these were viewed as embedded in the social materiality of the emigration to the Cape Colony, as well as in the reconstructed cycles of petitioning, the latter accounting for the addressee expectations (Chapter One). This means, for instance, that petitioner choices have had to be seen through the lens of scribal mediation, the nature of postal services and the community ties, as well as to be related to the addressee expectations. Social materiality of the petition in turn has been connected to the changing literacies and covered variability and negotiability in the broad context of everyday communication in the Cape Colony, i.e. the (socio)pragmatics of the 1820 settler petition. The approach has illuminated a range of issues of theoretical and

methodological nature central to the study of historical letters. One such theme is the usefulness of cognitive approaches in the reconstruction of the situational context proposed in Chapter One. A cognitive conceptualisation of the petitioning cycles enabled identifying the degrees and nature of the pragmatic negotiability involved in the letter exchange in 1819 and later in the Cape Colony. Clearly, in the view proposed by this study discourse structures remain the basic reflection of both genre literacies and genre's social materiality. However, the analyses of their underpinnings cannot be limited to the textual or structural levels of communication, but need to account for the broader situational, local and social context of the practice. It is in these contexts that the discourse structures and features gain their meanings and communicative significance. Making sense of such structures and features in a variety of contextual embeddings is exactly what constitutes the added value of the (socio)pragmatic approach compared to the exclusively discourse-based analyses.

In line with the most recent developments in historical linguistics (see the Introduction), I intended to show that the 1820 settler database, an early nineteenth-century instantiation of the genre, has called for as broad a viewpoint as possible in order to illuminate the practice of petitioning. First of all, the social background of letter-writers and addressees, their relative positions in social hierarchies, as well as their gender and age, have provided the most obvious points of reference. Having established these, the writer's motivations as opposed to the recipient's expectations have determined another direction of study. Reconstruction of external variables and comprehensive reliance on the surviving bits of contextual information has been an important foundation of the approach presented here. The above-mentioned factors may have been relevant to the practice of petitioning and have been successfully correlated with specific features, such as the discourse models, pragmatic routines, punctuation, non-standard spelling and morpho-syntax, person reference and formulaic phrases. In order to address this combination of extralinguistic and internal factors both qualitative and quantitative methods that included corpus tools such as concordances, collocates and *n*-grams were employed.

As the various perspectives characterised above have indicated, historical linguistics has a wide range of ways to address the manifold issues which have come to the fore. As I have argued, sociolinguistic and pragmatic perspectives, or a joint venture of both, have appeared best suited to address the questions posed by the data. The Late Modern systems of lit-

eracies and the new literacies developed among the lower social strata have in particular been viewed from the angle of genre literacies. However, the new literacies, as unique to the period, pose questions beyond the realm of genre studies, such as to the technical skills of spelling, composition and the use of language in general. Thus some understanding of these is also essential to studying the writing practices of the ordinary people. Therefore, in addition to its main focus on the practice, the analyses conducted above have also involved some aspects of the users' technical literacies and their relationships to the standard and nonstandard poles of language use. This focus has enabled touching upon the issue of the relevance of the data for an analysis of nonstandard morpho-syntactic forms of "Proto South African English". Over 20 years ago, Mesthrie and West (1995) brought the 1820 settler letters to the attention of linguists, but the data have not received the recognition they deserve. Therefore, this study, along with my previous work on the language of the 1820 settlers, has attempted to redress this gap. Apart from idiolectal data from working class infomants (Lass and Wright 1985; Silva 1992), no other attestations of the language of this community have been found beyond the petitions to the Colonial Office. Thus, whatever limitations we may encounter concerning their representativeness or generic conventions (this pertains to the colonial collection in particular), all the unexplored materials are worth incorporating into the fairly limited list of the resources that can be used to describe this early colonial variety of English. On the other hand, such a description, if it is undertaken in the future, cannot be complete, if the involved limitations and the methodological challenges posed by the data have not been addressed in the first place. A thorough study of the practice that involved a detailed contextualisation on many levels has provided such a prerequisite for any further analyses into the 1820 settler letters. Moreover, some useful insights that may inform further studies focusing more specifically on sociolinguistic and dialectal variation have also been proposed. This investigation has shown that the pragmatically conditioned Late Modern literacies, despite the relatively low frequency of nonstandard features in the analysed sample, involve variation in linguistic form which may be interesting when the 1820 settler input into the South African variety of English is studied. Thus, through a detailed account of the practice of petitioning and by demonstrating the contextual sensitivity of the practice to the transition of the informants from Britain to Cape Colony, the study has paved the way for further research based on substantially larger samples, as the 1820 settler database

is just a tip of the iceberg. Moreover, as I have argued more attention needs to be paid to the 1819 material, in particular if linguistic variables per se are pursued. As this study has shown, compared to the candidate letters that are more likely to reflect unmediated literacies, the colonial petitions are a more delicate source that needs to be viewed through the lens of genre conventions and socio-psychological motivations (Chapters Five and Eight). Still, the surviving colonial texts require further analysis in order to attempt a comprehensive justification for the place of the 1820 settlers in the general models of variation in colonial Englishes.

The final paragraphs of this study take stock of its major directions and findings and emphasise the insights it has brought for the discipline of historical linguistics. Analysing historical letters is an attempt at understanding an unfamiliar culture "including the different roles that participants play and the different rules (…) which operate" (Holmes 1992: 368). Frequently, historical letters have survived as only partially contextualised pieces of situated exchange. Inevitably, some of the components of the communicative event are lost to historical record and so are the majority of contextualisation cues that we rely on in spoken interaction. Nevertheless, the historical (socio)pragmatic perspective on early nineteenth-century letters presented above has offered a number of important methodological insights. In particular the analyses conducted above have emphasised the importance of:

– reconstructing background genre and technical literacy skills as well as the choices and decisions made by the participants involved in letter exchange by means of the concept of the communicative genre (Chapter Six)
– the multimodal background of scribal compositions (Chapter Seven)
– "the consequences of the different background assumptions for interaction between groups" (Holmes 1992: 377), i.e. the horizons of expectations relevant to the genre of the petition (Chapter One and Chapter Six)
– different sociocultural norms (Holmes 1992: 388), i.e. the diversification of the models of petitioning practices based on the social background of the involved informants (Chapter Five and Chapter Eight)

The "unfamiliar" aspect of historical interaction is very hard to overcome; still an attempt at "emic" accounts is the essence of contemporary discur-

sive approaches to historical communication where meaning negotiation is central to understanding interaction. A significant theoretical framework for reconstructing the above-mentioned aspects of context is provided by historical genre studies. In a genre-oriented perspective, this involves the primary (first-order) insights (metapragmatic comments of the involved parties on a given form of communication, genre labels, etc.) and secondary (second-order) conceptualisations of the type of interaction in question (researchers' insights of discourse traditions and genre frameworks). The former corresponds specifically to the reconstruction of the background knowledge of the participants (literacies), while the latter provides an external account of the scope of, and differences between, the relevant background assumptions that underlie the interaction and the different sociocultural norms that transpire from the data. The background knowledge of the participants in their interaction has many dimensions, but it has been proposed here, in line with some recent trends in the study of the Late Modern period, that it may be viewed from the perspective of a system of literacies. A reconstruction of such a system was attempted above in relation to the traditional sociolinguistic variables and their potential manifestations in the data. However, apart from the internal conditioning (the knowledge and cognitive skills), the involved literacies may have been shaped by the following external factors:

- the nature of the involved linguistic practices and their change over time (communal vs. individual composition)
- access to and the significance of potential textual models
- the horizons of expectations of the recipient(s) (and their possible impact)
- creativity vs. conventionalisation; idiosyncrasy vs. prefabricated linguistic structure

These, and a range of other factors, are woven into the fabric of the sociocultural norms, on which they build and into which they feed. The norms, in turn, stand in a complex interrelationship with genre dynamics and change. The challenge of reconstructing the relevant background of the informants in the study into historical letters may be approached, as I have argued, from a combined perspective of *historical (socio)pragmatics* and *literacies on the move*.

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Gatunek i piśmienność:
Studium historyczno-(socjo)pragmatyczne petycji osadników z 1820 roku

STRESZCZENIE

Historia żadnego innego języka nie doczekała się zainteresowania tak szerokiego jak dzieje języka angielskiego. Nie dotyczy to jednak w równej mierze jego historii najnowszej, tj. okresu późnonowożytnego, który dopiero w ostatnim dwudziestoleciu bliżej zainteresował badaczy i nadal pozostaje terytorium słabo rozpoznanym. Aspektem szczególnie interesującym tego okresu wzmożonej migracji są związki pomiędzy zmianą językową zachodzącą na wielu płaszczyznach a procesami społeczno-kulturowymi i politycznymi. Ta szczególna dla późnej nowożytności relacja otwiera szerokie pole badawcze dla perspektywy gatunkowej obejmującej zróżnicowanie wewnątrzjęzykowe oraz dynamikę i rozwój form komunikacyjnych. Z tego powodu na szczególną uwagę zasługują dane językowe zachowane w gatunku petycji, która, w odróżnieniu od większości historycznych źródeł prymarnych jest w okresie późnonowożytnym bardzo bogato zaświadczona. Praca pt. *Gatunek i piśmienność: Studium historyczno-(socjo)pragmatyczne petycji osadników z 1820 roku* wpisuje się w tę lukę badawczą mając na celu scharakteryzowanie nagłej zmiany w obrębie gatunku petycji i odniesienie jej do szeroko pojętego rekonstruowanego wielopoziomowo kontekstu interakcji. Poza gatunkiem, drugim podstawowym zagadnieniem, które pozostaje w kręgu zainteresowania rozprawy jest kwestia tzw. nowych piśmienności. W wieku dziewiętnastym na Wyspach Brytyjskich, jak i wielu częściach Europy, zachodzi proces, który można by określić mianem przełomu piśmienniczego. Warunki społeczne i działanie wielu instytucji pomocowych wymuszają czynne uczestnictwo coraz szerszych grup społecznych w kulturze pisma. Późnonowożytna petycja stanowi zatem często zapis tych nieudolnych prób oraz pierwsze świadectwo rozwijającej się nowej piśmienności o charakterze doraźnym i funkcjonalnym. Świadomość wielorakich wpływów tego rodzaju piśmienności, która nie jest zakorzenia w ówczesnych wzorcach preskryptywnych stanowi nieodzowną podstawę metodologiczną badań epistolograficznych i została wypracowana dopiero w wyniku najnowszych studiów. Materiałem empirycznym rozprawy są listy do Biura Kolonialnego w Londynie (1819) i w Kolonii Przylądkowej (1820-25), pisane częściowo przez tych samych informatorów.

Dane te zachowane w Brytyjskich Archiwach Narodowych (TNA, Kew) oraz w Archiwach Republiki Południowej Afryki (Repozytorium Zachodniego Przylądka w Kapsztadzie) w ogromnej większości nie zostały wcześniej opracowane ani zbadane przez językoznawców. Baza empiryczna rozprawy zawiera listy kandydatów (pisane na Wyspach Brytyjskich) ubiegających się o możliwość otrzymania nadziału ziemi w Kolonii Przylądkowej i listy osadników (pisane w Afryce), którzy ziemię otrzymali, dotyczące wielu aspektów życia w kolonii, tj. całego szeregu oficjalnych pozwoleń i licencji, pożyczek czy przydziałów żywności.

Część teoretyczna pracy obejmuje rozdziały od 1-4, a rozdziały od 5-8 mają charakter analityczny. Praca łączy metody jakościowe i ilościowe (m.in. analiza *n*-gramów). W rozdziałach 1 i 3 scharakteryzowane zostają dyscypliny językoznawstwa historycznego, które dzięki swojej interdyscyplinarnej i eklektycznej naturze pozwalają na wypracowanie wielowymiarowego modelu analizy. Tematem rozdziału 2 jest kontekst historyczno-społeczny wczesnego wieku dziewiętnastego oraz przegląd dostępnych poświadczeń angielszczyzny tego okresu. W rozdziale 4 rozprawy rozpatrywany jest kolejny wątek metodologiczny, tj. wielość kategorii analitycznych stosowanych w badaniach listów historycznych. Następna kwestia metodologiczna, konieczność odróżnienia autografów od listów pisanych na zlecenie, czy w wyniku praktyk wspólnotowych, jest przedmiotem rozdziału 5. Zarówno mediacja jak i te ostatnie były w wieku dziewiętnastym bardzo powszechne, a powstałe w ich wyniku teksty nie pozwalają na odtworzenie istotnych zmiennych społecznych. W rozdziale 6 przedstawiona zostaje spójna koncepcja gatunku i projektu komunikatywnego w odniesieniu do modeli strukturalnych petycji (wzorzec tradycyjny i nowy) oraz w relacji do społecznej materialności petycji, tj. jej lokalnego kontekstu interakcyjnego w Kolonii Przylądkowej. Rozdział ten zawiera analizę modelu strukturalnego petycji i jego hybrydyczności. Rozdział 7 poświęcony jest dwóm pisarzom petycji, spod pióra których wyszło co najmniej 30% zleconych listów. Analiza koncentruje się na rutynizacji oraz wyrażeniach formulicznych, poprawkach pisarskich i wybranych cechach pragmatyki wizualnej. W rozdziale 8 szerzej omawiane jest zagadnienie piśmienności, nie tylko w zakresie kompetencji kompozycyjnych (kompetencja/ piśmienność gatunkowa), ale także technicznych, tj. stosowanej interpunkcji, wariantywności pisowni oraz morfoskładni. Cechy te zostają szczegółowo przeanalizowane dla czterech grup informatorów: informatorów najczęściej i najrzadziej stosujących interpunkcję oraz dla grup „ekspertów" i „adeptów" sklasyfikowanych na podstawie (zmian) preferencji dla tradycyjnego i nowego modelu petycji w roku 1819 i w 1820-25. W rozdziale tym przedstawione zostaną także analizy 4 wybranych cech interpunkcji, pisowni i morfoskładni przeprowadzone ilościowo na całej próbie listów autorskich.

Rozprawa wskazuje i omawia przypadek nagłej zmiany gatunkowej w oparciu o wielopoziomową rekonstrukcję jej kontekstu historyczno-społecznego, lokalnego i sytuacyjnego. Zmiana ta dotyczy przede wszystkim modelu strukturalnego petycji, ale pozwala także naświetlić charakter wariantywności badanych danych na różnych poziomach języka. Stanowiąc studium gatunku i zaangażowanych stron interakcji, rozprawa wskazuje na szereg trudności i ograniczeń metodologicznych w listach osadników z roku 1820. Świadomość tych ograniczeń powinna stać się podstawą do dalszych badań nad językiem tej grupy emigrantów brytyjskich, którzy najprawdopodobniej położyli podwaliny pod późniejszy rozwój południowoafrykańskiej odmiany języka angielskiego.