Traces of Johnson in the Language of Fanny Burney

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ABSTRACT

It has often been claimed that Frances Bumey (1752–1840) was influenced linguistically by Samuel Johnson (1709–1784). Sørensen (1969: 390), and others with him, have even called her a "slavish imitator" of the language which Johnson used in his *Rambler* essays. Although far from simple guesswork, quaiitative studies such as Sørensen's remain impressionistic, which makes it difficult to incorporate his (and similar) observations in quantitative socio-histoncal linguistic studies of the English language. In the present study, the question whether Burney was indeed a serious imitator of Johnson's usage is answered by looking at the problem from a quantitative rather than qualitative perspective, and addressed within the framework of histoncai social network analysis.

KEYWORDS: histoncai sociolinguistics, social network analysis, linguistic influence, eighteenth-century English

I. INTRODUCTION

While Samuel Johnson's (1709–1784) *Dictionary* (1755) and the grammar prefaced to it played an important role in the standardisation process of the English language (Baugh & Cable 1993: 266-69), his own language, too, left a lasting imprint on his readers, listeners, conversational

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partners and correspondents. 'Johnsonese', which can be understood to be a set of linguistic **features** typical of Johnson's usage, is a terrn cornmonly used by present and earlier **Johnsonians** to describe his **unique** style (**e.g.** Wimsatt 1948: 1). Johnsonese is known to be particularly apparent in his acclairned *Rambler* (1750-1752) essays, and was perceived as exemplary by many (see van Tassel **1988),** not in the least by people who knew Johnson personally and in fact had **become** associated with his **fame.** This rnakes it possible that Johnson's usage in the *Rambler* essays **influenced** the language of sorne of the people who belonged to his social network (see **also** Bax 2002; Tieken-Boon van Ostade & Bax 2001). His conternporaries, and others **after** them, pointed out that this was indeed the case, though few of them did so in any systernatic way. While qualitative studies such as Wimsatt (1948) and **Sørensen (1969),** and many others, are obviously far frorn simple guesswork, they remain impressionistic, which rnakes it difficult to incorporate their (and similar) observations in quantitative socio-historical linguistic studies of the English language.

Johnson was a likely **source** of influence on his readership, including rnernbers of his circle, who more than any other people were familiar with both his spoken and written repertoire. As he hirnself puts it in his *Lives of the Poets* (1779), "It is indeed not easy for any man to **write** upon literature or cornmon life so as not to **make** himself known to those with whom he familiarly converses, and who are acquainted with his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases" (as quoted in Bernard 1964: 63).[1] One of these acquaintances was Frances 'Fanny' Burney (1752– 1840). Seeing in Johnson her mentor in matters of word formation, she wrote in her diary, "How delighted I was to hear this *master of Languages ... make* words for the prornotion of sport and good-humour" (ed. Troide & Cooke 1994: 77). Her adrniration for Johnson did not go unnoticed. James **Boswell (1740–1795)** quotes a passage frorn **Burney's** novel *Cecilia* (1782) to dernonstrate that she was one of the "serious irnitators of Johnson's style" (ed. Hill and Powell 1934–50 iv: 389); the *Monthly Review* (Decernber 1782), in the same spirit, comrnented that the book "appears to **have been** formed on the best rnodel of Dr. Johnson's" (Grau 1981: 25). **The** *New Monthly Magazine* (January 1833) even went so far as to claim that Burney's acquaintance with Johnson "spoilt her style" (Grau 1981: 31; see **also** Tieken 1986: 306). But to what extent was this really true? To what extent was Fanny Burney the "slavish **imitator"** that **Sørensen** (1969: **390),** among others, clairns her to be? This paper **tries** to answer that question by looking at it frorn a *quantitative* rather than qualitative perspective, and by addressing the problern within the framework of social network analysis.

II. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS AND LINGUISTIC ADOPTION
An increasing number of sociolinguists recognise the potential of social network analysis for the investigation of older stages of languages, in particular the interpretative model which **Lesley** Milroy **and** James Milroy used in their studies of the Belfast vernacular in the 1980s (see Milroy 1987).[2] The network concept, which was first developed to explain individual behaviour in general that cannot be accounted for in **terms** of corporate group membership, has the capacity

to illuminate both innovative and **conservative** patterns of linguistic **behaviour.** The idea is that members of relatively dense and multiplex relationships are "susceptible to the obligation to adopt group norms" (Milroy 1987: **60),** *density* refemng to the extent to which everyone in a given social network actually **knows** each other, and *multiplexity* to the extent to which network **ties** are many-stranded. Granovetter **(1973),** whose **article** has **been** invaluable to the 'weak tie and linguistic innovator' argument presented in Milroy's study (L. Milroy 1987: **199),** points out that less integrated network members may function as bridges between a given social network and another. Comparatively little constrained by **its** norm-enforcing capacities, these so-called *linguistic innovators* are open to **external influences,** and **it is** through them that previously unfamiliar terms or linguistic **structures** spread fiom one network to another. **This** is shown schematically in Figure **1.** The **links** between peripheral members of network *i* and individuals A, B, and C (who each belong to a network of their own) are potential bridges through which an innovation spreads fiom one network to another.
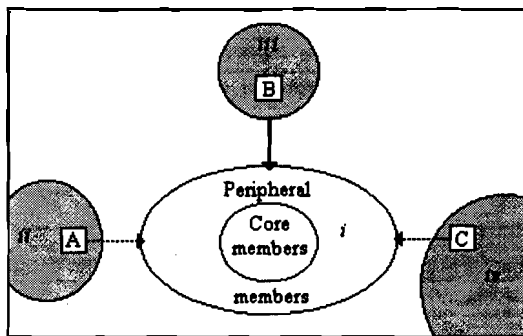

Figure 1: Susceptibility of **peripheral** group members to **external** influence, linguistic and otherwise.

Already being used on the **fringes** of the network, the innovation may **eventually** be adopted by the more-integrated, central group members, the so-called *early adopters,* whose **usage** is considered to be the norm by the other **speakers** in the network. If adopted by the central group member or members, the innovation then **diffuses** to the other members called *linguistic followers.*

It is the relationship between central group members and linguistic followers which is **important** in the present study. It will be argued that Johnson and **Burney** were members of the same social network, the famous Streatham circle, and that Johnson, **because** of his **fame** and his central position in the Streatham circle, set the norm (see **also** Bax 2002). Streatham **was** the country **residence** of Johnson's wealthy friends, the London brewer and Member of Parliament **Henry Thrale** and his wife Hester Lynch (Hyde 1977: 172). As the owners of Streatham Place, a country **estate also** called Streatham Park or plainly Streatham, the Thrales provided the setting for many **literary** and **political** discussions **taking** place over dinner or **in** Mrs. Thrale's **drawing-**

room (Clifford 1968: 68). It was their **friendship** which kept Johnson **close** by, and it was his **presence** which drew other notable guests to their home between June 1766, when he **became** an adopted member of the Thrale family (Hyde 1977: **20),** and October 1782, when Mrs. Thrale gave up the **estate after** her husband's premature death (Clifford 1968: 211).

      Pratt and **Denison** (2000: 402) mention **"private** and public group consciousness" as factors to be considered in the identification of social networks. Did the members of the Streatham circle form an easily recognisable network, then, both to themselves and to **others;** was it a *community***,** a cohesive group **"to** which people **have** a clear consciousness of belonging" (L. Milroy 1987: **14)?** The answer to this question is not as **straightforward** as I would wish it to be. The Streatham circle was an informal circle. It was not a formally constituted group. As such, it did not **have** what Laumann *et al.* (1989: 66) **call** "officially constituted status". This makes it indeed, as they argue, somewhat difficult to be a hundred percent confident that the individuals **referred** to as its members had much of "the 'we-feeling' characteristic of a corporate group" (Laumann *et al.* 1989: 66). It was, however, a famous circle. When Mrs. Thrale was taken up by Elizabeth Montagu (1720–**1800),** author and leader of the eminent Bluestocking circle, in the **later 1770s,** she was, **McCarthy** argues, never wholly a "Blue". This was not only **because** she had her own distinct sense of **humour,** which contrasted with the Blues' relentless high seriousness, but **also because** she seemed to **have** resented the fact of being 'taken up' by Montagu at all, "for her **own** salon at Streatham was fully the equal of Montagu's" (1985: **32).**[3] An introduction to Streatham Park was "a badge of success in one's line" **(McCarthy** 1985: 24). Someone who could be mentioned with Streatham in the same breath was automatically associated with the name of Samuel Johnson. By belonging to the Streatham circle, one must **have** taken **some** pride to be in the same room with the great author. The Thrales **certainly** did; it is a small step to **assume** that their guests shared similar feelings. Fanny Bumey **provides** a clear example which shows that the members of the Streatham circle formed an easily recognisable network: she used the name "Streathamites" to denote them (eds. Troide and Cooke 1994: 195) and, as indicated by the following passage **from** a letter of August or September 1781 to her sisters, she **must have** shared Mrs. **Thrale's** 'we-feeling': "We **have** now a new Character added to *our set,* **&** one of no small diversion: Mr. Musgrave, an Irish Gentleman of **Fortune, &** member of the Irish **Parliament".**[4]

III. THE **ANALYSIS**

For the **purpose** of this **paper, I compiled** an electronic corpus consisting of a randomly chosen sample of the *Rambler* essays comprising 50,000 words.' The corpus **does** not contain any of the literary quotations that Johnson included in the essays for the reason that they are not Johnson's **own** words, nor **does** it contain any of Johnson's so-called "letters to the Rambler". These not only represent a different **style** of writing but, although **written** by Johnson himself, they were **also** meant to represent the **usage** of other people, his readers. The corpus **furthermore** contains six **samples** from Fanny Bumey's **private** and public writing (see Table 1). I **have** included **three**

time-spans to make any possible language change visible. Period I predates her **acquaintance** with Johnson, in period II she **knew** him personally, and period III represents a period in her life when the Streatham circle, with Johnson as a member, no longer **existed**. The question that I would like to answer through the addition of the third period is whether or not any adoption of Johnsonian **features** was maintained, for it **may** be expected that an adoption is at least partly **reversed** once a **source** of influence is lost, as in the case when a network cluster, which might previously **have** acted as a norm-enforcing mechanism (Milroy 1987: 137), **breaks** up. The two years selected for the third period may seem a bit late, Johnson having **been** dead for more than ten years by this time, but this has to do with the publication of Burney's third novel, *Camilla,* in 1796. *Camilla* was Bumey's first novel **after** Johnson's death, **and** it will be interesting to compare the distribution of Johnsonian **features** in this novel with that in the other **two** novels and to determine whether his influence **lasted. In** addition, I **have** added a stylistic dimension to my analysis to see if Fanny Burney **also** used Johnsonian language in her **private writing** and not only in her novels (see Table 1).

Table 1: **The corpus of Fanny Burney's language**

PERIOD	PRIVATE WRITING (letters & journals)	PUBLIC WRITING (prose)	
			total
1.	(1777–78)[6]	*Evelina* (1778)'	
	50,000 words	98,894 words	148,894 words
II.	(1779–81)[8]	*Cecilia* (1782)'	
	118,761 words	50,000 words	168,761 words
111.	(1795–97)[10]	*Camilla* (1796)[11]	
	50,000 words	50,000 words	100,000 words
total	218.761 words	198,894 words	

In my selection of material for analysis, I **made** no distinction between Burney's journal letters **and** her journals, **because** Burney's joumal letters are hardly any different from her 'normal' joumal entries in terms of **style.**[12] The main concern with the inclusion of letters was that they were addressed to Burney's intimates, that is, her father and siblings, or in other words, that the texts selected are indeed **private** rather than just personal. From Table 1 it **is** clear that the six texts analysed are of unequal length. To make up for this, **all** figures **have been** normalised (n/1000).

In what follows, I will discuss the **writers'** use of emphatically positioned prepositions (section III.1), a particular type of abstract **noun** phrases, (section III.2), **Latinate borrowings** (section 111.3) and their use of long **noun** phrases (section III.4). As these are considered typical characteristics of Johnsonian **prose,** it is expected that if Burney was **influenced** by Johnson, these constructions would be evident in her language, too. The retrieval software used **throughout** the analysis is a standard concordancing package, called *MonoConc Pro.* For

relatively complex queries, however, l **have** used the more elaborate TACT ('Textual Analysis Computing Tools').

III.1. **Emphatic** positioning of prepositions

In his discussion of Johnsonese in the language of Jane Austen (1775–1817), Sørensen argues that one of **Johnson's** "peculianties" **was** "the emphatic position of prepositions at the head of a sentence, particularly the preposition *of*", as **in** (1), the example he cites (1969: 396).

(1)   *Of misfortune it never can be certainly known whether ... it is an act of favour or of punishment*

If this **is true,** could this "peculiarity" **have been** one of the things that was copied by "a serious imitator" like Bumey, as Boswell once labelled her (ed. Hill and Powell 1934–50 iv: **389**)?

I **have** analysed the distribution of 44 prepositions in the Johnson and Burney samples. It should be noted that not **all** prepositions in initial position are emphatic; that **is** to say, not **all** of them result in a marked sentence like (1). For **instance,** while sentences (2) and (3) below both occur in Burney's **private** writing in period **II, only** the first has **been** included in the count. Unlike sentence **(3),** it **is** marked due to **the** placement of the prepositionai phrase In his *medical* capaciíy in sentence-initial position. As a result, sentence (2) has a Johnsonian **quality** to it which it would not **have if** the prepositional phrase **occurred** in sentence-final position. (i.e. He seems to rise *daily* in his *medical* capaciíy).

(2)   *In his medical capaciiy he seems to rise Daily.*
(3)   *In the Evening we hada large pariy, consisting of the Bishop of Peterborough, his Lady, the Holroyds, Miss Firth, & our light Infantry Captain.*

Temporal adverbials like in the evening, in the course ɗ the day, and so on, do not render a sentence marked when they are put in sentence-initial position. Not excluding them would **also have** distorted the **results** to a considerable degree, **because** the Burney samples —and Burney's **private** writing in **particular**—**contain** numerous temporal adverbials, **making** it appear as if her **private** writing is much more Johnsonian (as far as this particular linguistic **feature is** concerned) than is actually the case.

I **have** presented my findings in Table 2. The figures in this table show a nurnber of things. To begin with, they support **Sørensen's** claim that Johnson used the preposition *of* more **often** emphatically than any other preposition. The Rambler sample contains 23 examples of emphatic *of,* which is 28% of **all** the emphatically positioned prepositions found. To mention a few examples, the Rambler sample contains sentences like Ɵ the trader he can *tell* that though he seems to manage *an* extensive commerce, and *talks* in high terms ɗ thefunds, yet his wealth *is* not *equal* to his reputation and ɗ this vice, as ɗ *all* others, *every man* who *indulges* it *is* conscious.

Table 2: The distribution of emphatically positioned prepositions in the corpus

	Occurrences								Occurrences					
	R	Pu I	Pu II	Pu III	Pr I	Pr II	Pr III		R	Pu I	Pu II	Pu III	Pr I	Pr II	Pr III
about								*in*	5	17	6	21		2	1
above								*inside*							
across								*into*							
after								*like*							
against								*near*							
along								*of*	23	1			5	5	
amidst								*off*							
among	12	1	3		4			*on*						1	
around								*out*							
as		1			2			*outside*							
at		5	3					*over*							
away			2		2			*round*							
before		1						*since*							
behind								*through*							
below					1			*to*	12	13	3	7		8	2
between				1				*towards*							
beyond								*under*	3	1					
by	10	2		4	4			*up*		1				3	
down								*upon*		2		4			
during								*with*	5		8	3	2	3	
for	7			3	2			*within*		4					
from	2		3	5	3	1		*without*	3					1	
								total	82	49	28	44	15	37	4
								n/1000	1.6	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.1

R = Rambler (Johnson)
Pu I = public writing I (Burney) (98,894 words)
Pu II = public writing II (Burney) (50,000 words)
Pu III = public writing III (Burney) (50,000 words)

Pr 1 = private writing I (Burney) (50,000 words)
Pr II = private writing II (Burney) (1 18,761 words)
Pr III = private writing III (Burney) (50,000 words)

However, with only one example in public writing period I and five in both **private** writing periods I and II (e.g. *of you there is so little in all,* period I) the figures for Burney's usage show that she did not share Johnson's tendency to use *of* emphatically. It appears that she had a tendency to use the preposition *in* instead: **37%** (17 cases) of all the emphatic prepositions in her public writing in period I and evcn 48% (21 cases) in period III consists of sentences beginning with *in,* e.g. *In this state of almost painful felicity I continued till I was summoned to tea* (public writing, period 1), *Of my Book, they may say what they will* (private writing, period I).

Furthermore, the total scores in Table 2 show that Johnson used emphatic prepositions much more often than Burney. Whereas the *Rambler* sample contains *1.6* examples in every 1000 words, the corresponding figure for Burney's public writing in period I is only 0.5. Interestingly, the number of emphatic prepositions used has doubled between periods I and III (0.9). In other words, it appears that Bumey began to use more emphatic prepositions after she became acquainted with Johnson. As I will try to show in the following sections, this finding and a number of others togcther support the idea that Bumey was, indeed, one of Johnson's linguistic followers. What should also be noted is that the total scores of Burney's private writing are

relatively low, as can be expected of a style of writing that is relatively informal and, therefore, **less likely** to **contain** the type of marked sentences that **result** from the use of emphatically positioned prepositions.

III.2. "The x-ness of y"

Pointing out that Johnson had a predilection for "abstract diction", **Sørensen draws special** attention to his use of a particular type of abstract **noun** phrases. He categorises them as "the x-ness of y", *x-ness* expressing a property of y (1969: 396); put differently, these are **noun** phrases which consist of a NP and a **post-modifying** PP, the head **noun** (N 1) being a property of N2. An example of this type of **noun** phrase (henceforth referred to as xy **noun** phrases) is *the peace of solitude* in Figure 2. As the head **noun** N1 expresses a property of N2, the **noun** phrase in Figure 2 can be paraphrased as *solitude is peaceful*. **Because** of this restriction, **noun** phrases such as *the armies of the world* and *the pursuit of fame,* which occur in the *Rambler* sample, were to be excluded from the analysis. Unable to distinguish between these two types, the **retrieval** software identified 1326 **potential** matches of which only 195 are of the actual xy type."
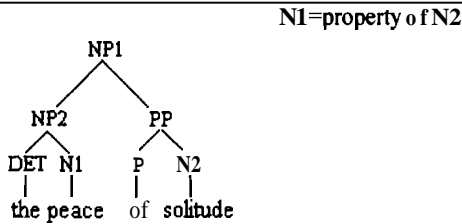

N1=property o f N2

Figure 2: A syntactic representation o f Sørensen's formula "the x-ness o f y"

The figures in Table 3, which shows the distribution of xy **noun** phrases, support **Sørensen's** claim that Johnson had a predilection for abstract **noun** phrases of the type "x-ness of y". Johnson's score is, indeed, relatively high: with 3.911000, the distribution of xy **noun** phrases is more than **twice** as high in the *Rambler* sample than in Burney's public **writing in** periods I and III (1.5 and 1.7 **respectively**). The **noun** phrases in (4) are **some** of the examples **occurring in** Burney's public **writing**:

(4)   *the coldness of my compliment, the liveliness of your fancy, the tenderness of maternal pity* (period I); *the magnificence of former times, the temptation of opportunity, the violence of her awakened sorrows* (period 11); *the bitterness of personal proof, the unskilfulness of our fallible nature, the rigour of her justice* (period III).

Interestingly, however, Burney used almost equally many *xy* **noun** phrases in period II: 3.4 *xy* **noun** phrases in every 1000 words. In other words, in period I she used half the **number** of *xy* **noun** phrases that Johnson **does** in the ***Rambler;*** she then used twice as many *xy* **noun** phrases when she **knew** Johnson personally, being a member of the Thrale circle herself, **after** which the old situation is **restored** in period III when the Thrale circle, with Johnson as one of its key figures, no longer **existed**. This pattern supports the claim that Burney was a linguistic follower. **It** should be noted that the similarity between Johnson and Burney in period II is not apparent from the corresponding average: with 1.4 *xy* **noun** phrases **in** every 1000, Burney's score pales in comparison with Johnson's. This shows the **importance** of making a distinction between public and **private** texts. The figures representing Burney's **private** writing show the usual pattern of informal writing: they are much lower, **private** writing generally being less abstract than formal, public **writing**.[14] We may therefore expect it to contain fewer abstractions of the *xy* type, as is the case **here**.

Table 3: The distribution of *xy* **noun** phrases in **the corpus** /1000 words

	Johnson *Rambler*	Burney *period I*	Burney *period II*	Burney *period III*
private writing		0.4 (22) (s=50,000)	0.5 (54) (s=118,761)	0.8 (38) (s=50,000)
public writing	3.9 (195) (s=50,000)	1.5 (152) (s=98,894)	3.4 (168) (s=50,000)	1.7 (86) (s=50,000)
averages[15]		1.1[16] (s=148,894)	1.4[17] (s=168,761)	1.3[18] (s=100,000)
s = size of sample				

The numbers are small, but Burney used twice as many *xy* **noun** phrases in period III as she did in period **I,** when she did not belong to Johnson's social network yet. Both patterns, then — that of her public writing and that of her **private** writing — indicate that Bumey used more *xy* **noun** phrases (**i.e.** more abstract language) after her acquaintance with Johnson.

III.3. **Latinate** lexis

To the present day the name Johnson "remains associated with **Latinate** lexis" (Percy **2000),** yet it is in the ***Rambler,* Sørensen** reminds us, that his trade mark is most apparent (1969: 390, n. 5). The ***Rambler*** sample can therefore be assumed to contain relatively many **Latinate** words, that is, words borrowed directly from Latin or indirectly through **French**.[19] If so, what can be said about Burney's usage in periods **I-III?**

"A good rule of thumb is to check whether [a word] has three or more syllables," Latin borrowings generally being "long words" (Wright & Hope 1996: **213),** but one gets more accurate results with the help of what I refer to as ***indicators of Latiniíy,*** that is, word endings associated with **Latinate** vocabulary. In addition to using the wordlists in Baugh and Cable's discussion of Latin borrowings (1993: 180-2, 209-28) as my point of departure, **I have** consulted

the Oxford English Dictionary to make the list indicators of **Latinate** vocabulary presented in Table 4. For **example, Baugh** and Cable point out that the adjective individual is a Latin borrowing (1993: 180). The CD-ROM version of the OED (Berg 1992) mentions the ending of this particular word, *-al* (query: -al), "on the analogy of which L[atin]. adj[ective]s. in *-ālis* and **Fr[ench]. in** -el **have** since **been** englished without limit":

> -al suffix[1],
> of adjs. and ns.
> I. adj.
> 1. repr. L. *-āl-em* (*-ālis*, *-āle*, stem *-āli-*) adj. suff. = 'of the kind of, **pertaining** to,' ... In words that survived, *ālem* became in OFr. and hence in early Eng. *-el*, as *mortālem*, *mortel*. But, to some extent in Fr. and entirely in Eng. this was afterwards refashioned after L., as *-al*, on the analogy of which L. adjs. in *-ālis* and Fr. in -el have since been englished without limit.

The citation above shows that *-al* is mentioned as a **separate** entry in the OED and that it is related to Latin (L). Each of the 22 indicators in Table 4, as well as the corresponding inflected forms, meet these two requirements. The inflected forms searched for by the retrieval software are the following. Plural forms are represented by the indicator followed by **the** plural marker *-s* (e.g. *-als*); with verbs, indicator plus *-s* (e.g. *-bles*), -ed (e.g. *-bled*), and *-ing* (e.g. *-bling*) represent third person singular, regular simple past, and forms in the continuous. Furthermore, nouns and adjectives may **have** different spellings (e.g. public andpublick), and verbs ending in *-ise* are **also** spelled with *-ize* (e.g. *realise* and realize). What **also** needs to be taken account of is that the data retrieved may include words that one **does** not want, e.g. the query *-ured* also includes poured, and -or includespoor. Such words **have been** excluded manually.

The following observations can be made. As expected, the Ramhler **sample** contains relatively more Latin borrowings than any of the Burney samples. What is more (and this is obviously one of the advantages of a quantitative approach), it seems that Johnson had a **preference** for particular types of **Latinate** words, those ending in *-ence* (9.8), -ate (10.1), *-ity* (11.7) and -ion (30.4). The figures in Table 4 furthermore show that he used a total of 138 **Latinate** words in every 1000 words, which is **three** times as high as **Burney's** lowest total score (**private** writing period I: 44.5) and still 1.5 times as high as her highest (public writing period II: 91.6). The figures for **the** individual indicators show the same picture, Johnson having used each type more often than Burney, except in five cases, four of which concern small differences: *-ar*, *-ble*, *-ive*, and *-tude*.

Table 4: The distribution of Latinate words in the corpus 11000 words[20]

	Johnson Rambler	Burney private writing period I	Burney private writing period II	Burney private writing period III	Burney public writing period I	Burney public writing period II	Burney public writing period III
	(s=50,000)	s=50,000	(s=18,761)	(s=50,000)	(s=98,894)	(s=50,000)	(s=50,000)
-al	9.7 (484)	8.4 (170)	8.6 (433)	4.2 (208)	5.9 (582)	6.2 (288)	5.6 (273)
-ance	6.6 (332)	1.6 (81)	1.8 (212)	2.2 (109)	3.0 (300)	5.3 (265)	4.5 (225)
-ar	1.1 (56)	0.4 (20)	0.5 (59)	0.6 (29)	0.4 (39)	1.7 (83)	1.1 (53)
-ary	2.6 (128)	1.1 (54)	0.8 (95)	0.8 (42)	0.4 (44)	1.1 (55)	1.1 (53)
-ate	10.1 (503)	2.0 (98)	2.4 (292)	3.0 (151)	1.5 (153)	4.8 (240)	6.4 (319)
-ble	4.1 (206)	3.0 (151)	4.9 (578)	3.3 (163)	4.1 (402)	4.0 (200)	4.3 (214)
-cy	2.8 (140)	0.6 (32)	0.8 (92)	0.5 (23)	0.7 (70)	1.1 (53)	1.2 (60)
-ence	9.8 (491)	1.5 (76)	1.7 (200)	2.7 (135)	3.1 (308)	4.6 (231)	4.0 (201)
-ent	13.5 (673)	4.0 (202)	5.5 (654)	5.6 (281)	10.6 (1048)	11.9 (593)	11.6 (582)
-ess	9.6 (479)	4.1 (204)	3.9 (496)	5.6 (280)	7.0 (688)	8.3 (415)	8.7 (434)
-fy	0.7 (35)	0 (0)	0.1 (16)	0.1 (5)	0.2 (19)	0.1 (7)	0 (2)
-ic	1.5 (76)	0.7 (34)	0.7 (87)	0.9 (47)	0.6 (55)	1.0 (50)	1.3 (65)
-ion	30.4 (1521)	9.7 (483)	8.7 (1033)	10.9 (546)	13.5 (1333)	19.0 (948)	18.8 (941)
-ise	1.3 (64)	1.7 (86)	1.6 (188)	1.6 (80)	2.1 (204)	3.1 (156)	3.3 (163)
-ite	2.8 (142)	1.0 (48)	1.2 (143)	1.6 (81)	0.7 (71)	2.1 (104)	1.6 (81)
-ity	11.7 (584)	1.9 (96)	2.6 (307)	2.4 (119)	3.5 (342)	5.5 (281)	4.9 (245)
-ive	2.0 (101)	1.0 (51)	0.7 (79)	2.1 (104)	0.6 (63)	1.5 (77)	1.6 (80)
-or	2.9 (144)	1.9 (93)	1.3 (101)	1.3 (63)	0.9 (89)	1.6 (79)	2.0 (101)
-ory	0.9 (47)	0.8 (38)	0.6 (77)	0.5 (26)	0.3 (30)	0.3 (13)	0.5 (23)
-ous	4.4 (220)	1.7 (84)	2.4 (285)	2.4 (119)	1.8 (180)	3.4 (170)	2.3 (117)
-tude	1.7 (84)	1.8 (9)	0.1 (14)	0.2 (18)	0.3 (34)	0.4 (22)	0.4 (21)
-ure	7.8 (388)	2.3 (113)	3.2 (382)	4.2 (210)	5.2 (510)	5.0 (251)	1.6 (82)
total	138.0 (6898)	44.5 (2223)	49.0 (5823)	56.8 (2839)	56.4 (6564)	91.6 (4581)	86.7 (4335)

s = size of sample

Bumey, however, used more words ending in -*ise* in any period—and in both private and public writing—than Johnson, which, given her other scores, is rernarkable. Similarly remarkable is that Bumey's total scores show virtually the same pattem as her use of *xy* noun phrases (section 111.2). Both her public writing and her private writing indicate that Bumey used more Latin borrowing (i.e. used more formal language) after her acquaintance with Johnson. As with the distribution of xy nounphrases in her public writing, the distribution of Latinate words is lowest in period I (66.4), much higher in period II, when she and Johnson were members of the same social group (91.6), and a bit lower in period III (86.7). Burney's private writing also shows the same patterns as her use of xy noun phrases. It is likewise characterised by lower figures, and the distribution of Latinate words is lowest in period I (44.5), higher in period II (49.0), and still higher in period III (56.8). Clearly, Sørensen's observation that Bumey's novels *Cecilia* and *Camilla* "are Johnsonese not least on account of their Latinate vocabulary" (1969: 390, n. 5) is not wide off the mark, but is supported by the figures in Table 4.

III.4. **Relative** length and weight of **noun** phrases

In addition to the use of emphatic prepositions, abstract **noun** phrases and **Latinate** borrowings, what contributed to Johnson's heavy, Ramblerian **style is** the length of the **noun** phrases he **used**. **Noun** phrases **have** four predetermined slots—determiner and/or enumerator (**e.g.** a), pre-head modification (**e.g.** Judas Priest), head **noun** (**e.g.** T-shirt), and post-head modification (**e.g.** with vents *cut* out), as in a Judas Priest T-shirt with vents *cut* out (Wright & **Hope**1996: 1-2). Their **relative** 'weight' could, then, be expressed as the extent to which **all** slots are filled, **i.e. noun** phrases with four slots filled are heavier than **noun** phrases with one slot filled. But such an approach **does** little **justice** to our notion of heavy **noun** phrase. Examples (5) and (6) both occur in the Rambler sample:

(5)   a continual *succession of enemies*

(6)   a work *intended* to burst upon *mankind with unexpected lustre,* and withdraw *the attention of the learned world from every* other *controversy* or *enquiry*

With **all** four slots filled, **noun** phrase (5) would be categorised as being heavier than **(6),** which would seem counter-intuitive to most speakers **because** of the lengthy post-head modifier in (6). In **order** to avoid this particular problem, **I have** counted the number of words in each **noun** phrase rather than the number of slots filled. What should be noted is that as **noun** phrases occur in every sentence, this makes it **unnecessary** to use the sample **sizes** mentioned in Table I. The samples were therefore reduced to 5,000 words each for this particular count. **After tagging**[21] the sample text manually for the length of each **noun** phrase that it contains, the **retrieval** software was used to sort out the data.

Table 5 shows the distribution of **noun** phrases in the **seven** samples. The **first column** ('type') shows sixteen categories, each one corresponding with a **certain** length in terms of the number of words of which a **noun** phrase consists (**e.g.** category "1 w"—short for 'one word'—includes **all** the **noun** phrases in the **corpus** consisting of a single word, category "2 w" concems **all** the **noun** phrases consisting of **two** words, and so on); and it shows the six length ranges used in the analysis, which **serve** to avoid a **comparison** of very small figures (**e.g.** length range "1-3 w" includes **all** the **noun** phrases consisting of 1-3 words). Table 5 **furthermore** shows the number of occurrences ('occ') of each type of **noun** phrase and the distribution of each type presented as a percentage of the relevant sample. For **instance,** the Rambler sample contains 260 **noun** phrases consisting of a single word. This **equals** 5.2% of **all** the words in the sample; put differently, the weight of single-word **noun** phrases in the Rambler sample is **5.2%.**[22]

The first more general **observation** that can be made **is** that the weight of **noun** phrases is **higher** in public wnting, that is, takes up more space in public writing, than in **private** writing: 65.6% of **all** the words in the Rambler sample (see totals) are used in **noun** phrases; the figures for Bumey's public writing are 61.3% (period 1), 68.8% (period 11), and 66.6% (period III). Bumey's **private** writing, on the other hand, contains relatively fewer words used in **noun**

phrases: 48.3% (period 1), 47.5% (period II), and 50.2% (period III). This can be partly explained by the figures for the shortest and longest noun phrases. As may be expected of private writing, the weight of the single-word noun phrases in this type of writing is much higher than in public writing. Table 5 shows that between 10.3 and 14.1 percent of Burney's private writing consists of single-word noun phrases (11.7% in period I, 14.1% in period II, and 10.3% in period III). The figures for her public writing are considerably lower, in periods II (6.2%) and III (5.5%) even twice as low, though the figure for the *Rambler* sample is still lower (5.2%). What is interesting is that Burney used fewer single-word noun phrases as time passed by (7.8% in period I, 6.2% in period II, 5.5% in period III), while at the same time her style became much 'heavier', given the dramatic change in her use of very long noun-phrases that is apparent from the figures in the fifteen-or-more-words category ('>15 w'): 9.6% in period I, 13.7% in period II, and 19.4% in period III. In other words, the percentage of words she used in what could somewhat inelegantly be called very long noun phrases doubled between period I and III in her public writing, while the corresponding figures for her private writing remained stable and Iow (3.3 in period I, 3.0 in period II and 3.4 in period III).

Table 5: The length and weight of noun phrases in the corpus

type	Johnson Rambler (s=5,000)		Burney private writing period I (s=5,000)		Burney private writing period II (s=5,000)		Burney private writing period III (s=5,000)		Burney public writing period I (s=5,000)		Burney public writing period II (s=5,000)		Burney public writing period III (s=5,000)	
	occ	% of s	occ	% of s	occ	% of s	occ	% of s	occ	% of s	occ	% of s	occ	% s
1 w	260	(5.2)	584	(11.7)	703	(14.1)	517	(10.3)	392	(7.8)	308	(6.2)	276	(5.5)
2 w	221	(8.8)	189	(7.6)	176	(7.0)	242	(9.7)	146	(5.8)	183	(7.3)	189	(7.6)
3 w	59	(3.5)	91	(5.5)	112	(6.7)	144	(8.6)	63	(3.8)	53	(3.2)	72	(4.3)
1-3 w	879 w (17.5)		1235 w (24.7)		1391 w (27.8)		1433 w (28.7)		873 w (17.5)		833 w (16.7)		870 w (17.4)	
4 w	71	(5.7)	32	(2.6)	52	(4.2)	51	(4.1)	27	(2.2)	58	(4.6)	37	(3.0)
5 w	50	(5.0)	39	(3.9)	30	(3.0)	33	(3.3)	78	(7.8)	51	(5.1)	40	(4.0)
6 w	28	(3.4)	23	(2.8)	31	(3.7)	23	(2.8)	26	(3.1)	46	(5.5)	40	(4.8)
4-6 w	702 w (14.0)		461 w (9.2)		544 w (10.9)		507 w (10.1)		654 w (13.1)		762 w (15.3)		588 w (11.8)	
7 w	26	(6.6)	21	(2.9)	11	(1.5)	11	(1.5)	27	(3.8)	24	(3.4)	20	(2.8)
8 w	12	(1.9)	10	(1.6)	3	(0.5)	9	(1.4)	12	(1.9)	10	(1.6)	23	(3.7)
9 w	10	(1.8)	12	(2.2)	8	(1.4)	5	(0.9)	23	(4.1)	18	(3.2)	19	(3.4)
7-9 w	368 w (7.4)		335 w (6.7)		173 w (3.5)		194 w (3.9)		492 w (9.8)		410 w (8.2)		495 w (9.9)	
10 w	8	(1.6)	7	(1.4)	3	(0.6)	4	(0.8)	25	(5.0)	11	(2.2)	15	(3.0)
11 w	6	(1.3)	7	(1.5)	3	(0.7)	5	(1.1)	13	(2.9)	13	(2.9)	2	(0.4)
12 w	1	(1.7)	4	(1.0)	2	(0.5)	0	(0)	5	(1.2)	11	(2.6)	6	(1.4)
10-12 w	230 w (4.6)		195 w (3.9)		87 w (1.7)		95 w (1.9)		453 w (9.1)		385 w (7.7)		244 w (4.9)	
13 w	8	(2.1)	2	(0.5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	8	(2.1)	7	(1.8)
14 w	2	(0.6)	0	(0)	2	(0.6)	8	(2.2)	8	(2.2)	10	(2.8)	2	(0.6)
15 w	9	(2.7)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	8	(2.4)	3	(0.9)
13-15 w	267 w (5.3)		26 w (0.5)		28 w (0.6)		112 w (2.2)		112 w (2.2)		364 w (7.3)		164 w (3.3)	
>15 w	836 w (16.8)		165 w (3.3)		151 w (3.0)		171 w (3.4)		479 w (9.6)		684 w (13.7)		971 w (19.4)	
total	3284 w (65.6)		2417 w (48.3)		2374 w (47.5)		2512 w (50.2)		3063 w (61.3)		3439 w (68.8)		3332 w (66.6)	

occ = number of occurrences   s = size of sample   w = number of words involved

In facf the figure for Burney's public writing in period III (19.4%) shows that she used even more words in these long noun phrases than Johnson (16.8%), which could be interpreted

as hypercorrection. The change in Burney's usage from a lighter to a heavier style of writing is even more clearly shown in Figure 3, which is a visual representation of the relevant scores in Table 5.
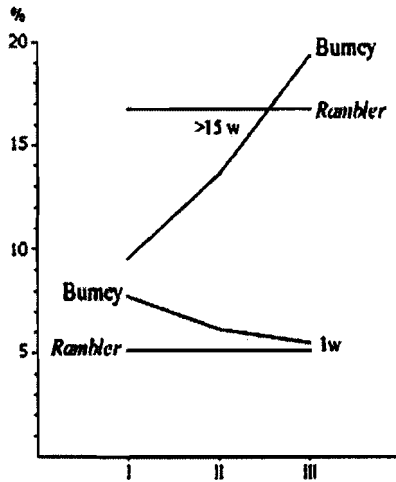

Figure 3: The weight of long (>15 w) and short (1 w) noun phrases in the *Rambler* and the public writing of Fanny Burney

Notice the crossover pattem and the steepness of the slope. Clearly, in her more formal writing Bumey's usage not only shifts towards the style of the prestigious *Rambler;* she even surpasses it. This clearly supports the idea—r, rather, accusation—that she made a conscious effort to write like Johnson.

IV. MOTIVATIONS UNDERLYING FANNY BURNEY'S IMITATIVE PATTERNS

Bumey's imitative linguistic behaviour can be traced back to when she was still a young child. It probably all began on the day when her father, Charles Burney (1726–1814), bought the 1752 6-volume edition of the *Rambler* (eds. Troide & Cooke 1994: 95, n. 64). A fanatical admirer of the *Rambler* essays ever since they first appeared in the 1750s (Lonsdale 1965: 22), he must have been very proud when years later, in 1776, he was welcomed into the illustrious circle at Streatham Park. Gaining adrnittance into the Streatham circle was not a trivial matter, for as Troide and Cooke point out, "Streatham was a magnet to the social and literary elite of London largely because it was the second home of Dr Johnson" (1994: x).[23] There, Charles Burney instructed Queeney Thrale (1764–1857) in music, and was a regular visitor when Fanny herself was invited to visit Streatham in 1778 after the successful publication of her first novel, *Evelina.* By that time, her father's admiration for the *Rambler* essays and for Johnson hirnself had already sparked over and, as the passage below illustrates, she was all to familiar with the essays:

(7)   [Mrs. Thrale] gave me a long & very interesting account of Dr. Goldsmith, who was intimately known here but, in speaking of the Good Natured Man, when I extolled my favourite Croaker, I found that admirable Character was a downright Theft from Johnson!—Look at No: [59] Vol. [2] of the Rambler, & you will find Suspirius is the man, & that not merely the idea, but the particulars of the Character, are all stolen thence! (ed. Troide & Cooke 1994: 95)

It is only understandable that she felt privileged to find herself in the company of Samuel Johnson, one of the "best known Characters in London-perhaps in Europe", as his friend Mrs. Thrale proudly notes (ed. Balderston 1951 i: 495), and to come to realise that he was above all a very likable person. As she herself puts it in her journal, "I have so great a veneration for him, that the very sight of him inspires me with delight & reverence" (ed. Troide & Cooke 1994: 73). Taking an interest in language, she was given the opportunity to witness how "this Dear Dr. Johnson" wrote and spoke; and she loved every moment of it. As a creative young writer who did not hesitate to experiment with new coinages (see ed. Troide & Cooke 1994: xvi), she was particularly pleased to learn that Johnson himself was guilty of taking pleasure in the very same form of pastime: "How delighted was 1 to hear this *master of Languages* so unaffected & sociably & good naturedly *make* Words, for the promotion of sport & humour! ... Surely *I* may make words, when at a loss, if Dr. Johnson does" (ed. Troide & Cooke 1994: 77).

If she had been intrigued by Johnson before she ever met the author, then actually belonging to his circle, actually knowing the man in person, must have only cemented her admiration and regard for him; it must have made her alert to anything he said or wrote, especially when he took on the role of her private language instructor in the summer of 1779. As Hester Thrale wrote in her diary, "Doctor Johnson has undertaken to teach my eldest Daughter Latin ... Fanny Burney, Author of Evelina is to learn with her of the same Master—M' Thrale says it is better to each of them than a Thousand Pounds added to their Fortune" (ed. Balderston 1951 i: 393). Figure 4 is a representation of part of Johnson's circle at Streatham Place.[24] Based on a single bilateral affiliation, the informal visiting patterns of twenty people who were members of the Streatham circle, it shows bilateral linkage (indicated by uninterrupted lines) and unilateral linkage (indicated by dotted lines).[25] Because it is a representation of the Streatham circle, the Thrales are logically connected to every other person in the graph. What is important for the present discussion is that Figure 4 shows *clustering;* one cluster, for example, including Mr. and Mrs. Westcote (WW and CW) on the one hand and the Thrales (HT and HLT) on the other; and another cluster, to which could be counted Johnson, the Thrales, James Boswell (JB), Joshua Reynolds (JR), David Garrick (DG), Charles Bumey (CB) and Fanny Burney (FB)[26].
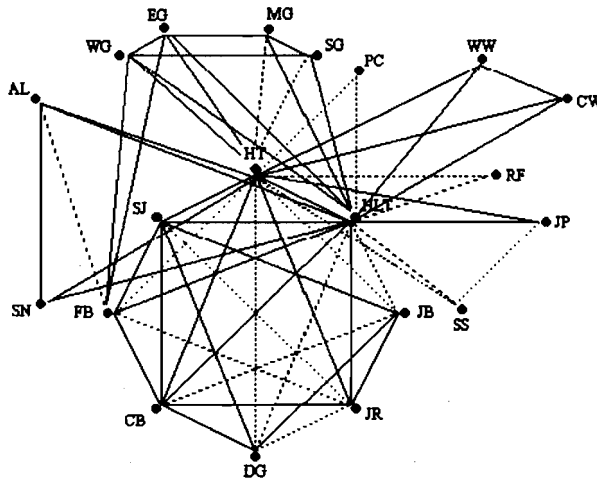

Figure 4: Network clusters in the Streatham circle

It appears that Bumey was more than **'just'** a member of Johnson's circle. Figure 4 shows that she and Johnson were members of the same network cluster, which **provides** yet a **further** explanation for the imitative pattems that **have been** found. In historical social network studies, linguistic influence is understood to spread from central group members to the so-called followers, which means that in the case of the Streatham circle, someone like Johnson would **have been seen** as a role-model by other group members **because,** being the distinguished person that he was, he played such an important role in it; and as pointed out, Burney did indeed look upon Johnson as a linguistic role-model. But while his iníluence would **have been** considerable with regard to his position in the Streatham circle as a whole, it will **have been** even greater in the **network** cluster in which Johnson was a central person: as Cubitt (1973) points out, density of clusters — segmentsof a network that **have** relatively **high** density — is "a more important **norm** enforcement mechanism than overall density" (as quoted in L. Milroy 1987: 51).[27] In other words, Johnson's **influence** as a role-model would **have been** greater in a relatively small group of people who **all knew** each other. Figure 4 shows that Burney (FB) was a member of such a cluster, in which Johnson (SJ), with **only** one unilateral link, was the most central figure.

V. CONCLUSION

Taavitsainen (2002: 202) reminds us that synchronic descriptions of the range and scope of **genres** can "be compared along the diachronic axis to achieve an overall picture of the evolution of a **genre** and to **discover** the mechanics of change." While this is undoubtedly true, paying too much attention to the overall picture may result in us overlooking developments that can be

relevant to our understanding of these mechanics of language change; developments that would be 'evened out' in the overall picture, but which become highly visible once we zoom in, where possible, and study historical discourse on the interpersonal micro level. This view is supported by the present analysis. It shows that sometimes speakers would swim against the current, their usage developing into the opposite direction of what, in hindsight, was becoming the norm. While English was becoming more involved, more informal (Biber & Finegan 1989)— 'lighter' would be the appropriate corresponding term here—in adopting Johnson's Ramblerian style as the norm, Burney went against the general trend of the development of English.[28] That she did is supported by Tieken-Boon van Ostade's study of the auxiliary do in eighteenth-century English. She argues that Burney's use of do-less constructions, i.e. the archaic pattern, may well have been the result of Johnson's influence, and that of the Rambler essays in particular (1987:199).

But was she the slavish imitator that Serrensen (1969) has claimed her to be, the "serious imitator of Johnson's style" as Boswell called her? There can be little doubt that Boswell knew what he was talking about. He was an expert on Johnson's usage and he knew Burney personally, and as Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg point out, contemporary comments or earlier usage are important (2003:6). Nevertheless, the trends discussed above show that the term "slavish" is altogether undeserved with respect to the linguistic features discussed in this paper, which, after all, are said to be Johnson's trademarks. What I have found instead are traces of the "Ramblerian prose style" (Redford 1986: 207), not blatant imitation. Yet what is true is that both these traces and the patterns Serrensen describes in his qualitative study are pointing in the same direction: Johnson did use the linguistic features he mentions relatively often; and Burney used more emphatically positioned prepositions after period I (but not the preposition *of*), the data does show that she used twice as many abstract *xy* noun phrases in period III, she used more Latin borrowings after her acquaintance with Johnson (but clearly on a smaller scale), and I have identified a crossover pattern in the distribution of heavy noun phrases in her public writing between periods II and III. Overall, her style did become heavier once she had met, and continued to meet, Johnson. The question that these findings evoke is to what extent she was actually conscious of these changes. If she wasn't at first, she can't have been unaware of the unflattering comments made by some of her contemporaries, notably James Boswell (ed. Hill and Powell 1934–50 iv: 389), well-known himself and a former cluster member, who informed his readership that "the ludicrous imitators of Johnson's style are innumerable" (quoted in Gorlach 2001: 264). Surely she must have recognised some of Johnson's style in her own writing, being a connoisseur of his prose style herself. What may be concluded, then, is that the Johnsonian traces in her own writing are a reflection of her admiration for someone in whom she saw a role-model. Indeed, she did not disapprove of people imitating Johnson, as long as it was done with respect and dignity, as illustrated by the few lines she devoted to Boswell, in which she acknowledges his ability to read Johnson's letters "in strong imitation of the Doctor's manner, very well and not caricature" (as quoted in Brady 1984: 419).

NOTES:

[1] Many of Johnson's contemporaries were familiar with "his peculiar notions, and his habitual phrases" —his "Johnsonese"(Wimsatt 1948: 1), in particular with the mode of language which he used in the *Rambler*. When Johnson tried to keep his authorship of the essays anonymous, his attempt was, as Bate and Strauss point out, "doomed from the start": not only did David Garrick and other members of Johnson's circle recognize his train of thought, but they were also quick to identify his idiosyncratic style of wnting, and made certain that the person behind the periodical was soon widely known (1969 i: xxv). Arthur Murphy, for example, pointed out "the peculiarities of his [Johnson's] style, new combinations, sentences of an unusual structure, and words derived from the learned languages"(quoted in Görlach 2001: 220).

[2] Illustrative of this is, for example, a special issue of *European* Journal *of English Studies* devoted to social network analysis and language change (2000, vol. 4).

[3] Fanny Bumey became a member of the Bluestocking circle in 1780 (Myers 1990: 253-60).

[4] 1 am grateful to Lars E. Troide, the editor of Bumey's early journals and letters (see Troide & Cooke 1994), for providing me with this letter at a time when volume IV of Bumey's early journals and letters had not been published yet.

[5] Bate, W. J. and Albrecht B. Strauss (eds.). 1969. The Rambler. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

[6] Troide (1990) and Troide & Cooke (1994).

[7] Cooke (1998).

[8] Troide & Cooke (1994). I am grateful to Lars E. Troide for providing me with an electronic version of Burney's letters and joumals of 1780-1781 at a time when volume IV of Bumey's early journals and letters had not been published yet.

[9] Simons (1986).

[10] Hemlow et al. (1973).

[11] Bloom & Bloom (1972).

[12] The journal letters that she wrote to her confidant, Susanna Bumey, are a case in point. As Troide and Cook point out, there is no reason to doubt Bumey's sincerity in her accounts; in facf Fanny Bumey "devoted the last decades of her long life to mitigating or editing out family scandals or disgraces" (1994: xv).

[13] Other examples of *xy* noun phrases are the *dignity of wisdom* , the *elegance of* a lady, the *force of his* own *genius*, and the grace *of its* decorations.

[14] The following are some examples occurring in Bumey's private writing: *the sameness of people's* remarks, the *elegance of* Miss Burney, the *licentiousness of* the *Newspapers* (period 1); the *boldness of* her *Visit*, the *immutability*

of *Truth, the wickedness of Mrs. Thrale* (period II); ihe *tenderness of his pitying nature, the sweetness of my Father, the shortness of the Days* (period III).

[15] The averages **pertaining** to periods I-III are weighted, i.e. (ratio **private writing** • weight) + (ratio public **writing** • weight).

[16] $[0.4*((50,000/148,894)*1000)] + [1.5*((98,894/148,894)*1000)] = 0,136+0,99 = 1.1/1000$.

[17] $[0.5*((118,761/168,761)*1000)] + [3.4*((50,000/168,761)*1000)] = 0.35+1.02 = 1.4/1000$.

[18] $[0.8*((50,000/100,000)*1000)] + [1.7*((50,000/100,000)*1000)] = 0.4+0.85 = 1.25/1000$.

[19] As **Fennell** emphasises, "it was **difficult** to say at this time [the **Early** Modem **English** Period] whether a word was **coming** into the language **from Latin directly** or via French" (2001: 148).

[20] The **figures in** brackets correspond to the number of examples found **in** each sample.

[21] **Each noun** phrase, including pronoun-headed **noun** phrases, was given a number corresponding with the number of words of which it consisted, as **in** the following example which occurs **in** the *Rambler* sample: "But as [4.the industry of observation] has divided [6.the most **miscellaneous** and **confused** assemblages] into [2.**proper** classes], and ranged [13.the insects of the **summer**; that **torment** us with their drones or stings], by [3.**their several** tribes]; [4.the persecutors, of merit], notwithstanding [2.**their** numbers], may be likewise commodiously distinguished into [1.Roarers], [1.Whisperers], and [1.Moderators]." The problem of **noun** phrases within **noun** phrases was avoided by including the largest **noun** phrase only. Coordinated **nouns** were tagged according to their **surface structure, e.g.** [4.**indirect** and unperceived approaches] rather than [2.**indirect** (approaches)], [2.**unperceived** approaches].

[22] The weight of each type of **noun** phrase was calculated as follows: ((the number of words of which a given type consists * the number of **occurrences**) / the number of words **in** the sample) • 100. For example, the weight of **single**-word **noun** phrases **in** the **Rambler** sample is $((1 * 260)15000) * 100 = 5.2$.

[23] **Johnson** had **been living** with the Thrales since the mid-1760s.

[24] **It** is **sufficient** to reconstruct only a **small** section of the **entire** network, which shows that a number of **the** other Streathamites were not **part** of this **specific** cluster and, where possible, that others belonged to a different one. The advantage of this approach is that it **allows** for the **inclusion** of speakers whose **private** papers are **unknown** to the public (because, **unlike** Johnson, they were not people of intemational stature). While for lack of such **evidence** it **will** not be possible to determine whether or not they formed a cluster of their own, or whether they belonged to **several** other ones, what can be argued is that they **did** *not* **belong** to the **same** cluster as Johnson, Bumey, and other eminent Streathamites.

[25] My reason for choosing this **particular affiliation** is twofold: **it** shows who **knew** who **personally**, making a visual representation of the various interconnections possible; and, not unimportant, **it** is the kind of **affiliation** which was **often** recorded **in** the personal diaries and **letters** of the people **in** the Streatham **circle**. Figure 4 **is based** on the **visiting patterns** of the following **twenty** Streathamites. JB: James Boswell, **barrister/author** (1740–1795); CB: Charles Bumey, **musician/author (1726–1814)**; FB: Fanny Bumey, author (1752–1840); PC: Sir **Philip** Jennings Clerke, Bt., MP (1722–1788); RF: **Rose Fuller, neighbour in** Streatham (1748–21); EG: **Lady Elizabeth** Gage, sister of S. Gideon, wife of **William** (c.1739–1783); WG: William Hall Gage, 2^d **Visc,** MP (1718–1791); DG:

David **Garrick,** actor, manager(1717–1779); MG: Lady Maria-MaroweGideon, wife of Sampson (1743–1794); SG: Sir Sampson Gideon, **(Bt,** MP) (1745–1824); SJ: **Samuel** Johnson, author (1709–1784); AL: Lady **Ann Lade, sister** of H. Thrale (c.1733–1802);**SN: Susanna Nesbitt,** sister of H. Thrale (d. 1789); JP: Jane Pitches, friend of Mrs. Thrale (d. 1797); JR: Sir Joshua Reynolds, **painter/first Pres.** of the **Royal** Academy (1723–1792); SS: Sophia **Streatfeild,** Greekscholar (1754–1835); HLT: Hester Lynch Thrale, **author** (1741–1821); HT: Henry Thrale, **brewer/ MP (1728–1781);** WW: Lord **William Henry** Lyttleton Westcote (1724–1808); CW: Lady Caroline **Westcote (later** Lady Lyttleton), wife of William (c. 1746–1809). This relatively **small** number of **speakers still** requues **evidence** for **20(20-1)** links, **i.e.** 380 links. **It is** conceivable that **some** Streathamites visited **others** with a certain **regularity** but were not visited by them in tum. However, these directed, unilateral **links** were not excluded from the count, **because it is likely** that **returned visits** were never recorded (which only gives the impression of **asymmetry).** This **is** a **limitation** that cannot be completely avoided. But in view of the **gaps** in the **relational** data, actual appointments **in public** places, as opposed to accidental encounters, were included in the analysis. **Boswell's** joumals, for **instance, abound in** notes on casual **dinners** and **breakfast** with **friends** and acquaintances. **It is** assumed that people who **regularly have** appointments **in** public places for the **purpose** of spendingleisure *time* together may be assumed to **have** visited the **others** in their homes as **well.**

[26] **Visually,** network clusters "consist of points that are more 'similar' to one another than they are to other points", forming **"areas** of **high** density in the **overall** scatter plot" and defined "in terms of **their** *contiguity* in the diagram and theu *separation* from other **clusters"** (Scott 2000: 127).

[27] A network **structure is said** to show density of 100 percent when its **members all know** each other.

[28] Mrs. Thrale has **also been** found to **have been** influenced by Johnson's archaic **usage** (See Tieken-Boon van Ostade & **Bax** (2001) and Bax (2002).

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