English Punctuation Since 1700 in Manuscript, Print, & E-Text

> punctuation arouses expectations in readers which encourage them to apply
> their own wider behavioural experience to the interpretation of the message of the text
> M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*

ENDING our Early-Modern Introduction we said that from the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century a clear continuity of printed punctuational practice extends to the Twenty-First, incremental additions to the repertoire including ellipses, inverted commas, & *c.* 1700–1950 new combinate-marks. It is also true, though, that the Mid-Eighteenth Century saw a typographic shift, the Nineteenth new technologies, & the later-Twentieth emergent digital revolution : fundamentals of punctuation did not change but, as the grammatical sentence matured & silent reading became a higher percentage of all reading, the art of punctuation came to be reduced by grammarians more to syntactical than rhetorical terms[1], and powerful technologies of reproduction pressed on writing in surprising ways.

Proliferation of combinate-marks after the 1820s, for example, coincides with cramping of the page driven by economics of the machine-press & mass-market : bigger print-runs make space a luxury, so in cheap editions leading & margins were reduced, low prices with better artificial light[2] making cramping acceptable to increasingly literate readers,—but in some measure combinate-marks pushed back, dashes forcing space between words. Or again, the typewriter has been held responsible for both hyperextended sentences in late work by Henry James (1843–1916) & the inventive *mise-en-page* that helped make *The Waste Land* (1922) by T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) so notorious a document of Modernism.[3] From the Mid-Eighteenth Century a slow spread of galley-proofs gave authors better

We thank Philip Coleman, Garrett Stewart, Stephen Watkins, & Susan Wolfson for helpful commentary on drafts.
Epigraph: M. B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect* (Aldershot: Scolar P., 1992), p. 96.
[1] Honan, 'Eighteenth & Nineteenth Century English Punctuation Theory', *English Studies* 41 (1960), pp. 92–102.
[2] See Eliot, 'Reading by Artificial Light in the Victorian Age', in Bradley & John, eds, *Reading and the Victorians* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 15–30.
[3] Edel, *The Life of Henry James* (2 vols, Harmondsworth: Peregrine, 1977), 2.230–34; *The Poems of T. S. Eliot* (2 vols, ed. Ricks & McCue, London: Faber, 2015), 1.548–50; Rainey, *Revisiting* The Waste Land (New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 2005); Lyons, *The Typewriter Century* (Toronto, ON, Buffalo, NY, & London: U. of Toronto P., 2021), pp. 80–81.

opportunities to revise & correct, but they became usual only after 1838 (US) or 1853 (UK), as machine-casting reduced the cost of type, enabling printers to buy more & keep more standing, & paper was available in rolls : where Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) probably never saw one of his novels in complete proof, George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans, 1819–80) in the 1860s–70s habitually asked her publishers for several sets[4], and by then most authors probably saw at least one.

1700–1820 : Settling Sentences & Speech

That John Dryden (1631–1700), properly speaking, died in the last year of the Seventeenth Century offers a useful marker. He was a great writer of periods in prose, drama, & verse, as in the marvellously snarky opening of *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), implicitly about that merry monarch, Charles II :

> In pious times, e'r Priest-craft did begin,
> Before *Polygamy* was made a sin ;
> When man, on many, multiply'd his kind,
> E'r one to one was, cursedly, confind :
> When Nature prompted, and no law deny'd
> Promiscuous use of Concubine and Bride ;
> Then, *Israel's* Monarch, after Heaven's own heart,
> His vigorous warmth did, variously, impart
> To Wives and Slaves : And, wide as his Command,
> Scatter'd his Maker's Image through the Land.[5]

The interplay of commas, semi-/colons, line-breaks, & couplets is exact, from clipped one-word *commata*, "cursedly", "variously", adverbially freighting satire, to the elegant balance of spaced semi-/colons ending ll. 2, 4, & 6 that sets up the mimetic couplet-enjambment of ll. 8–9 & the final *colon*, as plainspoken as its irony is deep.

In Dryden's prose, however, though often periodic, sentences appear, as in his preface to his adaptation of Shakespeare's *Trolius and Cressida* (1679), when

[4] Dooley, *Author and Printer in Victorian England* (Charlottesville, VA, & London: UP of Virginia, 1992), pp. 43–46, 132, 135.

[5] ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL. A POEM (*LONDON,* for *J. T.* and are to be Sold by *W. Davis* in *Amen-Corner,* 1681; facs. with Part 2, 1682, Menston: Scolar P., 1970), p. 1. The drop-cap. is boxed & decorated.

after quoting the Player-King's speech about Hecuba beginning "The mobled queen"[6] he denounces its abuse of metaphor :

> *What a pudder is here kept in raising the expression of triffling thoughts. Would not a man have thought that the Poet had been bound Prentice to a Wheel-wright, for his first Rant* ? *and had follow'd a Ragman, for the clout and blanket, in the second* ? *Fortune is painted on a wheel* ; *and therefore the writer in a rage, will have Poetical Justice done upon every member of that Engin* : *after this execution, he bowls the Nave downhill, from Heaven, to the Fiends :* (*an unreasonable long mark a man would think* ;) *'tis well there are no solid Orbs to stop it in the way, or no Element of fire to consume it* : *but when it came to the earth, it must be monstrous heavy, to break ground as low as the Center. His making milch the burning eyes of Heaven, was a pretty tollerable flight too* ; *and I think no man ever drew milk out of eyes before him* : *yet to make the wonder greater, these eyes were burning. Such a sight indeed were enough to have rais'd passion in the Gods, but to excuse the effects of it, he tells you perhaps they did not see it.*[7]

It is not just the slapping directness of first, second, & last sentences ("*What* [...] *thoughts.*", "*Would* [...] *second* ?", "*Such* [...] *it.*"), striking as they are, but that in the central period ("*Fortune* [...] *Center.*") syntax & punctuation are linear & grammatical, even to the unexpected terminal semi-colon in the parenthesis with spaced lunulae & despite the shifting grammatical subject characteristic of periods. Its marks could be 'modernised' without disturbing word-order or the unfaltering grammar. Dryden pointed periodically, as he had been taught, but his thinking had moved on, and while periods survive into the Eighteenth Century, notably in the simple form of two *semi-/cola* common in the KJV & the Psalms in the *BCP* from 1662, complex forms become rare as sentences dominate.[8]

Much has been written about Eighteenth-Century prose, intertwined with the emergent novel, at first often epistolary but well before 1820 reclaiming the

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[6] *R'side* HAM 2.2.505–17.

[7] TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, OR, *TRUTH Found too Late.* A TRAGEDY As it is Acted at the Dukes Theatre. To which is Prefix'd, A Preface Containing the Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy. Written by *JOHN DRYDEN* Servant to his Majesty. (*London*, for *Jacon Tonson* at the *Judges-Head* in *Chancery-Lane* near *Fleet-Street*, and *Abel Swall*, at the Unicorn at the West-end of S. *Pauls*, 1679), b2v–3r. On Dryden's critical prefaces see Hammond, 'The Restoration poetic and dramatic canon', p. 404, *CHBB* 4.388–409.

[8] See the Early-Modern Intro. in Vol. 2. Vial, *The Art of Musical Phrasing in the Eighteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: U. of Rochester P., 2008), thinks periodic sense also remained influential in musical understanding.

omniscient narrator, absorbing the chapter, & achieving the free indirect discourse (or tight-third person) of Jane Austen (1775–1817).[9] More concerted exploitations of punctuation in the service of realist illusion would follow, but Eighteenth-Century novelists, however less than realist, began increasingly complex & subtle practices of exploitation that depend on a surrounding stability of conventions & progressive clarity of printed pages — from the 1720s driven partly by the first great English type-designer, William Caslon (1692/93–1766), & from the 1750s by the second, John Baskerville (1707–75), between them giving most marks proportions very close to PDE norms.[10] Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) was his own printer, and Toner, tracing ellipses from Jacobethine drama into reported speech & novel dialogue, caught him marking lacunae in successive editions of *Clarissa* (1748) with variant ornaments keyed to the (supposed) author of the letter in which they appear. Lacunae are thematically riotous in Gothic novels, with space & many kinds of mark used[11], as dashes & asterisks are in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759–67) by Laurence Sterne (1713–68), openly addressing in blank, black, & marbled pages, as in genial narration, issues of realism & readerly convenience. Other interesting excesses include John (1747–1822) & Anna Letitia (1743–1825) Aikin's 'Sir Bertrand, A Fragment'[12] (1773), but the stronger trend was the growing authority & elegance of grammatical sentences, epitomised in fiercely declarative prose by Dr Johnson (1709–84) — ' " Nothing odd will do long. ' Tristram Shandy' did not last." '[13]

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[9] Omniscient narrators are implicit in e.g. Boccaccio's *Decameron* (*c.*1348–53) & supposed need for epistolary form as specious as the dramatic 'need' for 'unities' — but it had traction; see Singer, *The Epistolary Novel* (1933; Philadelphia, PA: U. of Pennsylvania P., 2016) & Spacks, *Novel Beginnings* (New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 2006). On chs see Dames, 'The Chapter', *The New Yorker*, 29 Oct. 2014, https://www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/chapter-history, *The Chapter* (Princeton, NJ, & Oxford: PUP, 2023), & 'Chapter Heads' in Duncan & Smyth, eds, *Book Parts* (Oxford: OUP, 2019), pp. 151–64 ; & on Austen, Toner, *Jane Austen's Style* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020).

[10] See Flint, *The Appearance of Print in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011); the best-illus. account of improving typography is Barker, 'Typography and the Meaning of Words', in Barber & Fabian, eds, *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnen Jahrhundert* ('The book & book-trade in eighteenth-century Europe', Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 127–65; see also his 'The morphology of the page' & on earlier practice 'The old English letter foundries', *CHBB* 5.248–67, 4.602–19.

[11] Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015), pp. 71–76, 97–117; see Groom's essay in Vol. 2.

[12] *Ibid*., pp. 97–103.

[13] Boswell, LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D. (2 vols, *LONDON*: HENRY BALDWIN FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY M DCC XCI), 2.27 (20 Mar. 1776).

— & the footnoted elegance of Edward Gibbon (1737–94).

Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) phase-shifted historical lexicography & settled much orthography (with notorious snark of his own[14]). His prose was as influential : the *Preface to Shakespeare* (1765) offers many pithy precisions — "The delight of tragedy proceeds from our consciousness of fiction ; if we thought murders and treasons real, they would please no more." ; "Notes are often necessary, but they are necessary evils." — & the classic disposal of the supposed dramatic need for neo-Aristotelian 'unities' of time, place, & action :

> The truth is, that the spectators are always in their senses, and know, from the first act to the last, that the stage is only a stage, and that the players are only players. They come to hear a certain number of lines recited with just gesture and elegant modulation. The lines relate to some action, and an action must be in some place ; but the different actions that compleat a story may be in places very remote from each other ; and where is the absurdity of allowing that space to represent first *Athens*, and then *Sicily*, which was always known to be neither *Sicily* nor *Athens*, but a modern theatre.[15]

Shakespeare & others had comprehensively shown that unities were optional but no-one before Johnson explained why with such memorable clarity. Granulation into self-evidently true clauses & sentences makes it hard to demur, and the longer final sentence retains such granulation in *semi-cola* with clear progression, "The lines [...] ; but [...] ; and [...].". The absent final question-mark is a rhetorical sleight-of-hand making the last *semi-colon* as declarative as Johnson intended.

One problem is that such grammatical certainty works almost as well when Johnson goes excitedly astray as when he is superbly right :

> A quibble is to *Shakespeare*, what luminous vapours are to the traveller ; he follows it at all adventures, it is sure to lead him out of his way, and sure to engulf him in the mire. It has some malignant power over his mind, and its fascinations are irresistible. Whatever be the dignity or profundity of his

[14] Perhaps most infamously, "PA'TRON. *n. s.* [...] 1. One who countenances, supports or protects. Commonly a wretch who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery.' *JD* 2.19G2v.

[15] Mr. JOHNSON'S PREFACE To his EDITION of Shakespear's Plays. (LONDON: for J. and R. TONSON, H. WOODFALL, J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, L. HAWES, CLARK and COLLINS, T. LONGMAN, W. JOHNSTON, T. CASLON, C. CORBET, T. LOWNDS, and the Executors of B. DODD. M,DCC,LXV; facs. Menston: Scolar P., 1969), pp. xxviii, lxix, xxvii.

> disquisition, whether he be enlarging knowledge or exalting affection, whether he be amusing attention with incidents, or enchaining it in suspense, let but a quibble spring up before him, and he leaves his work unfinished. A quibble is the golden apple for which he will always turn aside from his career, or stoop from his elevation. A quibble poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight, that he was content to purchase it, by the sacrifice of reason, propriety and truth. A quibble was to him the fatal *Cleopatra* for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it.[16]

Scorn fills Johnson's diction & rhetorical repetitions (quibble, sure, whether), but a quibble, from Latin *quibus*, dative or ablative plural of *quī*, 'who, which', is not only "An equivocation, evasion [...]; an argument depending on some likeness or difference between words or [...] some circumstance of no real importance." (*OED2*, **2**), but also, more simply, "A play upon words, a pun." (**1**) — and objecting to Shakespeare's puns *tout court* will not do. The least consideration of Hamlet's "A little more than kin, and lesse then kinde." (TLN 245 ≈ *R'side* 1.2.65), with its lurking third term, 'king', shows how weight-bearing a pun can be ; they are arguments by analogy, besides illustrating character & creating mood. It is telling that Johnson's disapproval blinded him to quibbles' function & value, ironic that he should denounce arguments by analogy by invoking (with growing misogyny) "luminous vapours", "the golden apple", & "the fatal *Cleopatra*", & disturbing that his punctuated surety of style gives even so gross an error memorable force.

That problem is less worrying in Gibbon's monumental *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (6 vols, 1776–89) because footnotes parade his sources & he does not allow emotion or oratory so openly to drive argument :

> The attachment of the Roman troops to their standards, was inspired by the united influence of religion and of honour. The golden eagle, which glittered in the front of the legion, was the object of their fondest devotion ; nor was it deemed less impious, than it was ignominious, to abandon that sacred ensign in the hour of danger [34]. These motives, which derived their strength from the imagination, were enforced by fears and hopes of a more substantial kind. Regular pay, occasional donatives, and a stated recompence, after the appointed term of service, alleviated the hardships of

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

> the military life [35], whilst, on the other hand, it was impossible for cowardice or disobedience to escape the severest punishment. The centurions were authorized to chastise with blows, the generals had a right to punish with death ; and it was an inflexible maxim of Roman discipline, that a good soldier should dread his officers far more than the enemy. From such laudable arts did the valour of the Imperial troops receive a degree of firmness and docility, unattainable by the impetuous and irregular passions of barbarians.
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> [34] Tacitus calls the Roman Eagles, Bellorum Deos. They were placed in a chapel in the camp, and with the other deities received the religious worship of the troops.
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> [35] See Gronovius de Pecunia vetere, 1.iii. p. 120, &c. The emperor Domitian raised the annual stipend of the legionaries, to twelve pieces of gold, which, in his time, was equivalent to about ten of our guineas. This pay, somewhat higher than our own, had been, and was afterwards, gradually increased, according to the progress of wealth and military government. After twenty years service, the veteran received three thousand denarii (about one hundred pounds sterling), or a proportionable allowance of land. The pay and advantage of the guards were, in general, about double those of the legions.[17]

Personal judgement is present in maintext & footnotes, animating the mild irony or shaded disapproval of "From such laudable arts" & "somewhat higher than our own", warnings the Royal Navy would have done well to heed, but rhetoric invites wry consideration, not bludgeoning for immediate approval.[18] Above all, the punctuational & grammatical purpose is absolute clarity in logical progression & accumulation of linked parallel texts : spaced stops & indices stand out as signposts, and all punctuation is part of the measuredness of the prose.

This kind of clarity can be seen germinating as early as the journalistic prose of Joseph Addison (1672–1719) & Richard Steele (1671–1729). What proved *much* harder to display satisfactorily was fictional dialogue. Among early novelists, Daniel Defoe (*c.*1660–1731) tended to avoid direct speech & Richardson adapted dramatic layouts, using *alinéa* & sometimes em-dashes, but before conventions settled there were some peculiar muddles. Inverted commas descend from the diple, a nota drawing attention to a portion of text, and were at first used similarly, set at beginning or end of each line of speech or quotation, but not indicating

[17] THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. BY EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ; VOLUME THE FIRST. THE THIRD EDITION. (LONDON : PRINTED FOR W. STRAHAN ; AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND. MDCCLXXVII.), pp. 12–13; & see Grafton, *The Footnote* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997), pp. 97–104.

[18] Cf. Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form* (Baltimore, MD, & London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), pp. 73–74, on the "Johnsonian essay of moral judgement" & the "familiar essay" that "tried to give the reader a sense of being included within the realm of discourse".

exact points of opening or closing[19] — usually well enough in non-fictional prose, but not when a novelist has multiple speakers. Here is a passage from the 1761 2/e of *Chrysal* (1760) by Charles Johnstone (*c.*1719–1800) :

> ‘ — ‘ My lord, I was thinking to apply to Mr. *Discount*, the scrivener, but he
> ‘ said the last time, that he would lend no more on that estate, without the
> ‘ immediate power of cutting the timber.’ — ‘ *Well*, *damn him*, *let him have*
> ‘ *it*, *tho’ it will not be fit to cut these ten years* ; *and*, *do you hear*, *get me a*
> ‘ *thousand to-day.’* — ‘ A thousand, my lord ! you said five hundred : I am
> ‘ afraid he will think a thousand too much !’[*] *Then he shall never have it* ;
> ‘ *let me do as I will* ; *do not I know that the timber is worth twice as much*
> ‘ *this moment*, *if I could wait to set it to sale ? I will not be imposed on by the*
> ‘ *rascal : I’ll go myself to my neighbour* Worthland *directly* ; *he is a man of*
> ‘ *honour*, *and will be above taking advantage*, *though I did oppose his*
> ‘ *election.’* —[20]

Johnstone (or his printer) *is* using inverted commas to dis/aggregate speeches, making those opening type-lines as needless as conventional. Dis/aggregating dashes also space speeches in alternating roman & italic, so four means of distinction are used, redundancies signalling a dissatisfaction not overcome & roman commas & semi-colons (but not colons or question-mark) amid italics suggesting stock was strained by such liberal use of the face. More clearly, but without *alinéa*, Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* (1791) used small-cap. speech-prefixes : ‘ DEMPSTER. “ Donaldson, Sir, is anxious for the encouragement of literature. He reduces the price of books, so that poor students may buy them.” JOHNSON, (laughing.) “ Well, Sir, allowing that to be his motive, he is no better than Robin Hood, who robbed the rich in order to give to the poor.” ’.[21]

The need for fictional dialogue to “steer between absolute accuracy of language — which would give to [a novelist’s] conversation an air of pedantry,

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[19] The diple remained in use indicating *sententiae* to at least 1619 (Lennard, *But I Digress* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1991), pp. 33–34), but marginal commas indicating speech are used in [Darlington], THE VIEVV OF Fraunce. (London: Symon Stafford, 1604; facs. London: Shakespeare Association, 1936), T1r.

[*] The missing dash & opening inverted comma coincide in the original with a l.-break, “much !’ [/] *Then*”.

[20] Johnstone, *Chrysal: Or, the Adventures of a Guinea* (2/e, 2 vols, London: for T. Becket, 1761), 1.72; with the inverted commas we maintain style though not exact lineation; for a pl. see Williams, *The Social Life of Books* (New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 2017), p. 218.

[21] Boswell, LIFE, 1.238. The punct. of the second speech-prefix + adj. suggests the illogic within the clarity.

and the slovenly inaccuracy of ordinary talkers — which if closely followed would offend by an appearance of grimace"[22], is clear & perennial, but it is hard to see why displaying direct speech was so problematic. Yet it was, for centuries, and even as conventions began to settle, combining *alinéa* & inverted commas, a novelist might profitably blur distinction, as Austen does in *Emma* (1816) :

> These were pleasant feelings, and [Emma] walked about and indulged them till it was necessary to do as the others did, and collect around the strawberry beds. — The whole party were assembled, excepting Frank Churchill, who was expected every moment from Richmond ; and Mrs. Elton, in all her apparatus of happiness, her large bonnet and her basket, was very ready to lead the way in gathering, accepting, or talking — strawberries, and only strawberries, could now be thought or spoken of. — " The best fruit in England — every body's favourite — always wholesome. — These the finest beds and finest sorts. — Delightful to gather for one's self — the only way of really enjoying them. — Morning decidedly the best time — never tired — every sort good — hautboy infinitely superior — no comparison — the others hardly eatable — hautboys very scarce — Chili preferred — white wood finest flavour of all — price of strawberries in London — abundance about Bristol — Maple Grove — cultivation — beds when to be renewed — gardeners thinking exactly different — no general rule — gardeners never to be put out of their way — delicious fruit — only too rich to be eaten much of — inferior to cherries — currants more refreshing — only objection to gathering strawberries the stooping — glaring sun — tired to death — could bear it no longer — must go and sit in the shade. "
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> Such, for half an hour, was the conversation — interrupted only once by Mrs. Weston, who came out, in her solicitude after her son-in-law, to inquire if he were come — and she was a little uneasy. — She had some fears of his horse.[23]

When not editorially airbrushed or silently ignored as improperly ungrammatical this extraordinary passage has occasioned interesting analysis, as by Toner :

> Mrs Elton's voice is undoubtedly singled out here: Bristol and Maple Grove pin particular utterances to her. But otherwise, the provenance of speech in this passage is profoundly uncertain. As has been noted by Kathryn Sutherland, there is a significant complexity to the passage in that Mrs Elton's eulogy may be filtered through Emma's mind: "What we appear to hear is

[22] Trollope, *An Autobiography* (1883; ed. Page, Oxford: OUP, 1950), p. 240; qtd Parkes, *Pause*, p. 93.
[23] EMMA : A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF "PRIDE AND PREJUDICE," *&. &C.* (*LONDON*: FOR JOHN MURRAY, 1816), 3.94–95; a pl. of these pp. is in Toner, *Jane*, p. 177.

> Mrs Elton's voice unmediated. But her speech is edited in such a way as at least to suggest that it comes to the reader only in snatches. As the surrounding paragraph shows, it also comes to our ears by way of Emma's, and it is by no means certain that what we overhear is not after all Emma's selective mimicry of Mrs Elton". More than this, I would propose that it is by no means certain that what we overhear, through Emma or freestanding, is Mrs Elton alone. Can the long passage between [inverted commas] be described as a 'monologue' at all?[24]

The continuity of dis/aggregating dashes between narration & dialogue does not help, and one wonders who supplies the full-stops & following capitals within the direct speech, at first giving its snatches an air of grammaticality that lapses as contradictory incoherence & Mrs Elton's need to sit down supervene. The irony is surely aimed at her, "in all her apparatus of happiness", but Toner is right it may be polyvocal ; and if here the point is largely amusement it also speaks to character, while such a blurring of direct speech, with problems of attribution, resonates with the wider role in Austen's fiction of gossip, rumour, & reputations. The passage is a prime example of free *direct* discourse, that "much neglected literary form, virtually unknown in comparison with its indirect relation", and Toner's razor-sharp analyses of Austen's development of it offer new clarity.[25] They are also testimonial, for such occasional unattributability could not be so artistically effective had there not been a general expectation that in novels direct speech would always be clearly displayed & attributed — as it is in Austen, except when it wonderfully isn't.

In poetry featuring speech problems of display are mitigated by lineation & stanza-form (and throughout the Eighteenth Century by closed couplets). In his authorised *Poems on Several Occasions* (1709) Matthew Prior (1664–1721) saw no need to clutter the page with new marks :

> Thus, in the Picture of our Mind,
> The Action may be well design'd ;

[24] Toner, *Jane*, pp. 176–77, qtg Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), p. 307. The alteration is from "quotation marks" & the opening from *Emma* is illus. p. 177.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Guided by Law, and bound by Duty ;
Yet want this *Je ne scay quoy* of Beauty :
And, tho' its Error may be such,
As *Knags* and *Burgess* cannot hit,
It yet may feel the nicer Touch
of *Wicherley*'s or *Congreve*'s Wit.

What is this talk ? replies a Friend :
And where will this dry Moral end ?
The Truth of what you here lay down
By some example should be shown : ——
With all my Heart,—for once,—read on.
An Honest, but a Simple Pair,
(And Twenty other I forbear)
May serve to make this *Thesis* clear.[26]

A stanza-break, with a speech-tag isolated between question-mark & colon + line-break, allows no ambiguity, and a mid-stanza return to narrative voice is managed with a two-em colash reinforced by the personal pronoun & commashed "for once", which must be the narrator. Some 70 years later, in the curious case of Thomas Chatterton's (1752–70) *Poems, Supposed to have been written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley and Others, in the Fifteenth Century* (1777), then-conventional marks are applied, as when King Edward speaks in 'Bristowe Tragedie' :

" Thou'rt ryght," quod hee, " for, by the Godde
" That syttes enthron'd on hyghe !
" CHARLES BAWDIN, and hys fellowes twaine,
" To-daie shall surelie die."

Thenne wythe a jugge of nappy ale
Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymm waite ;
" Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie
" Hee leaves thys mortall state."[27]

The Chaucerian editor & classicist Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730–86), who prepared the

[26] 'Paulo Purganti and His Wife', ll. 23–38, in *Poems on Several Occasions* (*LONDON*: for *Jacob Tonson*, within *Grays-Inn* Gate next *Grays-Inn* Lane. 1709; facs. Menston: Scolar P., 1973), pp. 117–18. The cross-rhyme of ll. 27–30 & triplets of ll. 33–38 are marked by an elongated crotchet & two braces.

[27] POEMS, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AT BRISTOL, BY THOMAS ROWLEY, AND OTHERS, IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY ; THE GREATEST PART NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC COPIES, WITH AN ENGRAVED SPECIMEN OF ONE OF THE MSS. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, A PREFACE, AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL PIECES, AND A GLOSSARY (LONDON: for T. PAYNE and SON, at the MEWS-GATE. M DCC LXXVII.; facs. Menston: Scolar P., 1969), pp. 44–45.

volume for the press, says "this poem is reprinted from the copy printed at London in 1772, with a few corrections from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing"[28], so there is no knowing by whom inverted commas were supplied, though if it was Chatterton one's opinion of his skill as a forger plummets further. Re-opening them after line-breaks anticipates the solution in prose when direct speech is paragraphed, and consistent spacing suggests a conscientious compositor & house-style, but as speech-boundaries coincide with line-breaks there is a degree of overkill, as with small-cap. names.

The same system can be seen in the heroic couplets of 'Tirocinium' by William Cowper (1731–1800), published with *The Task* (1785), a poem Austen quoted in *Emma* & *Mansfield Park*[29] — ' " Ah blind to bright futurity, untaught [/] " The knowledge of the world, and dull of thought ! [/] " Church-ladders are not always mounted best [/] " By learned Clerks and Latinists profess'd. '[30] — & in 'Christabel' (1816) by S. T. Coleridge (1772–1834), where willingness & ability to disengage speech-units from lines can produce a sudden modernity :

> With new surprise,
> " What ails then my beloved child ?"
> The Baron said—His daughter mild
> Made answer, " All will yet be well !"
> I ween, she had no power to tell
> Aught else : so mighty was the spell.[31]

The only punctuational surprise here is the dis/aggregating dash + capitalised "His" despite the absence of a full-stop, but the every-line system remained in poetic use until at least the 1840s, opening inverted commas often spaced, as here.

From the 1650s apostrophes (in various use from 1496) indicating genitive 's'

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
[29] Brooke, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 127–28.
[30] Cowper, THE TASK, A POEM IN SIX BOOKS. BY WILLIAM COWPER, OF THE INNER TEMPLE, ESQ. To which are added, BY THE SAME AUTHOR, An EPISTLE to JOSEPH HILL, Esq. TIROCINIUM, or a REVIEW of SCHOOLS, and the HISTORY of JOHN GILPIN. (LONDON: FOR J. JOHNSON, N^{O} 72, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD, 1785; facs. Menston: Scolar P., 1973), p. 313.
[31] CHRISTABEL : KUBLA KHAN, A VISION ; THE PAINS OF SLEEP. BY S. T. COLERIDGE, ESQ. (LONDON : PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET, BY WILLIAM BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S. 1816; facs. intro. J. Wordsworth, Oxford & NYC: Woodstock Bks, 1991), pp. 35–36.

became normative[32] ; and from *c.*1710 exclamation-marks were more firmly distinguished from question-marks & popular, as witness the poetry of Alexander Pope (1688–1744), after whom their use is common.[33] Following David Foxon (1923–2001), Wendorf identified a general Mid-Century shift :

> Books published in London in 1740 were usually printed in what I call the old style. With their employment of heavy [medial] capitalization, italics, caps and small caps, they are still essentially early modern books, their typographical appearance predicated on an elaborate (if inconsistent) protocol of hierarchical differentiation. Books published in London in 1770, on the other hand, were likely to have been printed in a newer style, with a much more restricted use of italics and small caps, and with only the occasional [medial] capitalisation of words that are not proper nouns.[34]

Wendorf explains this in terms of other sociocultural & intellectual changes, and has things to say about its long invisibility to editors & critics ; it is also a sign of sentences having ousted periods & rising printerly confidence in buyers' literacy. Catchwords also went, first abandoned by the Foulis Press in Glasgow in 1747[35] : readers no longer needed them & impositors saved time. Dashes proliferated, alone & from *c.*1750 increasingly in combinate-marks, inviting interpretation, and could be as all-purpose as they wittily are in *Tristram Shandy* ; grammarians mostly disapproved to little avail. Conversely, strong Royal Societarian disapproval of parentheses as muddlingly non-linear made lunulae rarer & gave them a satirical edge, exploited by Pope, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), & others in displaying seemingly throw-away asides that skewer[36], until the fugitive & simultaneous were intensively rehabilitated by Gothic novelists & Romantic

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[32] It was invented by Aldus; Parkes, *Pause*, p. 138n.75, dates it to 1501 but Castellani, 'Sulla formazione del sistema paragrafematico moderno', p. 4, *Studi linguistici italiani* 21 (1995), pp. 3–74, pushes it back to 1496; see also Calle-Martin & Pacheco-Franco, ' 'The night before beg'd ye queen's pardon and his brother's': the apostrophe in the history of English', *English Language and Linguistics* 28.1 (2024), pp. 1–20.

[33] See the essay by Baines in Vol. 2.

[34] Wendorf, *Printing History and Cultural Change* (Oxford: OUP, 2022), pp. 3–4; see Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade* (rev. & ed. McLaverty, Oxford: Clarendon P., 1991), & cf. Jung, *James Thomson's* The Seasons*, Print Culture, and Visual Interpretation, 1730–1842* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh UP, 2015).

[35] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (1955; 4/e, rev. Trevitt, London: BL/New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll P., 1996), p. 67. Mosley, 'The technologies of printing', p. 184, *CHBB* 5.163–99, adds less use of ornament from 1770.

[36] Lennard, *But*, chs 3–5, pp. 84–165, & see the essays by McLaverty & Wall in Vol. 2.

poets, use of lunulae again becoming general.

For Coleridge lunulae seem to have been associated with *ocular spectra*, sudden, vivid visions in his mind's eye, and in the 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner' (1798), for example, cluster around the appearance of the spectre-bark, while for Lord Byron (1788–1824) they became an essential means of enabling & policing the multiple personae deployed in *Don Juan* (1819–24), and a deft aid in wilfully dazzling *ottava rima* stanzas, including two of the oddest ever concocted :

> But here is one prescription out of many :
> " Sodæ-Sulphat. 3. vi. 3. s. Mannæ optim.
> " Aq. fervent. F. 3. iss. 3 ij. tinct. Sennæ
> " Haustus." (And here the surgeon came and cupped him)
> " *R.* Pulv. Com. gr. iii Ipecacuanhæ"
> (With more beside if Juan had not stopped 'em.)
> " Bolus Potassæ Sulphuret. sumendus,
> " Et Haustus ter in die capiendus."[37]

Those wishing to construe prescription/s or scansion are referred to the note in the Variorum edition (reprinted *ad loc.* in the Penguin *Don Juan*). What matters is that Byron was being sharply satirical about contemporary medicine :

> The surgeon is represented as successively dosing, bleeding, and purging Juan, and Juan is represented as eventually refusing further treatment, and being obliged to interrupt a torrent of medicalese in order to do so. Linguistically and prosodically, the lunulae bring the reader relief from the unreadable professional notation, and there is an implicit and effective contrast between the relief the medicines are supposed to provide and the difficulty the stanza has in swallowing them.[38]

The confidence with which Byron (& his printers) handle interweaving voices without resort to italics, even for Latin, is striking, and frees the face to indicate in its only appearance a command, *"R.*", for Latin *Recipiō*, 'Take'. Although there is nothing new or unfamiliar in the punctuation, the whole is unprecedented and it is hard to imagine any earlier poet managing such a thing, though Byron's

[37] *Don Juan. Cantos IX.—X.—and XI.* (London: for John Hunt, 1823), p. 73; the first 's' in "iss" is a long-s; & see *Don Juan* (ed. Steffan *et al.*,1973; rev. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2004), p. 687, or Lennard, *But*, pp. 288–89n.86.
[38] Lennard, *But*, p. 163.

tutor in the parenthetical was probably Swift.

The second odd stanza also involves purgation, but is more genially mimetic :

" Sooner shall earth resolve itself to sea,
" Than I resign thine image, Oh ! my fair !
" Or think of anything excepting thee ;
" A mind diseased no remedy can physic—
(Here the ship gave a lurch, and he grew sea-sick.)

XX

" Sooner shall heaven kiss earth—(here he fell sicker)
" Oh, Julia ! what is every other woe ?—
" (For God's sake let me have a glass of liquor—
" Pedro ! Battista ! help me down below.)
" Julia, my love !—(you rascal, Pedro, quicker)—
" Oh Julia !—(this curst vessel pitches so)—
" Beloved Julia, hear me still beseeching !"
(Here he grew inarticulate with retching.)[39]

As with Christopher Marlowe's (1564–93) exceptionally deft exploitation of lunulae & italics to indicate unintended speech in *Hero and Leander* (1598, quoted in our Early-Modern introduction), what surprises is not just that Byron did it but that he did it with such ease & clarity :

> The humour is delightfully wicked; and once one begins to point out the constituent details—such as that sea-sickness does strike when the heaven seems to kiss the earth, and that the punctuation is cut across the rhyme-scheme to enhance the illusion of sea-motion—there is no end on it. Byron begins by using the lunulae to interrupt Juan's callowly extravagant rhetoric, conflating his sardonic commentating voice, which is usually parenthetical, with the business of narrative, which usually is not; proceeds by transferring the division of voices established by the lunulae to within Juan's speech, so that both the pathos and the bathos are aspects of the single voice; and concludes by reverting to the status quo ante. In doing so he reveals an aspect of Juan's immaturity while granting him what is, by the final couplet, a genuine pathos; and maintains a most engaging humour while working through, in considerable detail, a sequence of attitudes that need not have proved in the least engaging. For all the degrees of exaggeration which Byron captures, and the exuberance which his own text manifests, it is a breathtakingly successful act of mimesis, in which the new typographical

[39] *Don Juan.* (London: Thomas Davison, 1819), pp. 128–29.

> flexibility of inverted commas and lunulae is intelligently exploited to obtain the effects that Byron desired.[40]

Byron was constrained by metre, lineation, & rhyme, but his punctuational practice (in a seminal verse-novel) points towards the realism of much later Nineteenth-Century fiction, combinate-marks anticipating their proliferation.

In drama, after Jeremy Collier's (1650–1726) scathing *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (1698) censorship & public disapproval of theatrical rowdiness & licentiousness rose, after 1737 innovation moved into illegitimate drama, & legitimate drama by playwrights like Steele, Hugh Kelly (1739–77), & Richard Cumberland (1732–1811) that *was* printed was properly bland. Only Oliver Goldsmith (1728–84) & R. B. Sheridan (1751–1816) stand out, "the great mass of late eighteenth century plays mak[ing] today but dull reading"[41], though Romanticism produced *The Mysterious Mother* (1768) by Horace Walpole (1717–97) & *The Cenci* (1819) by Percy Shelley (1792–1822), with fine work by Joanna Baillie (1762–1851). But drama gained from typographical clarity, and Peters shows improved pages & more consistent publication of successful work securing its standing as art.[42] Though adaptations were often preferred in performance, repunctuation of printed Shakespeare reflected new conventions, Pope adding many exclamation-marks & with later editors chopping periods into sentences[43]; some probably reflected acting, particularly that of David Garrick (1717–79), famed for both natural delivery & dramatic 'starts', moments of abrupt perception & displayed reaction that in print would invite exclamation-marks. McKenzie, Bourne, Harriman-Smith, & Watkins have also shown punctuation used intensively in playbooks, marks sometimes re-purposed

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[40] Lennard, *But*, p. 164. The numerous piracies of *Don Juan* (St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Age of Romanticism* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 683–91) make it uncertain how faithfully such punct. was transmitted.
[41] Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900, Vol. III* (1927; 2/e, Cambridge: CUP, 1952), p. 1, & see Loftis *et al.*, *The Revels History of Drama in English, Volume V 1660–1750* (London: Methuen, 1976).
[42] Peters, *Theatre of the Book 1480–1880* (Oxford: OUP, 2000); cf. Suarez, 'Publishing contemporary English literature, 1695–1774', pp. 649–54, *CHBB* 5.649–66.
[43] To add exclamation-marks "is not editing the text for sense but adding the editor's opinion about how the line should be spoken": Tucker, *Secrets of Acting Shakespeare* (2001; 2/e, London & NYC: Routledge, 2017), p. 16.

to cue & record delivery, including pause & gesture, reflecting dramaturgical anxiety about theatrically adequate notation that culminated in the strikingly idiosyncratic editing of Edward Capell (1713–81).[44] If Edward Harwood (1729–94) thought that with the classics "A correct text, and judicious punctuation indeed, are instead of ten thousand notes.", with Shakespeare notes prevailed.[45]

The century as a whole saw the ferocious development of reviewing[46], and near its end there was a visually significant change — disuse of long-s. R. B. McKerrow (1872–1940) named John Bell (1745–1831) its seminal abandoner in 1791 : "In London printing the reform was adopted very rapidly and, save in work of an intentionally antiquarian character, we do not find much use of ſ in the better kind of printing after 1800". Wendorf pushed the date back to Bell's Shakespeare in 1785, and it seems personal enthusiasm for the French example of François-Ambroise Didot (1730–1804) drove his decision, despite obsolescence wished on much type (not only long-s but its ligatures)[47] ; that the innovation spread so fast suggests printers' impatience with a distinction merely positional yet time-consuming & crowding type-cases, but whatever the reasons the result (on top of the shift of 1740–70) was a further appearance of freshness & modernity.

In MSS the major change was the spread from *c.*1660 of English roundhand ; wider use of metal nibs decreased blotting but quills remained normative. In MS idiosyncrasy is common but by 1700 norms were broadly in harmony with print, and MS punctuation we have collectively seen (only a sample of MSS surviving in rising numbers) reflects print innovations, with declining periodic construction

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[44] McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning' (1981), repr. *Making Meaning* (ed. McDonald & Suarez, Amherst & Boston, MA: U. of Massachusetts P., 2002), pp. 198–236; Bourne, *Typographies of Performance in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2020); Harriman-Smith, *Criticism, Performance, and the Passions in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 2021); Watkins's essay in Vol. 2; Luckhurst, *Dramaturgy* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005). See also Walsh, 'Scholarly editing', pp. 693–98, *CHBB* 5.684–98, de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1991), Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1992), & Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

[45] Harwood, A VIEW OF THE VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS (LONDON: FOR T. BECKET, CORNER OF THE ADELPHI, IN THE STRAND. MDCCLXXV.), pp. v–vi.

[46] See Forster, 'Book reviewing', *CHBB* 5.631–48.

[47] McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (1927; London: OUP, 1951), p.309; Wendorf, *Printing*, p. 4; Mosley, 'technologies', p. 187; Morison, *John Bell* (for the author, Cambridge: CUP, 1930).

& increasing exclamation-marks, inverted commas, *alinéa*, & dashes. Exceptions include formal documents with distinct traditions of calligraphy, layout, & decoration, and letters, where, before the advent in the 1840s of the Uniform Penny Post & machined envelopes, need to compress information onto one sheet, fold, seal, & add a direction made for layouts alien to print. Oddest is the 'crossed letter', spaced lines in one direction continued at right-angles, crossing the earlier portion. It is awkward to read, risks illegibility, & purely economic. Punctuation is unaffected, though any paragraphing will be marked, not spatial, & crossing lines may be in red[48], and once a flat-rate post & cheap envelopes were available style swiftly shifted towards print norms.

1820–1914 : "Next came the machines."

Like free direct discourse, the place of machinery in literature is much neglected. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography* (1927) omits mechanisation save 1½ pages on "*Stereotyping and Electrotyping*", so there was no standard text until Philip Gaskell's (1926–2001) *New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972).[49] Much work has been done in scholarly editions, most from UPs, & by bibliographical societies, but results are scattered (though data is gathered in the *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* vol. 6 (2009), on 1830–1914) & wider monographic views, notably Sutherland's *Victorian Novelists and Publishers* (1976) & *Victorian Fiction* (1995), Dooley's *Author and Printer in Victorian England* (1992), Erickson's *The Economy of Literary Form* (1996), Weedon's *Victorian Publishing* (2003), & Tanselle's *Book-Jackets* (2011), are uncommon.

In one way this is understandable, for while book-production was wholly mechanised by 1900, from paper-making to binding, basics were unchanged until the Twentieth-Century rise of offset-printing. In another it is persisting pretence

[48] Austen told her sister in Nov. 1813 of a "nice long Black & red letter": *Jane Austen's Letters* (1932; 3/e, ed. Le Faye, Oxford: OUP, 1995), p. 253. On post see Suarez, 'Introduction', pp. 15–18, *CHBB* 5.1–35.
Subtitle: Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972, rev. Oxford: Clarendon P., 1972), p. 189.
[49] McKerrow, *Introduction*, pp. 71–72.

about literature as art above & unconnected to trade, which it isn't, and if books from a hand- & machine-press are physically similar, their economics are not.[50] We cannot rehearse all technical developments, but what matters is their collective & cumulative effects on productivity & prices :

> By about 1813 a typical [Fourdrinier] machine would turn out as much paper as eight hand vats, and productivity per employee in a machine mill was already about two-and-a-half times that in a hand mill. An early development (at Aberdeen in 1811, for instance) was to organize shift working and run the machine night and day, for a good machine could average 23 hours' production in the 24 for weeks on end.
>
> In 1800 all paper was made, rather expensively, by hand; in 1900 more than 99 per cent of it was machine-made; during the same period output increased about a hundred-fold, while prices went down by factors of about ten.
>
> In 1838 pica text types were selling in London at about 1*s.* 11*d.* per pound and long primer at about 2*s.* 4*d.* (the precise cost varying with the size of the fount and with discounts allowed for prompt payment, etc.); by 1868 these prices had come down to 1*s.* 0*d.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* respectively.
>
> Technical difficulties persisted [with rotary-presses] for a few years longer, and it was the web rotaries of the 1860s, which achieved outputs of the order of 10,000 complete eight-page newspapers per hour, that first realized the potential of the machine.[51]

Two good hand-press workers could print 250 sheets, one-sided, in an hour ; one web-rotary-press of the 1860s did the work of 640 people + 320 handpresses, and that was only the start.[52] From the 1840s there was far more stereotyping, making a mould from set type & casting a page or forme as a plate for present & future use. The technique was old but plaster-moulds had to be broken to remove the plate, which needed finicky cleaning ; that changed with the invention in 1829 of flong, a layered paper to make moulds that was less sensitive to detail but cheaper, quicker, & enabled circular stereotype plates for rotaries printing on webs

[50] See Shell, *The Economy of Literature* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978) & *Money, Language, and Thought* (Berkeley, CA: U. of California P., 1982); Erickson, *Economy*; & St Clair, *Reading Nation*.
[51] Gaskell, *New*, pp. 220, 228, 208, 263; & see Banham, 'The Industrialization of the Book 1800–1970', in Eliot & Rose, eds, *A Companion to the History of the Book* (2007; 2/e, 2 vols, Chichester: Wiley, 2020), 1.453–69.
[52] Eliot, *Some Patterns and Trends in British Publishing 1800–1919* (London: Bibliographical Soc., 1994), p. 107, distinguishes a 'distribution revolution', 1830–55, & a 'mass-production revolution', 1875–1914.

Fourdrinier machines produced. There were also from 1798 lithography & from the 1840s photographic processes that improved illustration, bypassing engraving & from 1818 beginning to restore colour to the printed page.[53]

Cheaper paper & type changed practices, which could & did affect authors :

> A mechanized foundry could produce five times as much type per day as the old hand-casting methods, and prices fell accordingly. Even the large and wealthy printing houses gained from the improvements, for ample supplies of type in any face were now assured. Neither compositors nor pressmen would run out of work for the lack of types to set and print. No longer would one publication be delayed because another had tied up the necessary types, as had happened [in 1858–59] with [George Eliot's] *Adam Bede* when Bulwer-Lytton's *What Will He Do with It?* kept a ton and a half of type standing idle. Given enough type, copy, machines, and workmen, the Victorian printer could now compose and print books as fast as proofs were returned.[54]

Cheaper paper in webs made for far wider use of galley-proofs as well as page-proofs, enabling authors more effectively to revise, correct, & take issue with house-styles, while putting them under greater time-pressure (even if work was not serialised). Sociality of authorship in print remained, but authors could seek to regain some control, if they wished. Conversely, stereotyping prevented any extensive alteration once plates were cast, and some from the 1840s were still in use in 1914, a billed 'new edition' being often a re-issue.[55] Cramping in cheaper editions with large print-runs & many combinate-marks was the apogee of a long process transferring disambiguation of meaning from spaces to marks[56] : a high-status Late-Medieval MS with much spatial articulation used no more than five marks, but a cheaply printed page of the 1890s, without spatial articulation beyond margins, thin leading, & paragraphing, might use as many as 19. And while there is no simple linear relation, it is plain that whereas the MS would be

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[53] Gaskell, *New*, pp. 267–72; Kurlansky, *Paper* (NYC & London: Norton, 2016), pp. 235–44; Twyman, 'The illustration revolution', *CHBB* 6.117–43, & *Breaking the Mould* (London: BL, 2001).
[54] Dooley, *Author*, p. 21.
[55] St Clair, 'Following up *The reading nation*', pp. 719–20, *CHBB* 6.704–35.
[56] Saenger, *Space Between Words* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1997), p. 52. Use of em-/en-spaces after marks prob. relates to cramping; see Eliot, 'From Few and Expensive to Many and Cheap', in Eliot & Rose, eds, *Companion*, 2.471–84. Cheap eds are usu. ignored but see Barchas, *The Lost Books of Jane Austen* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2019).

a unique copy (if perhaps part of a small set), the 1890s text would be one of (tens of) thousands of closely identical copies of its edition, relations of cost & productivity tangling with those of marks & space.

Intertwined with explosively rising productivity & falling costs, growth of periodicals & newspapers, in titles & circulations, gave authors a new market, boosted the essay, & generated shorter fiction.[57] "A penny would buy a 250-word broadside in the 1840s, a 7,000-word serial by the 1860s, and a 20,000-word novelette by the 1880s."[58] The punctuation of short fiction is distinct only at levels 7–8, sectioning & codex-status, but surging markets helped settle conventions into a combination that was from the 1850s–60s stable & normative, largely surviving today.[59] The available column-inches demanded minimal use of space, maximal use of marks : early stories by Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), the first major author to enter the canon primarily for short fiction, were written in the 1880s to word-limits of 2,000, then 5,000, for the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) & *The Pioneer* (Allahabad)[60] ; and "the average Victorian chapter was around thirty-five hundred words, roughly twice the eighteenth-century norm", reflecting *inter alia* a need for consistent & satisfying instalments.[61]

Bibliographically, even if no MS of a work survives, proofs or revises may.

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[57] Weiss, 'Chapter division and chapter heading in the nineteenth-century *Novelle*', *Neophilologus* 55 (1971), pp. 290–97; Hanson, *Short Stories and Short Fictions, 1880–1980* (NYC: St Martin's P./London: Macmillan, 1985); Bates, *The Modern Short Story from 1809 to 1953* (London: Hale, 1988); Erickson, *Economy*, pp. 71–103.

[58] Colclough & Vincent, 'Reading', p. 299, *CHBB* 6.282–323.

[59] Nelson & Seccombe, 'The creation of the periodical press 1620–1695', 'Serial Publication and the Trade', Law & Patten, 'The serial revolution', *CHBB* 4.533–50, 5.413–512, 6.144–71; James, ed., *Print and the People 1819–1851* (1976; Harmondsworth: Peregrine, 1978); Delafield, *Serialization and the Novel in Mid-Victorian Magazines* (Farnham & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015); King & Plunkett, eds, *Victorian Print Media* (Oxford: OUP, 2005); cf. Melville, 'The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* X.LIX (Apr. 1855), pp. 670–78.

[60] Keating, *The Haunted Study* (London: Secker, 1989), p. 43; *Kipling's India* (ed. Pinney, London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 1–25, Cornell, *Kipling in India* (London: Macmillan/NYC: St Martin's P., 1966), pp. 90–165; more gen., Vann & VanArsdel, eds, *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire* (Toronto, ON, & Buffalo, NY: U. of Toronto P./London: Mansell, 1996).

[61] Dames, 'The Chapter'; *The Chapter*, pp. 217–23, adjusts the fig. to 3,600, shows that 1832–1900 there is little difference between ch.-lengths in serial & codex pub., & qualifies ideas of serial influence, but does not consider priority of serial pub. or that in so far as it advertises codices buyers would not want change. Serial instalments of *c.*12–15,000 words comprised 3–4 chs. See also Shillingsburg, 'Book Publishing and the Victorian Literary Marketplace', p. 33, in Baker & Womack, eds, *A Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Westport, CT: Greenwood P., 2002), pp. 29–38, & on serialisation subverting aesthetics Erickson, *Economy*, pp. 162–64.

Reprinting grew sharply after perpetual copyright ended in 1774[62] & falling costs made for more reissues & editions, with parallel UK–US publication in magazine- & book-forms, allowing revision, so the possibility of demonstrating authorial concern with punctuation steadily increases — though it is not always a good thing. The tinkering to which William Wordsworth (1770–1850) subjected *The Prelude* between 1805 & 1850 made its punctuation more conventional, while inveterate reviser Robert Browning (1812–89) eliminated in his collected works of 1888–89 many unusual punctuations.[63] But for good or ill available evidence rises, as essays here show.

❧

Punctuation *per se* saw no convulsive mechanisation, though spatially squeezed, but there is much of interest, particularly with the voice, explicitly in dialogue, implicitly elsewhere — about which most grammarians were *not* thinking :

> In concluding this Letter let me caution you against the use of what, by some, is called the *dash*. The dash is a stroke along the line : thus, " I am rich—I was poor—I shall be poor again." This is wild work indeed ! Who is to know what is intended by the use of these *dashes ?* Those who have thought proper, like Mr. Lindley Murray, to place *the dash* among the *grammatical points*, ought to give us some rule relative to its different longitudinal dimensions in different cases. The *inch*, the *three-quarter-inch*, the *half-inch*, the *quarter-inch :* these would be something determinate ; but " *the dash*," without measure, must be a most perilous thing for a young grammarian to handle. In short, " *the dash*," is a cover for ignorance as to the use of points, and it can answer no other purpose. A dash is very often put, in crowded print, in order to save the room that would be lost by the breaks of distinct paragraphs. This is another matter. Here the dash comes *after a full point*. It is the using of it in the body of a sentence against which I caution you.[64]

So William Cobbett (1763–1835) in 1818, perhaps irritated by an encounter with *Tristram Shandy* (as grammarians often are) but clearly ignorant of what Austen

[62] Bonnell, 'The reprint trade', *CHBB* 5.699–709.
[63] Lennard, *The Poetry Handbook* (1996; 2/e, Oxford: OUP, 2005), pp. 156–58, & see *The Prelude 1798, 1805, 1850* (ed. J. Wordsworth *et al.*, NYC & London: Norton, 1979); Lennard, *But*, pp. 165–67.
[64] *A Grammar of the English Language* (1818; 3/e, London: Thomas Dolby, 1819), pp. 85–86.

had lately done in *Emma* & blind to what Byron & others would continue to do.

Charles Dickens (1812–70) from the first gave characters memorable, quasi-cratylic names & individual voices featuring contractions, lisps, accents, & pure idiosyncrasy. In *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1836–37) Dingley Dell & All-Muggleton face off at cricket, a stranger (Mr Jingle) looking on :

> The stranger, meanwhile, had been eating, drinking, and talking, without cessation. At every good stroke he expressed his satisfaction and approval of the player in a most condescending and patronising manner, which could not fail to have been highly gratifying to the party concerned ; while at every bad attempt at a catch, and every failure to stop the ball, he launched his personal displeasure at the head of the devoted individual in such denunciations as—" Ah, ah !—stupid "—" Now butter-fingers "—" Muff " —" Humbug " — and so forth — ejaculations which seemed to establish him in the opinion of all around, as a most excellent and undeniable judge of the whole art and mystery of the noble game of cricket.
>
> " Capital game—well played—some strokes admirable," said the stranger as both sides crowded into the tent, at the conclusion of the game.
>
> " You have played it Sir ? " inquired Mr. Wardle, who had been much amused by his loquacity.
>
> " Played it ! Think I have—thousands of times—not here—West Indies—exciting thing—hot work—very."
>
> " It must be rather a warm pursuit in such a climate," observed Mr. Pickwick.
>
> " Warm !—red hot—scorching—glowing. Played a match once—single wicket—friend the Colonel—Sir Thomas Blazo—who should get the greatest number of runs.—Won the toss—first innings—seven o'clock, A.M.—six natives to look out—went in ; kept in—heat intense—natives all fainted—taken away—fresh half-dozen ordered—fainted also—Blazo bowling—supported by two natives—couldn't bowl me out—fainted too—cleared away the Colonel—wouldn't give in—faithful attendant—Quanko Samba—last man left—sun so hot, bat in blisters, ball scorched brown—five hundred and seventy runs—rather exhausted—Quanko mustered up last remaining strength—bowled me out—had a bath, and went to dinner "
>
> " And what became of what's-his-name, Sir ? " inquired an old gentleman.
>
> " Blazo ? "
>
> " No—the other gentleman."
>
> " Quanko Samba ? "
>
> " Yes Sir."
>
> " Poor Quanko—never recovered it—bowled on, on my account—bowled off, on his own—died Sir." Here the stranger buried his countenance in a

> brown jug, but whether to hide his emotions or imbibe its contents, we cannot distinctly affirm.[65]

This is hardly realistic but it is clear, memorable, & funny, and there are subtleties in the comedy of Mr Jingle's grammar & tale. In the first paragraph there is only one dash amid his words ("ah !—stupid") but dashes separating exempla prepare readers for the onslaught to follow. Nor is grammaticality wholly beyond him (' " Played it ! Think I have ', "number of runs.—Won the toss", & most surprisingly "—went in ; kept in—"), though as in Austen's *tour-de-force* in *Emma* (which we suspect Dickens had read) the flavour of grammaticality gives way as self-dramatisation ratchets up & absurdity supervenes in blistered bat, scorched ball, & ridiculous number of runs (the highest individual score then recorded was 278[66]). Yet in the final paragraph, despite continuing humour, two syntactically parallel & co-ordinate fragments, ' —bowled on, on my account—bowled off, on his own—died Sir." ', with the tersely respectful third & business of the brown jug, add pathos & demonstrate a flexibility in the style one would not have predicted. *These* dashes are no "cover for ignorance as to the use of points" & Dickens finds for them any number of 'other purposes'.

The passage shows that use of inverted commas (here always spaced opening, sometimes closing) + *alinéa* & speech-tags had settled. *The Professor*, Charlotte Bronte's (1816–55) first novel, was unpublished until 1857 but her holograph MS of 1846 uses present conventions exactly[67], as did almost all later novelists until James Joyce (1882–1941) ; or publishers did it for them. But voice in Nineteenth-Century literature is more than dialogue : Eric Griffiths (1953–2018) explored how Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–92), Browning, & G. M. Hopkins (1844–89) "responded creatively to the ambiguities involved in writing down their own

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[65] THE Posthumous Papers of THE PICKWICK CLUB (LONDON: CHAPMAN & HALL, 1837), pp. 69–70 (ch. VII). There is no full-stop after "dinner". See also Law & Patten, 'serial', pp. 149–50.

[66] By William Ward, for MCC at Lord's, in July 1820, though while *Pickwick* was appearing Dickens may have heard of a new record, 279 by Alfred Adams, for & at Saffron Walden, in July 1837.

[67] Parkes, *Pause*, p. 94 &n.155; NYC, Pierpont Morgan Lib., MS MA 32. US influence may play in, as US & UK developments seem to match; see Page, *Speech in the English Novel* (1973; 2/e, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988), & Busse, *Speech, Writing, and Thought Presentation in 19th-Century Narrative Fiction* (NYC: OUP, 2020).

voices, the melodies of their speech"[68], while for Tennyson sometimes & Browning often there was also writing down other people's voices in dramatic monologues, spoken to silent interlocutors by someone definitely not the poet.[69]

Browning's choices of speaker were pointedly demanding, men of pride, sin, & delusion. In 'My Last Duchess' (1842) a nameless Duke of Ferrara echoing Alfonso II d'Este (1533–97), long-suspected of murdering first wife Lucrezia di Cosimo de' Medici (1545–61), stands before a portrait with a marriage-broker :

> Sir, 'twas not
> Her husband's presence only, called that spot
> Of joy into the Duchess' cheek : perhaps
> Frà Pandolf chanced to say " Her mantle laps
> " Over my lady's wrist too much," or " Paint
> " Must never hope to reproduce the faint
> " Half-flush that dies along her throat ; " such stuff
> Was courtesy, she thought, and cause enough
> For calling up that spot of joy. She had
> A heart . . . how shall I say ? . . . too soon made glad,
> Too easily impressed ; she liked whate'er
> She looked on, and her looks went everywhere.
> Sir, 'twas all one ! My favour at her breast,
> The drooping of the daylight in the West,
> The bough of cherries some officious fool
> Broke off in the orchard for her, the white mule
> She rode with round the terrace—all and each
> Would draw from her alike the approving speech,
> Or blush, at least. She thanked men,—good ; but thanked
> Somehow . . . I know not how . . . as if she ranked
> My gift of a nine hundred years old name
> With anybody's gift. Who'd stoop to blame
> This sort of trifling? Even had you skill
> In speech—(which I have not)—to make your will
> Quite clear to such an one, and say " Just this
> " Or that in you disgusts me ; here you miss,
> " Or there exceed the mark "—and if she let

[68] Griffiths, *The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon P. 1989), dust-jacket front-flap; & see Stewart, *Novel Violence* (Chicago, IL, & London: U. of Chicago P., 2009).

[69] Sessions, 'The Dramatic Monologue', *PMLA* 62 (1947), pp. 503–16; some deny that all her criteria (speaker not the poet, implicit auditor/s, occasion, revelation of character, interplay between speaker & auditor/s, dramatic action, present occurrence) must apply, but collapse back into the lyric 'I' then threatens.

> Herself be lessoned so, nor plainly set
> Her wits to yours, forsooth, and made excuse,
> —E'en then would be some stooping, and I chuse
> Never to stoop. Oh, Sir, she smiled, no doubt,
> Whene'er I passed her ; but who passed without
> Much the same smile? This grew ; I gave commands ;
> Then all smiles stopped together. There she stands
> As if alive. Will't please you rise?[70]

Poetry is less subject to cramping than prose, and spaces matter as much as marks. Paired en-spaced ellipses strikingly point studied rhetoric in "how shall I say ?" (its question-mark spaced, unlike the later two, where the Duke pretends nothing) & "I know not how", a mock-bafflement of overweening pride ; while em-spaces after full-stops[71] & the unusual en-space after "This grew ;", backed by an em-space after "commands ;" displayed by indenting the next line, both serve clarity & create blanks in which the marriage-broker's wary silence is heard. Spaced every-line inverted commas limn ducal contempt for quoted phrases, almost as scare-quote tongs, but unspaced dashes disallow much if any pause, and in combinate-marks pose interesting questions of timing & tone-contour. What sort of pauses are/not called for in "She thanked men,—good ; but thanked" ? Or is gesture wanted ? And however one voices "—(which I have not)—" tone & timing matter. Readers might disagree about how to interpret the cues but cannot doubt cues are there, marks & spaces as surely elocutionary as sharply syntactical. The semi-colon in ' throat ; " ' should follow the inverted commas, but rich, varied, & exact punctuation works with the beat of couplets that beneath enjambed syntax register the Duke's utter control — & Browning's, determining flows of twisting thought, its sudden stabs ("Sir, 'twas all one !", "Who'd stoop to blame [/] This sort of trifling?", "There she stands [/] As if alive.") glittering with the amoral egotism of such a ducal motive for commanding murder.

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[70] Browning, *Men and Women and other Poems* (ed. Harper, London: Dent, 1975), pp. 207–08. This ed. retains 1/e punct.. On sources see Friedland, 'Ferrara and *My Last Duchess*', *Studies in Philology* XXXIII (1936), pp. 656–84. Browning was often finely pr., even when type-size was reduced for long works; see e.g. *Dramatis Personæ* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1864) & *The Ring and the Book* (London: Smith, Elder, 1898)

[71] A common Nineteenth-Century practice, as in qtns from Cobbett & Dickens, above, & Melville, below.

In ‘The Bishop Orders His Tomb at St. Praxed’s Church’ (1845) control is exactly what a man dying in “[ROME, 15—]” lacks :

> VANITY, saith the preacher, vanity !
> Draw round my bed : is Anselm keeping back ?
> Nephews—sons mine . . . ah God, I know not ! Well—
> She, men would have to be your mother once,
> Old Gandolf envied me, so fair she was ![72]

Browning steers between a slip-sliding mind & potencies of revelation. Is it worse if a supposedly celibate Bishop *knows* he has sons or genuinely doubts their paternity ? And what does it say of him that on his deathbed he yet dabbles with the social camouflage of “Nephews” to their faces even as he relishes erotic memories ? The last ‘sentence’ quoted defies grammar & wrenches syntax yet allows readers to follow thoughts, an en-spaced ellipsis making a gutturally pregnant pause while spacing lends exclamation- & question-marks greater force.

Browning knew, like T. S. Eliot, that punctuation “includes the *absence* of punctuation marks, when they are omitted where the reader would expect them”.[73] Another nameless gynecide speaks in ‘Porphyria’s Lover’ (1842) :

> Be sure I looked up at her eyes
> Proud, very proud ; at last I knew
> Porphyria worshipped me ; surprise
> Made my heart swell, and still it grew
> While I debated what to do.
> That moment she was mine, mine, fair,
> Perfectly pure and good : I found
> A thing to do, and all her hair
> In one long yellow string I wound
> Three times her little throat around,
> And strangled her. No pain felt she ;
> I am quite sure she felt no pain.
> As a shut bud that holds a bee
> I warily oped her lids ; again
> Laughed the blue eyes without a stain.

[72] Browning, *Men*, p. 211.
[73] Inserted notes to *T. S. Eliot reads his Four Quartets* (1947), in *Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot* (8 vols, ed. Schuchard *et al.*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2014–19), 7.8.

And I untightened next the tress
  About her neck ; her cheek once more
Blushed bright beneath my burning kiss :
  I propped her head up as before,
Only, this time *my* shoulder bore
Her head, which droops upon it still :
  The Smiling rosy little head,
So glad it has its utmost will,
  That all it scorned at once is fled,
And I, its love, am gained instead ![74]

Much disturbs. The indentation that for the first four lines of each ABABB-pentain indicates rhyme fails in each fifth, lacking em-spaces ; & that rhyme-scheme is intricately offbeat in a poem by definition spoken, however to a corpse. But far grimmer are the missing exclamation-mark after "And strangled her" & the one that triumphantly appears 14 lines later. In reading-aloud little demands tonal variation — only the repeated "mine, mine", lonely italics of "*my* shoulder", & exclamation-mark, when it turns up — but problems flare after the absent mark. Insisting on "No pain" reveals madness & what *can* be true is increasingly at odds with what is said : the strangled have petechiae, small bleeds, in their eyes & whatever Porphyria's dead cheek did wasn't blushing, but quasi-periodic syntax, the short & balanced statement about her eyes & longer statement with a semi-colon & two colons about hair, cheek, & head, is no more tonally disturbed than lines before the murder or the deed itself. Marks, spacing, lineation, & rhyme (even the jarring, thematic pararhyme, 'tress/kiss') are all exact, but what they so exactly convey is a terrifying lack of affect at radical odds with the words' import. Aged only 30, Browning's command of the printed voice was absolute.

Concern with punctuation is not highbrow. Eliot having used the phrase as the working-title of *The Waste Land*, it is quite widely known that in Dickens's last completed novel, *Our Mutual Friend* (1865), Betty Higden says "You mightn't think it, but Sloppy is a beautiful reader of a newspaper. He do the Police in

[74] Browning, *Men*, p. 206. In 1842 the poem was 'Madhouse Cells II'.

different voices.". She admires his ability to sight-read punctuation in cramped columns fast enough to distinguish quotations, a skill coextensive with neither literacy nor authority to read aloud. Sloppy is an interpretative performer of punctuation, as Dickens famously was in readings of work in progress or just out[75], and orality frequently presses on print in Nineteenth-Century literature.

Kipling is often damned for having credited imperialism despite indicting its moral & strategic failures[76], but Keating calls him "the first important Victorian writer who was not scared of the working classes".[77] His proletarian voices are matched in the canon only by Chaucer, Shakespeare, & Dickens, and such voices rarely speak the King's English — as Irish Private Mulvaney doesn't in 'Love-o'-Women' (1893) : "Evenshually we finished our prom'nade acrost the hills, and, thanks to me for the same, there was no casualties an' no glory.".[78] It is easy to condemn any printed representation of national or regional speech as caricature, but to conflate as identical the speech of Other Ranks & officers, English & Irish, is anodyne falsehood, and Kipling's apostrophes & heterography do sterling work without endangering sense or readability. Intense as dialectal representations can be in his 'Soldiers Three' tales, Irish, Cockney, & Yorkshire voices juxtaposed, they pale beside those of W. M. Jones (1884–1967), who published in the 1920s–40s tales of Jarge (George) Balsh, from deepest Somerset, whose accent & idioms are often challenging, sometimes needing footnoted explanation.[79]

(Those inclined to disapprove might ponder Claude McKay (1890–1948), whose *Songs of Jamaica* & *Constab Ballads* (both 1912) began printed attempts to

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[75] *Our Mutual Friend* (2 vols, London: Chapman & Hall, 1865), 1.149 (ch. xvi), & see Collins, ed, *Charles Dickens* (Oxford: OUP, 1975), Andrews, *Charles Dickens and His Performing Selves* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), & Glavin, *After Dickens* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

[76] As by Edward Said (1935–2003), intro. *Kim* (1901; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), & see Gilmour, *The Long Recessional* (2002; 3/e, London: Penguin, 2019).

[77] *The working classes in Victorian fiction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 166.

[78] *Many Inventions* (1893; London: Macmillan, 1907), p. 281.

[79] *Soldiers Three and Other Stories* (1895; London: Macmillan, 1907); see Keating, *working*, pp. 139–66, & e.g. *Jarge Balsh at Bristol Zoo* (London: Jenkins, 1934). Cf. African-American speech in the US, on which see Minnick, *Dialect and Dichotomy* (Tuscaloosa, AL: U. of Alabama P., 2007); & cf. Scholastic's decision to respell early Potter bks, changing both English 'Mum' & Irish 'Mam' to US 'Mom': Nel, 'You Say "Jelly," I Say "Jell-O"?', p. 269, in Whited, ed., *The Ivory Tower and Harry Potter* (2002; rev. Columbia, MO, & London: U. of Missouri P., 2004), pp. 261–84; cf. Page, *Speech*, pp. 55–96.

represent Jamaican voices, a political & cultural banner later carried *inter alia* by Miss Lou (Louise Bennett-Coverley, 1919–2006) in poetry & radio-monologues :

> My Aunty Roachy seh dat it bwile her temper an really bex her fi true anytime she hear anybody a style we Jamaican dialec as "corruption of the English language." For if dat be de case, den dem shoulda call English Language corruption of Norman French an Latin an all dem tarra language what dem seh dat English is derived from.
>
> Oonoo hear de wud? "Derived." English is a derivation but Jamaica Dialec is corruption! What a unfairity! We derive too!
>
> Aunty Roachy seh dat if Jamaican Dialec is corruption of de English Language, den it is also a corruption of de African Twi Language to, a oh![80]

Miss Lou is right about unfairity (though the one word here not derived from English, "Oonoo", or 'unu', 'you' (sing., pl., or indefinite = 'one'), is from Igbo, not Twi). For all its humour this is no caricature, and if conventionally punctuated with scornful inverted commas & sharp exclamation-marks has no interest in standard PDE orthography or indicating 'missing' letters with apostrophes.)

Kipling raises a larger issue, for in carefully arranged & titled collections of stories published in his lifetime poems precede and/or follow each tale, links shown on contents-pages by leading & within text by subtitle-pages, so prose & verse alternate, punctuating each other with mutual commentary. In *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904) the haunting 'They', a tale of motoring astray in Sussex & finding a secluded manor where ghostly children play (informing visionary lines in 'Burnt Norton'[81]), follows 'The Return of the Children' : untended in Heaven, wandering "beneath the Dome" & begging busily-passing "Princes and Powers" to "let us go home", they are seen by "Mary the Mother" who promptly seizes keys from St Peter, opens the gate, & rounds on Jesus :

> Then to Her Son, Who had seen and smiled, She said : 'On the night that I bore Thee
> What didst Thou care for a love beyond mine or a heaven that was not my arm ?
> Didst Thou push from the nipple, O Child, to hear the angels adore Thee ?

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[80] *Aunty Roachy Seh* (ed. Morris, Kingston: Sangster's, 1993), p. 1, qtd Morris, *Is English We Speaking and other essays* (Kingston: Randle, 1999), p. 4; 'bex' < 'vex' (in wide Jamaican usage), 'tarra' prob. < 't'other', & 'fi' < 'for', though it has wider meaning. See also Bennett, *Jamaica Labrish* (Kingston: Sangster's, 1966).

[81] Eliot, *Poems* (ed. Ricks & McCue), 1.180, 905, 911–12.

When we two lay in the breath of the kine ?' And He said : —'Thou hast done no harm.'[82]

A surreal home-truth of divine incarnation, astonishing georgic amid pastoral, the poem (excluded from Eliot's selection of Kipling's verse[83]) both sets up 'They' by explaining the earthly happiness of child-ghosts &, in divinely endorsing *their* feelings (not refusals by angels & saints to break routine), sets a precedent that matters to the tale. Lighter-heartedly, in *Debits and Credits* (1926) 'The Janeites' (coining that term for Austen fans) is preceded by a 'translation' of a Horatian ode[84] about literature surviving while Caesars perish & followed by 'Jane's Marriage' : having gone "to Paradise", been greeted by "Good Sir Walter", "Henry and Tobias, [/] And Miguel of Spain", & had archangels offer "Anything in Heaven's gift", Jane asks for "Love" and a "Hampshire gentleman", model for *Persuasion*'s Captain Wentworth, fulfils a dream unrealised on earth.[85]

In the same volume, 'On the Gate: A Tale of '16' shows an ossified heavenly bureaucracy overwhelmed by arrivals from the Western Front, so Shakespeare & others must defend the line building at the Pearly Gates from devils snapping at its flanks. It is followed by 'The Supports (*Song of the Waiting Seraphs.*)' in bathetic chorus : "*Praise Him for the petty creeds* [/] *That prescribe in paltry needs,* [/] *Solemn rites to trivial deeds and, by small things, save us!*".[86] Such satire is *not* what most now associate with Kipling, and since copyright lapsed in 1987 most selected stories omit poems, severely impoverishing & distorting his art. Tagged as an imperialist he is rarely thought a Modernist & as a Christian

[82] *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904; London: Macmillan, 1908), p. 302; fount-size dropped to avoid turn-downs. The odd second question-mark is also in *Rudyard Kipling's Verse* (4/e, London: Hodder, 1933), p. 578.
[83] *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* (London: Faber, 1941).
[84] See *Q. Horati Flacci Carminum Librum Quintum a Rudyardo Kipling et Carolo Graves Anglice Redditum et Variorum Notis Adornatum ad Fidem Codicum MSS. editit Aluredus D. Godley* (OXONII APUD BASILIUM BLACKWELL MDCCCCXX), 'The Fifth Bk of Odes by Horace trans. Kipling & Graves, Adorned ... by A. D. Godley'; but there is no Bk V; the poems are by Kipling & Graves, trans. *to* Horatian Latin by Godley (1876–1925), Public Orator at Oxford.
[85] *Debits and Credits* (London: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 175–76.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 358. The ossified bureaucracy partly satirises financially exclusory mourning codes — black clothing, covered mirrors, &c. — that were also a retail conspiracy taxing bereavement. 'On the Gate' is notable as a source of the Powell & Pressburger film *A Matter of Life and Death* (1946), US title *Stairway to Heaven*, whence the Led Zeppelin song.

patriot lacks much critics deem distinguishing features of Modernist alienation — but in creating a hybrid form, experiments with language, illustration, & deep concern with the traumata of World War One (not least as literary advisor to the Imperial War Graves Commission from 1918) he trod an oddly parallel path[87], greatly enriching structural punctuation (at level 7, dis/aggregation of a codex).

The influence of F. R. Leavis's (1895–1978) *The Great Tradition* (1948), naming Austen, George Eliot, James, & Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) as *the* four 'great' novelists, has waned, but the realism he praised (& found wanting in Dickens) remains, in the UK at least, the critical ideal. The realities they variously attain are of course more (but never less) than punctuational : narrative, description, & dialogue are, in theory & very largely in practice, uniformly grammatical & clearly displayed, stops, tonal indicators, signs of omission, dis/aggregators, & rules knowing their place, serving disambiguation & immersive reading. Yet such uniform practice is itself unrealistic, Leavis's taste was narrow, & if James never stooped to a sentence-fragment, preserving faultless grammar in patrician speech, the more fool him so to limit his art. We have shown Austen hurling grammar to the winds at need & Conrad ditched it on occasion, as when in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) fog comes down : "The rest of the world was nowhere, as far as our eyes and ears were concerned. Just nowhere. Gone, disappeared ; swept off without leaving a whisper or a shadow behind.".[88] Thorough punctuation could be resented[89], and notice of radical discontent with the limits of realism had been served much earlier in the century.

Oddity attends Herman Melville's (1819–91) *Moby-Dick ; or, The Whale* :

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[87] See Bubb, *Meeting Without Knowing It* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), comparing Kipling & Yeats. Kipling or Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) may be responsible for "THE GLORIOUS DEAD" on the Cenotaph in London, & Kipling was for "KNOWN UNTO GOD" on graves of unknown soldiers, as for 'Kipling Memorials' to those without graves, incl. the Menin Gate at Ypres; neither phrase is usu. called a sentence-fragment but …

[88] Conrad, *Youth: A Narrative and Two Other Stories* (Edinburgh & London: Blackwood, MCMII), p. 116.

[89] Distinguishing 'humorous' stories, deadpan, & 'comic' ones, overt, Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens, 1835–1910) complains that "the teller of the comic story does not slur the nub ; he shouts it at you—every time. And when he prints it, in England, France, Germany, and Italy, he italicizes it, puts some whooping exclamation - points after it, and sometimes explains it in a parenthesis. All of which is very depressing, and makes one want to renounce joking and lead a better life.": *How to Tell a Story and Other Essays* (1897; NYC & Oxford: OUP, 1996), p. 5.

> In mid October 1851, Melville's English publisher, Bentley, brought out *The Whale* in three volumes; the following month, in New York, Harper and Brothers published the book in a single volume as *Moby-Dick* (the title chosen at the last minute, too late to get it in the English edition). The two editions differed in other respects: [...] in *The Whale* the "Extracts" appeared at the end of the work (not at the beginning as in *Moby-Dick*), and the "Epilogue" was not included. Bentley or one of his readers had also excised or modified most passages that might be considered blasphemous or otherwise irreverent (to British Royalty as well as to God) or sexually suggestive. As a result, British reviewers of *The Whale* had little cause to complain about the "sneers at revealed religion" or the "irreverence or profane jesting" that frequently offended American reviewers of *Moby-Dick*. Some British reviewers, however, objected to Melville's violation of literary conventions (a three-volume novel published by Bentley was expected to be a love story), and (since the third volume lacked the "Epilogue") several complained of his violation of the commonsense rule that first-person narrators should survive the events they depict (a fault of which he was not in fact guilty). [...] Nevertheless, a few American reviewers of *Moby-Dick*, and many more British reviewers of *The Whale*, responded with gusto to the book's startlingly original fusion of poetic romance and metaphysics and to the extraordinary power of its language. Other equally fervid reviewers, in both countries, roundly denounced the book, deploring its wildness and extravagance, its incongruous mingling of genres and styles, its "ill-compounded mixture of romance and matter-of-fact" in which ravings and "scraps of useful knowledge" were "flung together salad-wise" (*Athenæum*), its "singular medley of naval observation, magazine article writing, satiric reflection upon the conventionalisms of civilized life, and rhapsody run mad" (*Spectator*).[90]

Bentley denied British readers something peculiarly interesting, for to read *Moby-Dick* is to confront — after title-page, legal notice, dedication to Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64), two double-columned contents-pages listing 135 named & roman-numbered chapters, & another title-page — first, an "ETYMOLOGY. [/] (SUPPLIED BY A LATE CONSUMPTIVE USHER TO A GRAMMAR SCHOOL.)" that explains "Sw. and Dan. *hval.* This animal is named from roundness or rolling ; for in Dan. *hvalt* is arched or vaulted." & gives the word 'whale' in 13 languages, including untransliterated Greek & Hebrew + Polynesian tongues ; then, "EXTRACTS. [/]

[90] Higgins & Parker, eds, *Herman Melville* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp. xvii–xviii; cf. Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists & Publishers* (1976; Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago P., 1978), pp. 2–3.

(Supplied by a Sub-Sub-Librarian.)", a brief musing on the "poor devil of a Sub-Sub" & 80 attributed quotations about whales & whaling, ranging over 13 pages from the Bible to early work by Charles Darwin (1809–82) ; & finally, beginningly :

> CHAPTER I.
>
> LOOMINGS
>
> CALL me Ishmael. Some years ago—never mind how long precisely—having little or no money in my purse, and nothing particular to interest me on shore, I thought I would sail about a little and see the watery part of the world.[91]

Dating summarily disposed of, Ishmael (whose hand "*will be* against every man, and every man's hand against him", Gen. 16:12) embarks in vast detail on increasingly odd events in a tale of Captain Ahab's obsessive hunt for a white whale that once cost him a leg & is far more than an unusual specimen of *Physeter macrocephalus* L. hunted for spermaceti & possible ambergris :

> All that most maddens and torments ; all that stirs up the lees of things ; all truth with malice in it ; all that cracks the sinews and cakes the brain ; all the subtle demonisms of life and thought ; all evil, to crazy Ahab, were visibly personified, and made practically assailable in Moby Dick. He piled upon the white whale's hump the sum of all the general rage and hate felt by his whole race from Adam down ; and then, as if his chest had been a mortar, he burst his hot heart's shell upon it.[92]

After some 200,000 words Ahab finally catches up with Moby-Dick only to lose his ship, crew, & life, and the ending is as stuttered as the beginning :

> But as the last whelmings intermixingly poured themselves over the sunken head of the Indian at the mainmast, leaving a few inches of the erect spar yet visible, together with long streaming yards of the flag which calmly undulated, with ironical coincidings, over the destroying billows they almost touched ;—at that instant, a red arm and a hammer hovered backwardly uplifted in the open air, in the act of nailing the flag faster and yet faster to the subsiding spar. A sky-hawk that tauntingly had followed the main truck downwards from its natural home among the stars, pecking at the flag, and

[91] *Moby-Dick* (NYC: Harper & Brothers, 1851), pp. i–1.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 203 (ch. 41). The biblical Ahab (1 Kgs 16:28–22:40) worshipped Baal & married Jezebel. On this Ahab's complexities see King, *Ahab's Rolling Sea* (Chicago, IL, & London: U. of Chicago P., 2019).

incommoding Tashtego there ; this bird now chanced to intercept its broad fluttering wing between the hammer and the wood ; and simultaneously feeling that etherial thrill, the submerged savage beneath, in his death-gasp, kept his hammer frozen there ; and so the bird of heaven, with archangelic shrieks, and his imperial beak thrust upwards, and his whole captive form folded in the flag of Ahab, went down with his ship, which, like Satan, would not sink to hell till she had dragged a living part of heaven along with her, and helmeted herself with it.

Now small fowls flew screaming over the yet yawning gulf ; a sullen white surf beat against its steep sides ; then all collapsed, and the great shroud of the sea rolled on as it rolled five thousand years ago.

[page-break]

EPILOGUE

"AND I ONLY AM ESCAPED ALONE TO TELL THEE."

Job.

The drama's done. Why then does any one here step forth ?—Because one did survive the wreck.

It so chanced, that after the Parsee's disappearance, I was he whom the Fates ordained to take the place of Ahab's bowsman, when that bowsman assumed the vacant post ; the same, who, when on the last day the three men were tossed from out the rocking boat, was dropped astern. So, floating on the margin of the ensuing scene, and in full sight of it, when the half-spent suction of the sunk ship reached me, I was then, but slowly, drawn towards the closing vortex. When I reached it, it had subsided to a creamy pool. Round and round, then, and ever contracting towards the button-like black bubble at the axis of that slowly wheeling circle, like another Ixion I did revolve. Till, gaining that vital centre, the black bubble upward burst ; and now, liberated by reason of its cunning spring, and, owing to its great buoyancy, rising with great force, the coffin life-buoy shot lengthwise from the sea, fell over, and floated by my side. Buoyed up by that coffin, for almost one whole day and night, I floated on the soft and dirge-like main. The unharming sharks, they glided by as if with padlocks on their mouths ; the savage sea-hawks sailed with sheathed beaks. On the second day, a sail drew near, nearer, and picked me up at last. It was the devious-cruising Rachel, that in her retracing search after her missing children, only found another orphan.

FINIS.[93]

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 634–35. There is a link to work by J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851): Smiles, 'Atlantic Crossings', in Riding

As Watson says, the *c.*3,981 semi-colons in *Moby-Dick* (all, save in semi-colashes, with following en-spaces) are "joints, allowing the novel the freedom of movement it needed to tour such a large and disparate collection of themes"[94] — & hinges, & more. In the middle quotation ("All that most maddens") semi-colons are at first accumulative, binding the anaphoric list into the first sentence, but in the second one allows a pivot from an extremity that is comprehensible, if deranged, to a further extremity so exceeding possibility it needs that "as if". In the first paragraph of the final quotation, the semi-colash & three semi-colons manage simultaneity of arm, hammer, & unfortunate bird until "went down with his ship" ; in the second the first semi-colon also controls simultaneity but the second temporality ("against its steep sides ; then all collapsed") ; and in the last paragraph of the epilogue the mark again manages simultaneity as Ishmael is set aside from action, "*vacant post ; the same*", "*The unharming sharks, they glided by as if with padlocks on their mouths ; the savage sea-hawks sailed with sheathed beaks.*". As much as James, developing sentences obliquely by shifting grammatical subject over a semi-colon, Melville was a master of the mark.

The stuttered termini of *Moby-Dick*, though, are something else. The "ETYMOLOGY" & "EXTRACTS" are ante-chambers genially warning of oceanic capacities & heterogeneity, but the end of the last chapter & epilogue, on verso & facing recto in contrasting roman & italic, invoke the divided catastrophe of some Classical & Jacobethine tragedy[95], giving Melville two bites at the rhetorical, tonal, & emotional cherry, while the epilogue makes immanent *and* ironic ("*coffin life-buoy*") a Providence that in the first ending is only "ironical coincidings", how a "bird now chanced", & a ship "like Satan". Iteration reinforces as it qualifies, the novel ending on a standing wave between faces with a surfing terminal epigraph from Job (1:15, 16, 17, 19) in centred & spaced small

& Johns, *Turner and the Sea* (London: Thames & Hudson with Royal Museums Greenwich, 2014), pp. 270–73.
[94] Watson, *Semicolon* (London: 4th Estate, 2019), p. 133. The figure is ours; Watson says *c.*4000.
[95] See Barton, *Essays, Mainly Shakespearean* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 113–35.

caps — 'Ishmael' recast as a messenger of divinely sanctioned loss despite an angel's words to Hagar : "Behold, thou *art* with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael ; because the LORD hath heard thy affliction" (Gen. 16:11). No wonder some reviewers jibbed, but whatever the vagaries of Melville's reception before the 1920s[96] he made available from 1851 a stunning demonstration of structural punctuation in an epic novel, teaching a lesson that has far less to do with realism or its illusion than with effect & affect, the fullest expression of imagination & wrenching of readerly hearts. *Moby-Dick* is often thought proto-Modernist, a strangely early outcrop, & in capacious inclusivity matches (however differently) the democratic capacity of American verse Walt Whitman (1819–92) demonstrated four years later in *Leaves of Grass* (1855) : "I CELEBRATE myself, [/] And what I assume you shall assume, [/] For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.".[97]

We defer Modernism to the next section, but its quarrel with omniscient realism had older roots than are often acknowledged when it is tied to World War One.[98] The realist canon of Nineteenth-Century fiction is in any case forged by ignoring what isn't realist : the fantastic voyages of Jules Verne (1828–1905), after 1869 translated into English *statim* & all bestsellers, rarely receive critical attention ; Kipling's animal fables in *The Jungle Books* (1894–95) & *Just So Stories* (1902), with *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) & *Rewards & Fairies* (1910), are demoted to 'children's literature'[99] ; H. G. Wells (1866–1946) is marginal, tainted by SF, as Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) by crime despite the silver blaze of Sherlock Holmes, & bestselling R. L. Stevenson (1850–94) by pure popularity.[100]

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[96] See Higgins & Parker, eds, *Herman Melville*, pp. xxii–xxiii

[97] See e.g. Shulman, 'Chasing the Whale', pp. 72, 89, in Frank, ed., *A Political Companion to Herman Melville* (Lexington, KY: UP of Kentucky, 2013), pp. 70–108, & Harrell, '*Moby-Dick* as Proto-Modernist Prophecy', unpub. MA thesis, Georgia State U., 2015. Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, NY: [A. & T. Rome], 1855), p. 13; the 'I' is a two-line drop-cap.. There were enl. & rev. eds in 1856, '60, '67, '71–72, & '81.

[98] On blurring the Victorian/Modernist distinction see Kane, ed., *Re-Reading the Age of Innovation* (NYC & Abingdon: Routledge, 2022)

[99] The t.-p. may say *Just So Stories for Little Children*, but they are written to be read aloud & adults doing so have no excuse for being bored; art is at a high pitch.

[100] But see Kerr, *Conan Doyle* (Oxford: OUP, 2013); Cole, *Inventing Tomorrow* (NYC: Columbia UP, 2020); Sandison, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Appearance of Modernism* (London: Macmillan/NYC: St Martin's P.,

Academic rejection of 'genre fiction' (as if 'literature' were above genre, as above trade), particularly in the UK, has gravely limited & warped English literary historiography ; it *is* being challenged & there are some wider views, as by Keating in *The Haunted Study* (1989), as well as accounts of extracanonical genres — 'future war' by I. F. Clarke (1918–2009), SF by Luckhurst, James, & others, crime by Julian Symons (1912–94), Colin Watson (1920–83), Clare Clarke, & others, spy-novels by John Atkins (1916–2009), & romance by McAleer and Vivanco — with wider attention to children's books & the dystopian, but a great deal of fiction, especially serial, remains uncharted.[101] We have no reason to think punctuation in Nineteenth- & Twentieth-Century 'genre' novels differs much from that in canonical work — but there are some differences now between work marketed as 'literature' or 'genre', as in paragraph- & sentence-lengths, and writers of SF&F often meet needs punctuationally, indicating alien speech, telepathy, &c. with marks or faces[102], so surprises may await discovery.

1996), Singer, *The Proper Pirate* (NYC: OUP, 2016), & Hill, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Pictorial Text* (London & NYC: Routledge, 2017).

[101] I. Clarke, *The Pattern of Expectation 1644–2001* (NYC: Basic Bks, 1979) & *Voices Prophesying War* (1966; 2/e, Oxford: OUP, 1992); Luckhurst, *Science Fiction* (Cambridge & Malden, MA: Polity, 2005); James, *Science Fiction in the 20th Century* (Oxford & NYC: OUP, 1994); Canavan & Link, eds, *The Cambridge History of Science Fiction* (Cambridge: CUP, 2019); Symons, *Bloody Murder* (1972; 4/e, NYC: Mysterious P., 1993), Watson, *Snobbery with Violence* (1971, rev. London: Methuen, 1979); C. Clarke, *British Detective Fiction 1891–1901* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020); Pedersen, ed., *St. James Guide to Crime & Mystery Writers* (4/e, Detroit, MI, NYC, Toronto, ON, & London: St. James P., 1996); Herbert, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Crime and Mystery Writing* (NYC & Oxford: OUP, 1999); Atkins, *The British Spy Novel* (London: Calder/NYC: Riverrun P., 1984); Reynolds, *Children's Literature in the 1890s and the 1990s* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994); Cart, *From Romance to Realism* (NYC: HarperCollins, 1996); Egoff *et al.*, eds, *Only Connect* (3/e, Toronto, ON, NYC, & Oxford: OUP, 1996); Rabkin *et al.*, eds, *No Place Else* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1983), Trotta *et al*., eds, *Broken Mirrors* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2020), Marks *et al.*, eds, *The Palgrave Handbook of Utopian and Dystopian Literatures* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022). Clute & Nicholls, eds, *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* (1993; upd. NYC: St Martin's Griffin, 1995); Clute & Grant, eds, *The Encyclopedia of Fantasy* (London; Orbit, 1997); D. W. Jones, *The Tough Guide to Fantasyland* (1996; rev. NYC: Firebird, 2006); D. Jones, *Horror* (2018; Oxford: OUP, 2021); ~ *et al.*, eds, *It Came From the 1950s!* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); & on Mills & Boon, McAleer, *Passion's Fortune* (Oxford: OUP, 1999) & Vivanco, *For Love and Money* (Tirril: Humanities-Ebks, 2011). Canonical integration of genres is rare but see Collins, *Dickens and Crime* (1962; 3/e, London: Macmillan, 1994), Altick, *The English Common Reader* (1957; 2/e, Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 1998), & (promisingly) Wald & Elliott, eds, *The American Novel 1870–1940* (Oxford & NYC: OUP, 2014), §III, 'Genre Fiction and the Novel', pp. 271–385, Gikandi, ed., *The Novel in Africa and the Caribbean since 1950* (NYC: OUP, 2016), & Lesser, ed., *The Book in Britain* (Hoboken, NJ, & Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), esp. pp. 371–412; & on series fiction Lennard, *Of Modern Dragons* (Tirril: Humanities-Ebks, 2008), pp. 9–31, & *Of Sex and Faery* (Tirril: Humanities-Ebks, 2010), pp. 246–308; & Anderson *et al.*, eds, *Serial Crime Fiction* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[102] Lennard, *But*, pp. 238–39. One can make 'genre' fiction read like 'literary' fiction & vice-versa by cutting/ adding paragraphing; a salutary exercise. In critical use 'genre' is often undefined & sloppy; see the Glossary.

The hyperextended sentences of James's late style were an apogee of the grammatical. What may be his longest[103], though, occurs earlier, in the opening chapter of *The Portrait of a Lady* (1880–81), and runs to 207 words :

> The house had a name and a history ; the old gentleman taking his tea would have been delighted to tell you these things : how it had been built under Edward the Sixth, had offered a night's hospitality to the great Elizabeth (whose august person had extended itself upon a huge, magnificent and terribly angular bed which still formed the principal honour of the sleeping apartments), had been a good deal bruised and defaced in Cromwell's wars, and then, under the Restoration, repaired and much enlarged ; and how, finally, after having been remodelled and disfigured in the eighteenth century, it had passed into the careful keeping of a shrewd American banker, who had bought it originally because (owing to circumstances too complicated to set forth) it was offered at a great bargain ; bought it with much grumbling at its ugliness, its antiquity, its incommodity, and who now, at the end of twenty years, had become conscious of a real aesthetic passion for it, so that he knew all its points and would tell you just where to stand to see them in combination, and just the hour when the shadows of its various protuberances—which fell so softly upon the warm, weary brickwork—were of the right measure.[104]

Despite the linearity we might say James reinvented the period : the grammatical subject switches over the first semi-colon from "The house" to "the old gentleman", switches back over the first colon, & back again between second & third semi-colons ("it had passed into the careful keeping of a shrewd American banker, who [...]"). Man & house intertwine grammatically as in diction, the whole utterly balanced, and (though James can remind one of the way British higher society has tended to think laughter a vulgarity) there are teases in both parentheses marked with lunulae, "terribly angular" in the first & the second apophatically declining to add complexity. Such enormities of syntax are easily misconstrued in *silent* reading, as by mistaking an unspaced semi-colon for a

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[103] So says Jonathan Reeve, 'The Henry James Sentence', at https://jonreeve.com/2017/06/henry-james-sentence/ (acc. 14 Jun. 2023), who offers interesting analysis, but has methodological issues as e-texts searched mix eds; he qts the 2003 NYC Penguin ed., but e.g. the 2004 London Collector's Lib. ed. reads "Edward VI", cutting a word; spaced marks also affect computer-counts — MS Word on an iMac reckons the qtd sentence has 211 words.

[104] *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881–82; Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1882), p. 2. See also Mitchell, *Mark My Words* (London & NYC: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 39–52.

comma, but if one heeds the marks this reads *aloud* easily & clearly. (Try it.) James's punctuation is stringently syntactical *and* serviceably rhetorical, and for all its extension cannot well be called showy, save perhaps in deploying a final dashed parenthesis to join those marked by lunulae & commas, completing the set. It simply gets what he deemed a necessary job done as commodiously as called for, never — despite those dashes — so much as dreaming of indecorum.

James's biographer Leon Edel (1907–97) thought the typewriter affected his late style. Remington offered the first retail model in 1873 & the machines became common in the 1880s.[105] James suffered wrist pain, probably rheumatic, and while writing *What Maisie Knew* (1897) purchased one, hired a typist, & switched to dictation, relishing type's "fierce legibility" :

> Very early, Morton Fullerton raised the question : what would the typewriter do to James's style? 'I can be trusted, artless youth,' James answered, 'not to be simplified by any shortcut or falsified by any facility.' He ended this letter with, 'am I not meanwhile only more discernibly yours, Henry James?' To Mrs Curtis of Venice, who put a similar question, he said that dictation did not hamper him in the least, 'in letters quite the reverse, and in commerce with the Muse so little that I foresee the day when it will be pure luxury'. There was no question that he was more 'discernible', and some of his friends claimed they could put their finger on the exact chapter in *Maisie* where manual effort ceased and dictation began. Henry James writing, and Henry James dictating, were different persons. His sentences became, in time, elaborate – one might indeed say baroque – filled with qualifications and parentheses; he seemed often, in a letter, to begin a sentence without knowing what its end would be, and he allowed it to meander into surprising twists and turns. After several years of consistent dictating, the 'later manner' of Henry James emerged. Some of it would have been there without benefit of the Remington. Certain indirections and qualifications had always existed. But the spoken voice was to be heard henceforth in James's prose, not only in the rhythm and ultimate perfection of his verbal music, but in his use of colloquialisms, and in a more extravagant play of fancy, a greater indulgence

[105] See variously Beeching, *Century of the Typewriter* (1974; 2/e, Bournemouth: British Typewriter Museum Pub., 1990), Cooper, ed., *Cognitive Aspects of Skilled Typewriting* (NYC, Heidelberg, & Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983), Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (1986; trans. Winthrop-Young & Wutz, Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1999), Bailey, *GCSE Typewriting* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1990), McMillian, *Smoking Typewriters* (NYC: OUP, 2011), Tullett, *Typewriter Art* (London: L. King Pub., 2014), Mullaney, *The Chinese Typewriter* (Cambridge, MA, & London: MIT P., 2017), & Lyons, *Typewriter*.

in expanding metaphors and great proliferating similes.[106]

Dictating as well as 'discernibility' was at work, but type *is* more legible than script & construing its syntax easier, especially if semi-/colons are spaced. Users are limited to keys a machine has, but all are invitingly displayed. Limitations led to new conventions taken from proof-correction (some sliding into MS use) — single underline for *italics*, double for SMALL CAPS, & a double-space after a full-stop (like printed em-spaces) — that became normative in TSS until digital justification in the 1980s. Typewriters more than facilitate : they prompt, as one did Eliot to lay out *The Waste Land*, revealing printerly quantisation of lines in incremental spacing — a sensibility of *mise-en-page* (shared by William Carlos Williams, 1883–1963, Ezra Pound, 1885–1972, & E. E. Cummings, 1894–1962[107]) that is other than shape poetry's (though they may combine[108]). Machines were the donnée of poems by Don Marquis (1878–1937) about Archy, a *vers libre* poet reincarnated as a cockroach, & Mehitabel, an alley-cat once Cleopatra ; Archy cannot use the shift-key, so much is beyond his capacity but not knowledge, producing such lines as "say comma boss comma capital [/] i apostrophe m getting tired of [/] being joshed about my [/] punctuation period" & "still in the [/] ring archy she said and still a [/] lady in spite of h dash double l".[109]

Typescripts complicate opposition of manuscript & print. Work may go MS > TS or be composed in TS. In Croft's *Autograph Poetry in the English Language* (1973) plates for Pound, Marianne Moore (1887–1972), & Hart Crane (1899–1932) are of TSS with MS additions, and for many writers TSS became critical in

[106] Edel, *Henry James*, 2.231–32; cf. Hutchison, ' "An Embroidered Veil of Sound" ', *Henry James Review* 34.2 (Summer 2013), pp. 147–62.
[107] Williams to Harriet Monroe, 17 Jul. 1918, about a submitted poem: "As always I make the request that if you print it it shall be printed as written. I speak especially of the silly custom of printing the first letter in every line as a capital. It may be that I shall have to wait a few years longer before this marring detail will be generally recognised to be the empty conventionality that it is so that if the difficulties are insurmountable I am willing to have the meaning of my sentences blurred by foolish capitals a little longer in order to have the poem accepted. Suit yourself. I will not even frown.": *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* Records, [Box 42, Folder 14], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Coll. Research Center, U. of Chicago Lib.; & see Ahearn, ed., *Pound/Cummings* (Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan P., 1996), which unlike other eds of either's letters retains punct., usu. from TSS.
[108] See Hollander, *Types of Shape* (1969; 2/e, New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 1991).
[109] *The Annotated Archy and Mehitabel* (1916–22; ed. Sims, London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 84, 191.

revising, not least in emending punctuation.[110] Any published author knows the shock of first seeing one's own words in print, and in fair measure the typewriter made that experience domestically available ; that typing became a stigmatically female employment (as printing never was)[111] did not alter the power of seeing holograph print, typed lines rising as returns pushed pages upwards. Over the Nineteenth Century metal nibs replaced quills & hands became more modern in appearance, a process visible in Croft's vol. 2, from Robert Bloomfield (1766–1823) to Dylan Thomas (1914–53) ; copperplate was popular, boosted by Platt R. Spencer (1800–64) & modified by Austin Palmer (1860–1927), who offered a clear, economical cursive.[112] Yet despite huge numbers of letters & postcards being sent[113], from the 1880s the realm of manuscript began an unprecedented diminishment, later accelerated by the digital revolution. Print did not compromise manuscript but the typewriter & its successors do ; hand-drafting continues, but there is no MS of this *History*.

1914–2000 : Modernism & After

One effect of the 4⅓-year disaster called World War One (Jul. 1914–Nov. 1918) was melting metal objects in huge quantities to make arms & ammunition, including an unknown but (very) high percentage of stereotype plates.[114] Sir Walter Scott, one might say, went at the Somme, Jane Austen at Passchendaele, & the psychosocially shocked 'Roaring Twenties' saw mass resetting of some older

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[110] (2 vols, cased, London: Cassell, 1973), 2.170, 175, 186; cf. Cahoon *et al.*, *American Literary Autographs from Washington Irving to Henry James* (NYC: Dover Pub. with Pierpont Morgan Lib., 1977), & Gattrell's & Simmons's essays in Vol. 2. Crispi, *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Character in* Ulysses (Oxford: OUP, 2015), p. 284, says "Joyce was not in the habit of checking the typescript against the manuscript that had been given to the typist: generally he simply worked on the typescript as a new instantiation of this text.".

[111] See Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP, 1982). Printers' wives could inherit businesses; most in Br. pr.-trades to 1900 were male but see Bell, 'Women writing and women written', Bevan, 'Scotland', pp. 696–97, Grundy, 'Women and print', McKitterick, 'Introduction', pp. 36–37, *CHBB* 4.431–51, 687–700, 5.146–59, 6.1–74, MacDonald, *Women in the Printing Trades* (London: King & Son, 1904); & Reynolds, *Britannia's Typesetters* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1989).

[112] *Spencerian Handwriting* (1848–63; Berkeley, CA: Ulysses P., 2016); *Palmer's Guide to Business Writing* (Cedar Rapids, IA: Western Penmanship Pub., 1894).

[113] McKitterick, 'Organising knowledge in print', pp. 532–33, *CHBB* 6.531–66.

[114] St Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp. 430–32, & 'Following up', pp. 716–18; Kingsford, *The Publishers Association 1896–1946* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970), p. 57; Weedon, *Victorian Publishing* (2003; London & NYC: Routledge, 2016), p. 16.

texts, relieving cramping & perhaps — it awaits investigation — making other changes, to correct (supposed) errata or update conventions. Grammarians, often ill-disposed towards dashes, had turned strongly against combinate-marks — the *Chicago Manual of Style* 1/e (1906) says flatly "A dash should not ordinarily be used in connection with any other point, except a [full-stop]"[115] — & it is likely post-1918 resetting eliminated many combinate-marks, greatly reducing their visibility ;— *something* did, though they may be found to *c.*1950.

Mass-market economics remained as ever, page-space at a premium, but one effect (or pervasive context) of Modernism was a revalorisation of space, visible on pages of *The Waste Land* & Pound's *Cantos* (*c.*1917–62) as in Modernist art & architecture. McGann subtitled a study *The Visible Language of Modernism* (1993), cued by *The Black Riders* (1895) of Stephen Crane (1871–1900), its small-cap "BLACK RIDERS" seen as inky words & marks amid signifying whiteness.[116] In such page-consciousness punctuation is foregrounded : when P. E. More (1864–1937) complained of 'Ash-Wednesday', "confound it, you are too big a man to play tricks with punctuation", Eliot retorted "if there is one thing I do know, it is how to punctuate poetry"[117] ; F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940), advising Sheilah Graham (Lily Shiel, 1904–88) about a radio-script, told her to cut exclamation-marks, which are "like laughing at your own joke".[118] Such awareness extends to work including poetry by Stevie Smith (1902–71), Lorine Niedecker (1903–70), & Mervyn Peake (1911–68), prose-structure in *Pale Fire* (1962) by Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977), & Oulipo material, including the cult-hit *Exercices de Style* (1947) by co-founder Raymond Queneau (1903–76).[119] But spatial awareness works on *all* levels of the punctuational scale : interword-spaces & bigger cousins

[115] *Manual of Style* (Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago P., 1906), p. 56, §159. The alteration is from "period".
[116] McGann, *Black Riders* (Princeton, NJ: PUP, 1993), p. 91, qtg Crane, *The Black Riders and other lines* (NYC: Copeland & Day, 1895), p. 1
[117] More to Eliot, 21 Sept. 1930, Eliot to More, 28 Oct. 1930, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot, Vol. 5, 1930–1931* (ed. V. Eliot & Haffenden, New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 2014), p. 361.
[118] Graham & Frank, *Beloved Infidel* (NYC: Holt, 1958), p. 198.
[119] (1947; trans. Wright, 1958, as *Exercises in Style*; London: Calder, 1979); Oulipo = *OUvroir de LIttérature POtentielle*, 'workshop of potential lit.', founded 1960; on Smith & Niedecker see essays by May & Kitses below.

at levels 2 & 5 are most obvious, but level 8, codices as objects punctuating space, increasingly involved authorial control of interbook-spaces.

Modernism adopted with Marcel Proust (1871–1922)[120], Dorothy Richardson (1873–1957), & belatedly Edward Upward (1903–2009)[121] the novel series, with a continuity of protagonist/s, if not action, sharply increasing after 1880 with serial stories in 'pulp' & popular genres, crime writing, SF&F, & children's literature. At fuller length James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851) seems to have started it with five 'Leatherstocking' tales (1823–41), reflecting both North American extent & his publishing acuity[122], while Anthony Trollope (1815–82) wrote six Chronicles of Barsetshire (1855–67) & as many Palliser novels (1865–80) : but most pre-1914 novels stand alone, many as three-deckers until that format died in the 1890s[123], while after 1918 the percentage of series fictions (each volume a complete work) greatly increases, sometimes with complex effects.

Like Kipling, J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973) is rarely supposed a Modernist & if academically considered as an author (rather than influential philologist-critic) often dismissed as a reactionary pastoralist : though deeply traumatised by service in the trenches (where Middle-earth was born) he kept his Catholic faith, patriotism, & decorum, had the impudence to write fantasy, & still has the greater impudence to sell like *very* hot cakes, *The Lord of the Rings* (wr. 1937–55, pr.1954–55) averaging since 1967 sales of *c.*8,000 copies *per day* ⁉ And yet

> Comparison with the Nobel Laureate William Faulkner (1897–1962) — five years younger and equally the creator of a massive legendarium, however differently so — is illuminating. Faulkner too saw the world of the horse and ox displaced by the car and pickup truck, but was a frustrated non-participant in 1914–18 who nevertheless repeatedly imagined the return from war of men

[120] Within the Fr. trad. Proust was cued by Honoré de Balzac's (1799–1850) *La Comédie Humaine*, 91 novels, stories, & essays (1830–54) + 46 unfinished works, & the 20-vol. novel-cycle *Les Rougon-Macquart* (1871–93) by Émile Zola (1840–1902). Cf. Latham, 'Serial Modernism', in Castle, ed., *A History of the Modernist Novel* (NYC: CUP, 2015), pp. 254–69.

[121] Long delayed by writer's block, Upward's trilogy *The Spiral Ascent* appeared 1962–77. On his influence see Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties* (Oxford & NYC: OUP, 1988).

[122] See Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper* (2 vols, New Haven, CT, & London: Yale UP, 2008, 2017).

[123] Eliot, 'From Few', p. 472; Sutherland, *Victorian*, pp. 24–30; Rota, *Apart from the Text* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association/New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll P., 1998), pp. 161–82.

> who are (like Frodo) damaged beyond reintegration. And where the mores of Faulkner's Mississippi childhood world persisted, perfusing his present with a morbid Jim-Crow pressure of historical tragedy and vainglory, the mores of Tolkien's Warwickshire childhood were swept wholly away, leaving the tragic vacuum of history and glory that his works obsessively fill. For all the evils of Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County, past and present, there is some sense of new growth transcending the poisoned legacy of the US South, while historically Faulkner's death in 1962 and the end of his Yoknapatawphan chronicles came at the very brink of the Civil Rights movement that would ameliorate that legacy in ways beyond his imagination. But in Tolkien's Middle-earth, ultimately, there is no escape from a generic determination that insists on fall after fall and hollows out every victory. Both Faulkner and Tolkien were in real senses in love with the past, but where Tolkien felt bereft of it, and endlessly mourned its loss, Faulkner suffocated in it and both mourned and documented its survival.[124]

Both men are notable for *entrelacé* narration in mutually-punctuating strands[125], Tolkien's vast readership very probably popularising the technique. At the level of sentences & paragraphs punctuation in his legendarium is conventional, but the songs, maps, invented languages, calligraphy, & appendices also punctuating his fiction were before him distinctly not ; and experience of readerly devotion to his work — as to Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County, inhabiting 15 novels & 53 stories[126] — is of navigating complexity, many works of varying length in multiple states & editions made whole by sustaining authorial purpose. Thanks to his son & cartographer Christopher (1924–2020), Tolkien has published *far* more posthumously than in life & had more drafts published than any other writer of whom we know, revealing a vast textual reticulation[127] : many readers stop with *The Hobbit* (1937) & *The Lord of the Rings* but plenty don't, and to trace

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[124] Lennard, *Tolkien's Triumph* (KDP/Milton Keynes: Lightning Source, 2013), p. 19, & on sales pp. 38–45.

[125] In *The Lord of the Rings* the major use is Bks 4–6, Bk 5 interrupting narration of Frodo's & Sam's journey into Mordor, & Faulkner's purest example is *If I Forget Thee, Jerusalem* (as *The Wild Palms*, 1939), in *Novels 1936–1940* (ed. Blotner & Polk, NYC: Lib. of America, 1990), pp. 493–726, of which the eds report (p. 1112) that "All the evidence [of MSS & TSS …] indicates that Faulkner did not take two separate stories and interleave them, but rather wrote, in alternating stints, first a "Wild Palms" section, then an "Old Man" section. He invented the story of the "tall convict," he later said, as a counterpoint to the story of Harry and Charlotte, in an effort to maintain the intensity of the latter story without allowing it to become shrill.".

[126] See 'Digital Yoknapatawpha', at http://faulkner.iath.virginia.edu.

[127] 25 major works of fiction & criticism by Tolkien were pub. 1975–2022, as well as *The History of Middle-earth* (12 vols, ed. C. Tolkien, Boston, MA, & NYC: Houghton Mifflin, 1983–96) & *The History of* The Hobbit (2 vols, ed. Rateliff, London: HarperCollins, 2007; rev. 1 vol., 2011).

intersecting integrities, fragmentations, contradictions, & clarities in Tolkien's myth-making is very much an exercise in punctuating & so articulating what one discovers. The three-decker 1/e of *The Lord of the Rings* was an old-fashioned artefact of post-war rationing & viable price, but its punctuated plurality & integrity speaks to a truth of the legendarium as a whole.[128]

After 1918 the series was a conventional form normative in 'genre' work, particularly crime & SF&F, extending to fiction some of the level-8 complexity of scholarly colossi like the *Patrologia Latina* (221 vols, 1841–65), *DNB* (63 vols, 1885–1900), Loeb Classical Library (545+ vols, 1912–), & Nikolaus Pevsner's (1902–83) *The Buildings of England* (46 vols, 1951–74). Major 'literary' examples include C. P. Snow's (1905–80) *Strangers & Brothers* (11 vols, 1940–70), Anthony Powell's (1905–2000) *roman fleuve A Dance to the Music of Time* (12 vols, 1951–75), R. K. Narayan's (1906–2001) 14 novels & *c.*100 tales of Malgudi (1935–90), Patrick O'Brian's (R. P. Russ, 1914–2000) Aubrey-&-Maturin series (21 vols, 1969–2004), John Masters's (1914–83) seven novels (1951–62) charting generations of a family in British India, Wilson Harris's (1921–2018) *Guyana Quartet* (1960–63), Elizabeth Jane Howard's (1923–2014) five 'Cazalet' novels (1990–2013), & Philip Roth's (1933–2018) ninefold use of narrative alter-ego Nathan Zuckerman (1979–2007).

Modernism was no child of World War One but *was* shaped by it, exploding across the arts & world, grieving, shocked, & angry. The traumata of the war can hardly be overstated ; after generations were decimated, genocides enacted, & shell-shattered wasteland of a kind never seen before widely created, there was "Never such innocence again.", as Philip Larkin (1922–85) put it in his unsayably-titled 'MCMXIV'.[129] The British Nineteenth Century tended to imperial over-confidence & latterly to repressive morality & modesty codes often called

[128] It remains available as a three-decker hbk, & there was no 1-vol. ed. until the mmpb 2/e (dropping all but one app.) in 1968 & cased Allen & Unwin India-paper ed. in 1969. The cased Houghton Mifflin 'Collector's' ed. of 1974 pleasingly nods to Tolkien's Medievalism, rubricating p.-nos, running-heads, & ch.-titles.
[129] *Collected Poems* (ed. Thwaite, London: Faber, 1988), p. 128; Ricks, *The Force of Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1984), p. 302; Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1970; intro. Winter, Oxford: OUP, 2013).

Victorian but more accurately later-Victorian (largely driven during the Queen's long widowhood, 1861–1901, by Evangelicalism[130]). The Twentieth was neurasthenic & mourning before it was of age, newly horrified as well as entranced by machinery, unsure of everything, & impatient with straightjacketing mores & received falsehoods. As Kipling (again surprising) said in 'Epitaphs of the War – Common Form', grieving his only son, killed at Loos, "If any question why we died, [/] Tell them, because our fathers lied.".[131]

Defining Modernism is a party-game or fool's errand, but it matters that prose fiction was odd art out. Other Modernist arts abandoned a received paradigm of (very) long standing, architecture most radically in rethinking the wall, upending at least 10,000 years of load-bearing practice, while in music atonality, in fine art Cubism & abstraction, & in poetry free verse respectively abandoned the referential tonic, perspective, & metrical rhyme, hard-won paradigms dominant since the Renaissance. But what was prose with its newer paradigms to abandon ? The inviting targets were realism, omniscient narrators, grammaticality, & the ornateness of the Belle Époque (*c.*1870–1914), but as narrative, description, & dialogue were all still needed how to proceed was unclear & results mixed.[132]

One shift on which most Modernists agreed was from attempting to represent the world *per se*, objectively, to representing perceptions, as Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1914–15) does gesturally in opening with a child's understanding & more subtly thereafter.[133] Aiming more widely, Faulkner wrote the first section of *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) from the point-of-view of an intellectually disabled 33-year-old who misinterprets much, setting-up sections

[130] See e.g. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989; London & NYC: Routledge, 2005), Snell & Ell, *Rival Jerusalems* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), Ledger-Thomas, 'Mass markets: religion', *CHBB* 6.324–58.
[131] *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, p. 383.
[132] See Kalifa, *The Belle Époque* (2017; trans. Emanuel, NYC: Columbia UP, 2021); on discontent, Miller, *Slow Print* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2013); McAuliffe, *Twilight of the Belle Epoque* (Lanham, MD, & Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014); Castle, ed., *History*; Lewis, *Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010); Zhang, *Strange Likeness* (Chicago, IL, & London: U. of Chicago P., 2020) & Attridge, *Forms of Modernist Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2023).
[133] *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1914–15; ed. Johnson, Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 5: see Bonapfel's essay below.

from two siblings' angles of mis/understanding to reveal a family's faded glories & acute dysfunction.[134] Much of his fiction adopts related strategies, assembling an unrivalled polyvocal, multi-ethnic portrait of the US South 1865–1914+ ; but he opted (like Proust) for the mostly-punctuated hyperextended sentence & outdid *everyone*. His longest, opening *Requiem for a Nun* (1951), has 3,752 words in eight paragraphs, seven ending in semi-colons[135], but some preferred underpunctuated 'stream-of-consciousness' pioneered by Richardson in *Pilgrimage* (13 vols, 1915–67) & Joyce ending *Ulysses* (1922), pages *not* 'without punctuation' but lacking marks & paragraphing ; & others such destabilisations as Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) used in 'Kew Gardens' (1919), grammatical subject drifting with extended syntax.[136] There were also sentence-fragments of all kinds, staccato abruptions & breakages in verse, prose, & drama reflecting the shattering violence of the war & losses of confidence associated with Modernism — a Nietzschean 'god-shaped hole' as faith seemed ever-hollower, 'loss of the grand narrative', & acid disbelief in the motives, ethics, & competence of all authorities, including grammarians.[137]

The New Typography was a force in German Modernism, as Eric Gill (1882–1940) in British, but punctuation mattered *very* variously.[138] Bonapfel reports Joyce's use of "dialogue between dashes" or the dialogue dash as a sharply visible break with Nineteenth-Century norms of marking direct speech that began a wide

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[134] In *Novels 1926–1929* (ed. Blotner & Polk, NYC: Lib. of America, 2006), pp. 877–1141.
[135] *Requiem for a Nun*, pp. 475–84, in *Novels 1942–1954* (ed. Blotner & Polk, NYC: Lib. of America, 1994), pp. 471–664. Faulkner rejected enclitic apostrophes & omits marks where he wishes; see the essay by Burgers below.
[136] The story, privately pub. 1919, was incl. *Monday or Tuesday* (London: Hogarth P., 1921). In the fourth-from-last para. two sentences read: "The couple stood still on the edge of the flower bed, and together pressed the end of her parasol deep down into the soft earth. The action and the fact that his hand rested on the top of hers expressed their feelings in a strange way, as these short insignificant words also expressed something, words with short wings for their heavy body of meaning, inadequate to carry them far and thus alighting awkwardly upon the very common objects that surrounded them, and were to their inexperienced touch so massive; but who knows (so they thought as they pressed the parasol into the earth) what precipices aren't concealed in them, or what slopes of ice don't shine on the other side?". See Mitchell, *Mark*, pp. 65–76, & essays by Lindskog & Dirschauer below.
[137] Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (1979; trans. Bennington & Massumi, Minneapolis, MN: U. of Minnesota P., 1984); McFarlane, 'The Mind of Modernism', in Bradbury & McFarlane, eds, *Modernism 1890–1930* (1976; London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 71–94; cf. Heidegger, *Being and Time* (1927; trans. Stambaugh, Albany, NY: State U. of New York P., 1996), p. 8.
[138] Tschichold, *The New Typography* (1928; trans. McLean, Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA, & London: U. of California P., 1995), de Jong *et al.*, *Jan Tschichold* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), Stirton, *Jan Tschichold and the New Typography* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2019); Gill, *An Essay on Typography* (2/e, 1936; Boston, MA: Godine, 1988).

range of narrative techniques with syntactic, digressive, & visual experimentation in *Ulysses* & *Finnegans Wake* (1939).[139] Many notorious stylistic features come from running experiment in punctuating MSS & revising — linguistic diversity of compound words in *Ulysses* & portmanteau words in *Finnegans Wake*, from a decision to delete hyphens in revising *Portrait* in April 1917 ; 'stream-of-consciousness', initiated by fragmentary sentences, colons, or lack of marks ; & increasingly digressive yet syntactically coherent style in *Finnegans Wake*, enabled by colons or lunulae.[140] Joyce used shifting punctuational strategies to create multiple voices but the running constant is absences, variously over time & MS/print of inverted commas, hyphens, word-division, sentences, paragraphs, & (as famously unending *Finnegans Wake*) full-stops.

It is hard to generalise about Modernist punctuation beyond an often-acute sense of page-space, concern with the absent & structural, & willingness to do whatever seemed effective. Marked, spatial, & deictic punctuations continue, often conventionally, sometimes not, pointed omission amid convention joining writers' arsenals : absent or extended interword-spaces figure in prose & poetry by Faulkner, Cummings, & Mina Loy (1882–1966) ; word-separation had rarely been so challenged & impact can be severe. Faulkner's paragraphed sentence suggests inverted hierarchy, a technique resonant with his themes that might also be seen in Cummings's mid-word marks ("(squashe)d", "while exactlygir lisHlegs;play;ingnake;D", "b: [/] e;n,d").[141] Such inversions reflect a world gone awry, a sense readers shared, but Modernism did not sweep all before it.

Copious free verse made for no shortage of rhyme & metre. Odd typography persists with Alan Riddell (1927–77) & Kamau Brathwaite (1930–2020), B. S. Johnson's (1933–73) novel-in-a-box *The Unfortunates* (1969), & work by Anne

[139] *The Letters of James Joyce,* Vol. 1 (ed Gilbert, 1957; corr., NYC: Viking P., 1966), p. 75.
[140] See Bonapfel's essay below & refs there ctd; cf. McRae, ''Now Someone's Talking'', *Modernism/Modernity* 25.1 (2018), pp. 1–20.
[141] See Kinnahan's essay below; Mitchell, *Mark*, pp. 77–120, 131–46; Lennard, *Reading William Faulkner* (Tirril: Humanities-Ebks, 2012); Cummings, *Complete Poems 1913–62* (NYC: Harcourt Brace, 1972), pp. 94, 104, 389.

Carson[142], but many poets stayed formalist, from Robert Frost (1874–1963), John Betjeman (1906–84), & Elizabeth Bartlett (1911–94), inventor of the 'twelve-tone poem'[143], to Derek Walcott (1930–2017), Anne Stevenson (1933–2020), Tony Harrison, Eavan Boland (1944–2020), & Carol Rumens. Criticism exaggerates reports of death by Modernism, as of the dramatic monologue[144], Eliot's experiments seen to dissolve a necessary alterity of speakers in fragmenting doubts — but it flourished elsewhere. Kipling was a dab hand, as in 'McAndrew's Hymn', and so was John Masefield (1878–1967) : 'The Surprise' (1932) is spoken by a Greek soldier who waited outside Troy after the Horse was drawn within :

> They halted us below the waggon track
> Between the Spartans and the Ithacans,
> And there we huddled in the bitter cold,
> Wondering what had happened in the city
> And why the city should be still as death:
> Whether the Horse were burning in the fire
> With all our men inside it sacrificed:
> Whether the trap door in the Horse had jammed
> So that they could not leave it: or perhaps
> (We thought) the Horse is guarded in the temple,
> Surrounded by men praying all night long.
> Or had they ventured out, and all been killed?
>
> And if the men were killed, the stratagem
> Was surely known, and we half-armed and freezing,
> Would be attacked at dawn and ridden down.[145]

Supple modern blank verse with efficient punctuation represents an unusual & engaging point-of-view.[146] In the long first sentence three colons support a

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[142] Riddell, *Eclipse* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1972); *The Unfortunates* (London: Panther, 1969), & see Dames, *The Chapter*, pp. 256–72; Brathwaite, *Barabajan Poems* (Kingston & NYC: Savacou North, 1994), & see the essay by Otto below; Carson, *Nox* (NYC: New Directions, 2010) & *Float* (London: Cape, 2016).

[143] "The 12-tone poem [...] inspired by [...] Schoenberg's musical system [...] consists of 12 lines, divided into couplets. Each couplet contains 12 syllables, using the natural cadence of speech. The accented sounds of the words are considered tones. Only 12 tones are used throughout the poem, repeated various times.": Bartlett, *Around the Clock* (Laurinburg, NC: St Andrews P., 1989), p. iv.

[144] Byron, *Dramatic Monologue* (London & NYC: Routledge, 2003), pp. 112–28.

[145] *A Tale of Troy* (London: Heinemann, 1932), pp. 49–50; the verse-para.-break coincides with the p.-break, but is displayed in *Selected Poems* (ed. Stanford, 1984; Manchester: Carcanet, 1988), p. 164.

[146] Despite critical pronouncements blank verse need not be archaic or mannered: see e.g. Frost, 'Mending Wall', in *Collected Poems* (ed. Lathem, 1969; London: Vintage, 2001), p. 34 ("He says again, 'Good fences make good

repeated “Whether” & “or perhaps”, referring clauses back to the cold-huddled time of wondering ; & the concatenated full-stop, one-line question, paragraph-break, & enjambment in the following lines are skilfully mimetic — finally stated true fear, pause-beat in the space, & rush of direly-imagined consequence.

Masefield followed Kipling in choosing speakers neither mad nor malevolent, like so many of Browning’s, but the form’s association with the deeply disturbing continues. One would not wish to meet the speaker of Robert Lowell’s (1917–77) ‘Under the Dentist’, & W. D. Snodgrass (1926–2009) traumatisingly chose (among others in *The Fuehrer Bunker*, 1995) Magda Goebbels (1901–45) as she kills her six children by second husband Josef (1897–1945) ; Dana Gioia a re-offending murderer[147] ; & Carol Ann Duffy a prowling serial-killer :

> My reflection sucks a sour Woodbine and buys me a drink. Here’s
> looking at you. Deep down I’m talented. She found out. Don’t mess
> with me, angel, I’m no nutter. Over in the corner, a dead ringer
> for Ruth Ellis smears a farewell kiss on the lip of a gin-and-lime.
> The barman calls Time. Bang in the centre of my skull,
> there’s a strange coolness. I could almost fly. Tomorrow
> will find me elsewhere, with a loss of memory. Drink up son,
> the world’s your fucking oyster. Awopbopaloobop alopbimbam.[148]

The principal effect is the staccato sentences, full-stops producing hard brevities juxtaposed to reveal a purposeful disconnection as murderous intent gathers with seemingly chance para/rhymes, ‘nutter/corner/ringer’, ‘lime/Time’ ; rhyme, syntax, & page-placement point blanked conscience (‘fly./memory.’) becoming obscenely anticipatory glee (‘son/-bam’). The extremities of Modernist *mises-en-page* are not needed to grapple with phenomena of modernity, however their shock was a necessary breaking with received proprieties.

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neighbours.’ ”) or Walcott, ‘The Schooner *Flight*’, §1, in *The Star-Apple Kingdom* (London: Cape, 1980), p. 5. “You ever look up from some lonely beach [/] and see a far schooner?”).

[147] Lowell, *Collected Poems* (ed. Bidart & Gewanter, London: Faber, 2003), p. 569; Snodgrass, ‘Magda Goebbels—30 April 1945’, in *The Fuehrer Bunker* (Brockport, NY: BOA Eds, 1995), pp. 183–85; Gioia, ‘The Homecoming’, in *The Gods of Winter* (Calstock: Peterloo Poets, 1991), pp. 39–52.

[148] ‘Psychopath’, p. 89, in *Collected Poems* (2015; 2/e, London: Picador, 2019), pp. 87–89. Ruth Ellis (1926–55) was the last woman hanged for murder in the UK.

In prose, too, Modernism often failed to take stylistically or must be looked for structurally. The MS of *A Passage to India* (1924) by E. M. Forster (1879–1970) shows him at work in a second phase of composition (1922–24). In the published novel Dr Aziz is acquitted of the (absurdly) unspecified charge on which he is tried, but whatever some critics assume it is radically unclear if Adela Quested was in fact attacked in the Marabar Caves. In draft there was once no doubt : Stallybrass's editorial notations indicate Forster's \insertions/, \\further insertions//, <deletions>, [*foliation*], & his own [editorial insertions] :

[*B48, continued:*] She stood for a moment in the cool, thinking of her plans and rubbing her finger along the invisible wall. \\She thought <what a pity it was> \again/ that she was not in love [with] Ronny. Perhaps he didn't love her. And perhaps the reason was that they neither of them had beautiful bodies. It didn't matter how <beautiful> ardent their souls were, the <realm> \coldness/ of Matter intervened [?].// An extra darkness showed that someone was following her down the entrance tunnel. "Doctor Aziz—" she began, glad to continue the conversation.

At first she thought that <she was being robbed,> he was <holding> \taking/ her hand \as before/ to help her <out>, then she realised, and shrieked at the top of her voice. "Boum" <went> \shrieked [?]/ the echo. She struck out and he got hold of her other hand and forced her against the wall, he got both her hands in one of his, and then felt at her <dress> \breasts/. "Mrs Moore" she yelled. "Ronny—don't let him, save me." The strap of her Field Glasses, tugged suddenly, was drawn across her throat. She understood—it was to be passed once round her neck, <it was to> she was to be throttled as far as necessary and then . . . [*Forster's suspension points*] Silent, though the echo still raged up and down, she waited and when the breath was on her wrenched a hand free, got hold of the glasses and pushed them at \into/ her assailant's mouth. She could not push hard, but it was enough to <free her> hurt him. He let go, and then with both hands \on her weapon/ she smashed <him to pieces> \at him again/. She was strong and had horrible joy in revenge. "Not this time" she cried, and he answered—or <perhaps it was> the cave \did/. She gained the entrance <and> of the tunnel, screamed like a maniac lest he pulled her in when she stooped, and <regained> \then [*sic*]/ the open air, her topi smashed, her fingers bleeding.

"No I mustn't faint, there's not the time, he'll come after me" she thought, and threw herself down a ravine, bumping twenty feet into a water course, [*B49:*] and began to run. Once she looked up and saw the bright green tree \jeering at her over the precipice/. <"Not this time"> she sobbed. "Oh I'm safe, oh I wish I were dead." She kept on falling, hurting herself further on the boulders, she pitched on

her face and fell among thorns. She was saved, but what was the use of it. Dim through her tears rose the yellowish levels of the plain.

"Miss Quested!" she heard a voice. A woman was hurrying up the water course—Miss Derek.

"Oh be kind to me" sobbed Adela falling \again/. "I'm no one, I'm done for."

"Whatever is it?" Miss Derek knelt, her face trembling.

"Doctor Aziz . . . [*Forster's suspension points*] Oh can you keep him away."

"I think we shall manage that" said the other with a short laugh.[149]

Extended narration of violence, especially sexual, is challenging, but there is no sign Forster considered anything but prose with conventional punctuation (two question-marks are missing). Verbs of speech are clumsy ('shrieked, yelled, cried, sobbed, sobbed'), that Adela "smashed <him to pieces>" with "horrible joy in revenge" is startling, & abrupt contradictions cryptic (' "Oh I'm safe, oh I wish I were dead." '). Lapses into ellipsis grammatically gild sentence-fragments (like the dash in ' "Doctor Aziz—" ') but point irresolution *ab initio* ; the whole was cut & in print only "Boum", thorns, & "Field Glasses" remain.[150] Punctuationally, Stallybrass is far sharper editorially than Forster authorially, clearly indicating MS strata with foliation & transcriptive doubts.

Forster's sorry tale of how an imperially racist miscarriage of justice didn't occur remains critically (& in the UK socially) a strongly preferred view of the Raj, nostalgically innocent of Modernism as of guilt ; but there is the tale of how such a miscarriage of justice *did* occur, with flaring, diagnostic impact, in Paul Scott's (1920–78) magnificent *Raj Quartet* (1966–75) aka *The Jewel in the Crown*, umbrella-title for a 13-hour TV adaptation (1983).[151] Modernism is most evident

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[149] *The Manuscripts of* A Passage to India (ed. Stallybrass, London: Arnold, 1978), pp. 242–44.

[150] *A Passage to India* (1924; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1936); there is no equivalent passage, but Aziz finds the field-glasses, p. 153, & Adela gives a retrospective account of an abortive attack, pp. 189–90.

[151] *The Jewel in the Crown* (1966), *The Day of the Scorpion* (1968), *The Towers of Silence* (1971), *A Division of the Spoils* (1975), *Staying On* (1977); *The Jewel in the Crown: The Complete Series* (1984; ITV Studios Home Entertainment, 2009); Granada TV, *The Making of* The Jewel in the Crown (London: Granada, 1983); Granada piloted by adapting *Staying On* (1980; London: ITV DVD, 1998). For *why* Forster needed to deal with a (putative) rape, & Scott to absorb & revise him, see Ward, *Our Bones are Scattered* (London: Murray, 1996), on Kanpur in 1857, for wider context Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005) & cf. Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment* (Honolulu, HI: UP of Hawaii, 1977), & Scott, 'After Marabar', in *My Appointment with the Muse* (ed. Reece, London: Heinemann, 1986), pp. 111–29. There is a biography — Spurling, *Paul Scott* (London: Heinemann, 1990) — & a generous selected letters, *Behind Paul Scott's* Raj Quartet (2 vols, ed. Haswell, Amherst, NY: Cambria P., 2011).

in structure, not only of quartet + coda : there are inset-documents written by characters, including memoirs, newspaper articles, letters, quotations from R. W. Emerson (1803–82) — who "pounds his phrases home [...] like well-hit nails"[152] — by a character fixated on his *Essays*, a stenographic transcript, & two translations by different characters of an Urdu poem by another[153], offering a wide range of vividly distinguished voices. Beneath the varieties of wide-ranging action with a large cast (230+ named characters, 24 principals, more than half women) is the rigorous structure of the narrating–editing 'Stranger', a publisher's reader intrigued by a passage in an Anglo-Indian memoir who spoke to surviving characters, reconstructs dead ones, transcribes documents, & occasionally interjects, well aware of gaps between the world as it once in truth was & as each character saw or sees it, personalities, psychologies, prides, prejudices, & politics playing in.[154] Despite very successful TV adaptation Scott remains neglected as a novelist, partly in length & complexity but mostly (it is hard not to think) because (unlike Forster) he understood that the Raj was a tragedy for Indians *and* Britons, and remorselessly shows nostalgic ex-imperialists how & why that is so.

He is also neglected as a stylist, but there are in the *Raj Quartet* many passages to bring readers to astonished, savouring halts. One location is Pankot, a military hill-station, here in 1942, one character an elderly widow (we space semi-colons, a practice that sadly & sharply declined after *c.*1950) :

> IN A WOMAN with a less well-authenticated Anglo-Indian background than Mabel Layton's what was accepted as eccentricity would probably have been seen as hostility to what Anglo-India stood for, but Mabel's background was impeccable, she criticized no one and seldom expressed any opinion let alone a hostile one. Her absorption in garden and bungalow, her habit of taking solitary walks, her refusal of invitations it was generally considered obligatory to accept, her complete detachment from Pankot's public life, were attributed to the personal idiosyncrasy of someone who had lost two husbands in the

[152] Richardson, *Emerson* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, CA, & London: U. of California P., 1995), p. 322
[153] *The Towers of Silence* (London: Heinemann, 1971, p. 166. In a TS with autograph revisions (in the Scott Collection, Harry Ransom Center, U. of Texas, Austin), p. 279, is a third trans. attributed to "P.S. 1920-".
[154] *Behind* (ed. Haswell), 2.187; on interlocked structures of each novel see Lennard, *Paul Scott* (Tirril: Humanities-Ebks, 2008), pp. 16–23.

> cause of service to the empire, one by rifle-fire on the Khyber, the other by amoebic infection ; and having thus distinguished herself retired from the field of duty to leave room for others. Her withdrawal was accepted with feelings that lay somewhere between respect and regret ; which meant that they were fixed at a point of faint disapproval, therefore seldom expressed, but when they were, an idea would somehow be conveyed of Mrs. Layton's isolation having a meaningful connexion with an earlier golden age which everyone knew had gone but over whose memory she stood guardian, stony-faced and uncompromising ; a bleak point of reference, as it were a marker-buoy above a sunken ship full of treasure that could never be salvaged ; a reminder and a warning to shipping still afloat in waters that got more treacherous every year.
>
> This sense of danger, of the sea-level rising, swamping the plains, threatening the hills, this sense of imminent inundation, was one to which people were not now unaccustomed and although the outbreak of war in Europe had momentarily suggested the erection of a rocky headland upon which to stand fast, the headland was far away, in England, and India was very close and all about. And as the war in Europe began to enter its disagreeable phases it looked as though the headland had been either a mirage or a last despairing lurch of all those things to which value had been attached and upon which the eye, looking west from Pankot, had been kept loyally fixed through all the years in which the encouraging sensation of being looked at loyally in return was steadily diminished until to the sense of living in expectation of inundation had been added the suspicion that this inundation would scarcely be remarked or, if it were, not regretted when it happened.[155]

The first sentence has 29 words before its first comma, and in the last, of 102 words, four commas point subclauses of four & three words, making the pattern 43, 4, 47, 3, 5 words — a remarkable but typical economy of marks that trades on a deep linear clarity of grammar giving driving impetus to prose & nipping weight to short subclauses. In between, a march of semi-colons in the 105-word last sentence of the first paragraph ("Her withdrawal [...] year.") allows the emergence & sustentation of a marine metaphor, marker-buoy to sunken treasure-ship to ships in treacherous waters that pour over the paragraph-break to threaten the Himalaya & transform distant England (in Pankot's collective imaginary) to rocky headland-bastion — until it becomes a mirage or "last despairing lurch of

[155] *Towers.*, pp. 25–26.

all those things to which value had been attached", only fear of inundation remaining in a wry pathos exposing profound disconnection of Britons in Britain & expatriate Anglo-Indians. Such supple sentences & sustained metaphors abound in Scott's prose, but he could wield a staccato rattle, as when virginal Sarah Layton stands frozen before her patient seducer, eyes veiled, vision limited to his arms & hands catching lamplight as he moves glasses & ashtray ; yet after a discreet section-break welcome lyrical fragmentation reporting a nervy joy in defloration : "Did it show? Could anyone tell? That she had entered, like other women? […] She had entered her body's grace. […] He was oblivious of the fact that she had entered. Had entered. To him, perhaps, all women were assumed to have entered. Into their bodies' grace.".[156] Scott's exceptionally deft, often superb, & richly varied punctuation at all levels stands as a masterclass in possible punctuations of prose fiction by the Mid-Twentieth Century, achievements of realism maintained — Scott *always* bears historical witness[157] — but not as a straightjacket, & levels 7–8, structure & inter-volume relations, greatly expanded.

Drama is distinct.[158] As new roles of director & designer developed from the later-Nineteenth Century & production began to impose shapings not to authors' tastes, stage-directions sharply & opening stage-directions hugely expanded, italics & (typically) small-cap roman roles filling first pages in pre-emptive authorial strikes. *The Homecoming* (1965) by Harold Pinter (1930–2008) offers a restrained example, readers having already learned in the *dramatis personae* that Max is "*in his seventies*", Lenny "*in his early thirties*", & in a note that it is summertime & details of the set, a room in "An old house in North London" :

> *Evening.*
>
> LENNY *is sitting on the sofa with a newspaper, a pencil in his hand. He wears a dark suit. He makes occasional marks on the back page.*

[156] *The Day of the Scorpion* (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp. 440–45; the lyrical fragmentation was perh. inspired by Grass's *Die Blechtrommel* (1959; as *The Tin Drum*, trans. Mannheim, London: Secker, 1962).
[157] See Moore, *Paul Scott's Raj* (London: Heinemann, 1990) & Lennard, *Scott*, pp. 24–40.
[158] See Eliot & Nash, 'Mass markets: literature', pp. 429–32, & Nash & Potter, 'Literature', pp. 312–18, *CHBB* 6.416–42, 7.279–318.

MAX *comes in, from the direction of the kitchen. He goes to side-board, opens top drawer, rummages in it, closes it.*

He wears an old cardigan and a cap, and carries a stick.

He walks downstage, stands, looks about the room.

MAX. What have you done with the scissors?

Pause.

I said I'm looking for the scissors. What have you done with them?

Pause.

Did you hear me? I want to cut something out of the paper.

LENNY. I'm reading the paper.[159]

If less autocratic than Samuel Beckett (1906–89), Pinter knew what he wanted in his "comedy of menace".[160] As in most house-styles for drama, three faces, here italic directions, small-cap roles, & roman dialogue, are strictly distinguished, as is indentation, while the spacings of "*Pause.*" makes each longer than any break between speech & reply.[161] Director, designer, & actors have lots to do but by comparison with any pre-1900 drama the script is *very* controlling. Pinter was deadpan about punctuation :

> I've had two full-length plays produced in London. The first ran a week, the second a year. Of course, there are differences between [them]. In *The Birthday Party* I employed a certain amount of dashes in the text, between phrases. In *The Caretaker* I cut out the dashes and used dots instead. So that instead of, say: 'Look, dash, who, dash, I, dash, dash, dash,' the text would read: 'Look, dot, dot, dot, who, dot, dot, dot, I, dot, dot, dot.' So it's possible to deduce from this that dots are more popular than dashes, and that's why *The Caretaker* had a longer run than *The Birthday Party.* The fact that in neither case could you hear the dots and dashes in performance is beside the point. You can't fool the critics for long. They can tell a dot from a dash a mile off, even if they can hear neither.[162]

Neither flippancy nor gibe conceals concern with prescriptive notation — Beckett

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[159] *The Homecoming*, in *Plays Three* (1991; rev. ed., London: Faber, 1997), pp. 14–15.

[160] Wardle, 'The Birthday Party', *Encore* 5 (Jul.-Aug. 1958), pp. 39–40, & 'Comedy of Menace', *Encore* 5 (Sept.-Oct. 1958), pp. 28–33; the phrase is from David Campton's (1924–2006) play *The Lunatic View* (1957).

[161] Worthen, *Print and the Poetics of Modern Drama* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), p. 81, thinks the isolation of Pinter's pauses "transforms their status for all modern readers", but see Rowen's essay below.

[162] 'Writing for the Theatre' (1962), in *Plays One* (1976; London: Faber, 1996), pp. vii–viii.

once told Billie Whitelaw (1932–2014) to "make those three dots, two dots"[163] — and odd as such playtexts first seemed, stranger things have happened since.

In *The Drama Handbook* (2002), Lennard & Luckhurst divide chapters on "Theatre Today" between "The play-text since the 1950s", "Challenges to the play-text", & "Alternatives to the play-text", explaining that

> Play-texts have traditionally conformed with certain conventions privileging the presentation of a narrative, more or less coherent, and assuming its representation on stage by actors playing specific roles. Their appearance in print conforms with other conventions of dramatic layout, which vary in detail but have fundamentally changed little since the sixteenth century; their look and sound in performance fulfils common expectations about the way plays are staged. The possibility of challenging those conventions of page or stage has always existed, but avant-garde theatre-writers now challenge them more often and radically, asking: What is theatre? What is a play? What is narrative? And what is an actor?[164]

Besides Beckett's dramaticules, such challenges are exemplified in work by Berthold Brecht (1898–1956), David Edgar, Caryl Churchill, who invented a notation now in wide use, a forward slash towards the end of a speech indicating the next should overlap[165], Spalding Gray (1941–2004), Ntozake Shange (1948–2018), with notations of her own[166], Sarah Kane (1971–99), who punctuated "to indicate delivery, not to conform to the rules of grammar"[167], & Martin Crimp, whose fearsome *Attempts on her Life* (1997) has "no speech-prefixes, few stage-directions, and some passages in parallel column or right-justified" ; dashes indicate new speakers without naming them, some sections have words in all-caps, others invite sung or choric delivery, & the whole is for "a company of actors whose composition should reflect the composition of the world beyond the theatre".[168] Beyond such challenges to the play-text lie alternatives, including

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[163] Whitelaw, ... *Who He?* (London: Hodder, 1995), p. 77.
[164] *The Drama Handbook* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), p. 261.
[165] Lawson, 'Caryl Churchill, by the people who know her best', *The Guardian* 3 Oct. 2012, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/oct/03/caryl-churchill-collaborators-interview
[166] See Rowen's & Joyce's essays below.
[167] Kane, *Complete Plays* (London: Methuen, 2001), pp. 2, 64, 154.
[168] Lennard & Luckhurst, *Drama*, p. 268; Crimp, *Attempts on her Life* (London: Faber, 1997), p. [vi].

> the extraordinarily inventive documentation by Clifford McLucas [1951–2002] of Brith Gof's "site-specific Theatre Work" *Tri Bywyd* (*Three Lives*, 1995): called "Ten Feet and Three Quarters of an Inch of Theatre", it comprises 12 pages which the reader is invited to photocopy (enlarging by 200 per cent), stick together, and colour. Those who do finish with a sheet 1′3″ x 10′¾″ which has a time-scale on the upper edge, a ruler on the lower edge, and is horizontally divided: in the upper half are four parallel 'tracks' each devoted to one 'performance-unit' (three solo actors and a couple), much as each section of an orchestra has a different stave in a full score; in the lower half are assorted annotations providing clarification, context, etc. The whole can be read as main text with running footnote or two texts locked in mutual interrogation[169]

Punctuation of all kinds is critical in constructing such a thing, as in reading it, but there is again little hope of generalising about practice, each example being distinct[170] ; the playscript continues & canonical drama keeps conventions intact, but readers of new drama must learn values of punctuation from context.

A new narrative medium in which punctuation has hardly been studied at all, the graphic novel, surged in complexity & subtlety from the 1980s, borrowing from *manga*. Marked & deictic punctuations appear as usual with words inside speech- & thought-balloons or narrative-boxes, though the former make inverted commas redundant & all-caps is usual ; the repertoire of marks is typically limited but some — question- & exclamation-marks, ellipses, & wing- or webdings — may be the only content of a speech-balloon. Spatial punctuation, however, becomes vital in arranging panels on a page (the basic unit of composition), shape of gutters, & use of bleeds. Section-structure may be formalised by subtitle-pages & there may be structural graphic motifs, like the smiley in Alan Moore's & Dave Gibbons's seminal *Watchmen* (1986–87)[171] ; such graphic punctuation may occur within splash panels, as dollar-signs & quotations from $100 notes do in a bravura opening of Janwillem van der Wetering's (1931–2008) & Paul Kirchner's *Murder*

[169] *Ibid.*, p. 273. McLucas's work is repr. in Kaye, *Site-Specific Art* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 125–37.
[170] Cf. e.g. the scores of John Cage (1912–92) as against trad. scores, and for one set of issues in notation Sweeney & Dulba-Barnett, eds, *Listen/Éist* (Missoula, MT: U. of Montana P., 2013)
[171] *Watchmen* (London: Titan, 1987); see e.g. pp. 1.1, 11, 25, 26, 2.13, 14, etc..

by Remote Control (1986), leading readers' eyes about paired images explaining & ironising a suspect's profitable past as a sex-worker.[172] The best scholar-critic of graphic novels, expanding on Will Eisner's (1917–2005) *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985), is Scott McCloud in a stunning graphic trilogy, *Understanding Comics* (1993), *Reinventing Comics* (2000), & *Making Comics* (2006), exceptionally educational & eye-opening reads, and wider attention is beginning to be paid to a medium that has become strikingly sophisticated.[173]

Disuse of combinate-marks by *c.*1950 has been noted, and if apostrophes still mark genitives widespread use of one alone after any name ending in 's', since at least the 1980s, is impugning distinction of number in 'the boy's / boys' boots'. They were more interestingly pruned in an edition of Hugh MacDiarmid's (C. M. Grieve, 1892–1978) *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) : the 1/e & *Collected Poems* use them with heterography to indicate Lallans pronunciation ; early in the poem the speaker, fresh from the pub, complains ironically about whisky & why he begins with it :

> And as the worth's gane doun the cost has risen.
> Yin canna throw the cockles o' yin's hert
> Wi'oot ha'en' cauld feet noo, jalousin' what
> The wife'll say (I dinna blame her fur't).
>
> It's robbin' Peter to pey Paul at least….
> And a' that's Scotch aboot it is the name,
> Like a' thing else ca'd Scottish nooadays
> – A' destitute o'speerit juist the same.

[172] *Murder by Remote Control* (1986; intro. Kirchner, Mineola, NY: Dover Pub., 2016), pp. 30–31.

[173] *Comics and Sequential Art* (1985; ed. Kitchen, NYC: Norton, 2008); *Understanding Comics* (1993; NYC: HarperPerennial, 1994), *Reinventing Comics* (NYC: Paradox P., 2000), & *Making Comics* (NYC: HarperCollins, 2006); van Ness, Watchmen *as Literature* (Jefferson, NC, & London: McFarland, 2010), García, *On the Graphic Novel* (2010; trans. Campbell, Jackson, MS: UP of Mississippi, 2015), Hoppenstand, ed., *The Graphic Novel* (Ipswich, MA; Salem P., 2014), Nayar, *The Indian Graphic Novel* & *The Human Rights Graphic Novel* (London & NYC: Routledge, 2016, 2021), Tabachnick, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Graphic Novel* (Cambridge: CUP, 2017), King & Page, *Posthumanism and the Graphic Novel in Latin America* (London: UCL P., 2017), Romero-Jódar, *The Trauma Graphic Novel* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2017), Geczy & McBurnie, *Litcomix* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 2023). Our account draws on Lennard, 'Beyond the Speech-Balloon', unpub. paper at 'Punctuation in Practice', Freie U. Berlin, 19–20 Jun. 2015. We note the v. useful test in Bechdel, *Dykes to Watch Out For* in 1985, which asks if a narrative has (a) at least two female characters who (b) speak to one another (c) about *anything* other than a man; shamefully many works fail it. The relevant strip is on the Wiki. p. for 'Bechdel test', & see Martindale, *Un/Popular Culture* (Albany, NY: State U. of New York P., 1997), p. 69.

(To prove my saul is Scots I maun begin
Wi' what's still deemed Scots and the folk expect,
And spire up syne by visible degrees
To heichts whereo' the fules ha'e never recked.

But aince I get them there I'll whummle them [overturn]
And souse the craturs in the nether deeps,
– For it's nae choice, and ony man s'ud wish
To dree the goat's weird tae as weel's the sheep's!)[174] [endure; fate]

The stage-Scots 'oo' seems worse than apostrophes, but in a 1968 letter to *Lines Review* MacDiarmid quoted conflicting advice : from John Weston, who thought this text "perfectly dreadful" in "apparent contradiction between [MacDiarmid's] nationalism and [...] use of the vile truckling apostrophe" & that respelling via the *Lines Review* 9 Style Sheet (1955) was "a way of twisting the English lion's tail" ; & from Kenneth Buthlay (1926–2009) who felt a "spray of philologically gratuitous apostrophes has its uses in providing many readers with clues to the meaning".[175] *Collected Poems* was not reset but MacDiarmid authorised Weston to edit to his satisfaction, cutting "apostrophes whose function clearly is to show relationships with English and chang[ing] the spellings where necessary" :

And as the worth's gane doun the cost has risen
Yin canna throw the cocles o yin's hert
Wiout haean cauld feet nou, jalousan what
The wife'll say (I dinna blame her fur't.)

It's robban Peter to pey Paul at least….
And aa that's Scotch about it is the name,
Like aathing else caad Scottish nouadays
— Aa destitute of speerit juist the same.

(To prove my saul is Scots I maun begin
Wi what's still deemed Scots and the folk expect,
And spire up syne by visible degrees
To heichts whauro the fules hae never recked.

But aince I get them there I'll whummle them

[174] *Complete Poems, Vol. 1* (ed. M. Grieve & Aitken, Manchester: Carcanet, 2017), p. 83; there is no ed. intro. or comment save provision of a glossary.
[175] Qtd *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (ed. Weston, Amherst, MA: U. of Massachusetts P., 1971), p. xi. MacDiarmid co-founded the Scottish National Party in 1928, before becoming a Communist in the 1930s.

> And souse the craturs in the nether deeps,
> — For it's nae choice, and ony man sud wish
> To dree the goat's weird tae as weel's the sheep's!)[176]

One pays one's money & takes one's choice, but in reading both texts while hearing MacDiarmid speak the poem, not always matching either well, inconsistencies are troubling.[177] Both forms of heterography must be regarded as provisional, a way of getting at a sound, not simply constituting words found in dictionaries ; that is partly because Lallans is not printed enough for conventions to have settled, but it is striking that *The Waste Land* must be seen to be fully appreciated & cannot properly be 'read' by listening to Eliot's (or any) recording while *A Drunk Man* must be heard in Lallans & cannot properly be 'read' by anyone unfamiliar with Lallans only looking at its pages.

The issue is wider. In *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (2014) Marlon James consistently indicates with apostrophes initial letters Jamaican patois omits (' 'bout, 'cause, 'way, 'pon, 'fraid '), but also uses them in the common obscenities "r'ass", "r'asscloth" ('arse/cloth'), presumably to indicate the long (& in utterance often stretched) 'a'.[178] The *Dictionary of Jamaican English* spells it "raas" for that reason, but the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* "rass", the usual Jamaican spelling.[179] James was sufficiently concerned with punctuational appearance to omit inverted commas for dialogue, preferring Joyce's em-dash + *alinéa*, and those opening apostrophes seem needless, while 'aa', as in respelled MacDiarmid, is preferable to an ad-hoc & inconsistent use of an apostrophe to indicate vowel-length : the usual Jamaican pronunciation of '-cloth' in obscenities is /klɐt/, & "r'asscloth" a half-hearted transcription of /rɐsklɐt/.

Beyond handwriting, which with comprehensive education became from

[176] *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8, and for the ed. procedures, pp. xii–xiii.
[177] *A drunk man looks at the thistle* (Dublin: Claddagh Records CCA1 & 2, 1970).
[178] *A Brief History of Seven Killings* (2014; London: Oneworld, 2015), pp. 7, 26, 49, 55, 76, 122, 47.
[179] Cassidy & Le Page, eds, *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967; 2/e, Cambridge: CUP, 1980), p. 372; Allsop, ed., *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (1996; repr. Kingston, Bridgetown, & St Augustine: U. of the West Indies P., 2003), p. 466.

1944 closely a matter of what was taught, with the ball-point pens of László Bíró (1899–1985) declined in formality, & is increasingly compromised by word-processing & social media[180], four matters remain. Between the mid-1950s & mid-1960s development of the motorway system generated a complete overhaul of UK road & other official signage, to sort out the muddle exposed by Herbert Spencer (1924–2002). Based on empirical studies of legibility at speed, the designs of Jock Kinneir (1917–94) & Margaret Calvert were adopted, including their sans serif Transport typeface (now seen in many European countries), colour- & shape-coding, & iconic pictographs. The suspension-mark often (wrongly) used in 'St.' for 'Saint' disappeared from road signage & use of lunulae to indicate an approach rather than direct route began, with rules modified in 1994 — besides hyphens & apostrophes in place-names, the only punctuation-marks used, reflecting their graphic clarity.[181]

Second, while emojis are in the next section, the interrobang, '⁉', was proposed in 1962 by Martin Speckter (1915–88)[182] ; it is rare (we use it once) & to our eyes less clear than '?!' or '!?', but implemented in standard founts & may prosper. I. A. Richards (1893–1979) suggested various superscripts in *How to Read a Page* (1942) as 'specialised quotation-marks', but the only other instance we know is R. A. Foakes's (1923–2013) Arden 3 *King Lear* (1997), an eclectic text that so marked ^{Q}Quarto-only^{Q} & ^{F}Folio-only^{F} readings.[183] More amusingly, Hervé Bazin (1911–96) proposed in *Plumons l'oiseau* ('Pluck the bird', 1966) "the love point ['ʔ'] (two apprehensive question-marks, tenderly leaning towards one another while rooted in the same dot, forming a provisional heart), the conviction

[180] See Sassoon, *Handwriting of the Twentieth Century* (1999; 2/e, Bristol & Chicago, IL: Intellect Bks, 2007) & Trubek, *The History and Uncertain Future of Handwriting* (NYC & London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
[181] Spencer, 'Mile-A-Minute Typography', *Typographica* n.s. 4 (1961) & *The Visible Word* (1968; 2/e, London: Royal Coll. of Art, 1969); Poynor, *Typographica* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural P., 2001); Garfield, *Just My Type* (London: Profile Bks, 2010), pp. 148–59; *The Traffic Signs Regulations and General Directions 1994*, https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1994/1519/schedules/made.
[182] Speckter, 'Making a New Point, or, How About That …', *TYPEtalks* (Mar.–Apr. 1962)
[183] *How to Read a Page* (1942; Boston, MA: Beacon P., 1959), pp. 66–70; & see Hazrat, *An Admirable Point* (London: Profile Bks, 2022), p. 60; *King Lear* (ed. Foakes, Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1997). Only digital setting allows *anything* to be in superscript; in cold metal you need the type-sort — but possibility ≠ appeal to readers.

mark [‘⸸’] (shaped like a cross), the authority point [‘⸿’] (‘like a sultan’s parasol’, Bazin writes), the irony point [‘⸮’] in the form of a ❗ with extended arms (or the Greek letter ψ – psi – a contemptuous sound we make when scoffing at someone), the acclamation point [‘⸘’] (like the victory sign, ‘arms lifted’ in triumph), and, finally, the point of doubt [‘⸘’] – jagged, torn apart by hesitation as to which side to fall.”.[184] There was a proposal in 2012 to add all to Unicode, but they are rarely implemented & we have not seen them beyond discussion of Bazin (but give some outings here).[185] Lois McMaster Bujold has from the 1980s developed a significant innovation, italicisation within tight-third roman narration & dialogue to indicate first-person point-of-view, often ironising & amid dialogue unspoken, greatly increasing narrative depth.[186] And an entire conversation in affective marks is in Jonathan Safran Foer’s ‘A Primer for the Punctuation of Heart Disease’ (2002), including the silence-mark, ‘☐’, willed silence-mark, ‘■’, & reversible colon, ‘::’, allowing clauses to refer both ways.[187]

Third, while digitisation is also in the next section, many earlier changes matter. In offset-printing, developed for tin in 1875 & paper in 1904, the basic process altered : using lithographic techniques a plate impresses a rubber blanket on one roller which transfers it to paper on another ; inking is automated. The significance, besides sharper results than from type, is that colour-printing became much easier (as magazines show) & fast-evolving but costly offset-presses made for fewer & larger print-shops. Other changes had accumulated as “Between 1846 and 1916, the production of books increased fourfold and the price dropped by half”[188], with more imperial and international links, professional literary agency from the 1870s–80s, greater corporatism of printers-cum-

[184] Hazrat, *Admirable*, p. 61.
[185] Yevstifeyev & Pentzlin, ‘Revised preliminary proposal to encode six punctuation characters introduced by Hervé Bazin in the UCS’, 1 Oct. 2012, at http://std.dkuug.dk/jtc1/sc2/wg2/docs/n4256.pdf & see https://jonathanzong.github.io/proposed-punctuation/.
[186] Her earliest uses are in ‘Barter’ (1985), repr. *Dreamweaver’s Dilemma* (ed. Lewis, Framingham, MA: NESFA P., 1995), pp. 43–50, & her first pub. novel, *Shards of Honor* (Riverdale, NY: Baen, 1986), ch. 6.
[187] ‘A Primer for the Punctuation of Heart Disease’, *The New Yorker*, 10 Jun. 2002, & see ‘About the Typefaces Not Used in This Edition’, *The Guardian*, 7 Dec. 2002, & Lennard, *Poetry*, pp. 141–42.
[188] Leary & Nash, ‘Authorship’, p. 172, *CHBB* 6.172–213; and see also pp. 188–91 on commercialisation.

publishers, obsolescence of three-deckers & birth of 'bestsellers', fragmentation of reading publics as 'genre' markets & public lending libraries grew, and the Net Book Agreement with the eventual settlement of international copyright.[189] After *c.*1900 there were also successive new media (radio, film, television) competing for & changing narratives, with recurrent gross political & economic turmoil, rapidly evolving & declining markets, accelerating globalism, & national decline (with imperial collapse) & marginalisation, all affecting the profitability & sustainability of authorial careers.[190] Fewer printers did not at first mean fewer publishers but there were "trends towards large-scale capitalisation and monopoly control"[191], and if to *c.*1970 literary publishing flourished with many imprints serving both higher-end & more popular work, thereafter rolling amalgamation decimated them over & over : 50 years ago hundreds of publishers issued English fiction ; now, though some imprints survive as branding, there are save self-publication, small presses, specialist houses, & a few survivors, five obese giants, and publication of academic & scholarly journals has been similarly engrossed.[192] Probably not coincidentally, offset-printing uses photographic processes (hence 'camera-ready copy') and when in the early 1960s computerised

[189] For a useful overview see Rose, 'Modernity and Print I: Br. 1890–1970', with van der Weel, 'II: Europe 1890–1970', & Luey, 'III: The United States 1890–1970'; & Feather, 'Copyright and the Creation of Literary Property': all in Eliot & Rose, eds, *Companion*, 2.529–42, 543–57, 559–72, 745–57; McKitterick, 'Introduction', pp. 17–22; & e.g. Griest, *Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1970); Altick, *English*; Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (1988; 2/e, Abingdon & NYC: Routledge, 2006); McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon P., 1992); Black & Hoare, eds, *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. 3, 1850–2000* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006); Gillies, *The Professional Literary Agent in Britain, 1880–1920* (Toronto, ON, Buffalo, NY, & London: U. of Toronto P., 2007); Pawley & Robbins, eds, *Libraries and the Reading Public in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison, WI: U. of Wisconsin P., 2013); Glynn, *Reading Publics* (NYC: Empire State Eds, 2015); Cottenet, *Literary Agents in the Transatlantic Book Trade* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2017); Lecker, *Who Was Doris Hedges?* (Montreal, QC, Kingston, ON, London, & Chicago, IL: McGill-Queen's UP, 2020); Crawford & Crawford, eds, *Libraries in Lit.* (Oxford: OUP, 2022); Seville, 'Copyright', Barnes *et al.*, 'A place in the world', & Eliot & Freebury, 'A Year of publishing', pp. 675–80, 690–91, *CHBB* 6.214–37, 595–634, 674–703; McKitterick, 'Organising', pp. 546–53; & Kingsford, *Publishers*, pp. 5–17.

[190] For overviews see Nash *et al*., 'Introduction', & Nash & Squires, 'Authorship', *CHBB* 7.1–38, 99–145.

[191] Secord, 'Science, technology and mathematics', p. 474, *CHBB* 6.443–74

[192] See Finkelstein & McCleery, 'Publishing', Pedersen, 'Schoolbooks and textbook publishing', pp. 358–59, & Mare & Watkinson, 'Journals (STM and humanities)', *CHBB* 7.146–90, 341–64, 484–99; Cope & Phillips, eds, *The Future of the Academic Journal* (2007; 2/e, Oxford: Chandos Pub., 2014). Faber's independence has been sustained by a stellar list & royalties from *Cats*, and the major UPs have hung on; some specialist houses, like SPCK & Baen, are not small, yet tiddlers besides Hachette, Holtzbrink/Macmillan, Penguin Random House, HarperCollins, & Simon & Schuster, some themselves subsidiaries of behemoths.

setting began to displace continuous-casting machines with page-images, a process that used no type, the digital revolution began to stir.[193]

Some effects are clear in comparing 'Arden 2' Shakespeare editions (1948–88) with 'Arden 3's (1995–2020) : in 3s page-image is sharper with photographs & some appended facsimiles, either of which would have priced 2s above student use. Images punctuate 3s' introductions in commitment to performance history, slighted in 2s, and much criticism shows from the 1980s falling cost of illustration in halftone, not requiring (heavier, costlier) art-paper.[194] And in creative work, while it *might* be possible to set in metal type the opening Alasdair Gray (1924–2019) concocted in *1982 Janine* (1984), we would not wish to try : the narrator overdoses in a suicide attempt, and three columns of text in different faces & sizes angle down-page, middle one diminishing until crossed by a page-width line with other text at right-angles & upside-down, before expanding and on the recto contracting again into display of a life-saving barf ; text-blocks of verso & recto are continuous, and if photocopied, trimmed, & mounted form an image *c.* 12 x 3½ in. (310 x 90 mm).[195] Without new technology work by Coupland, Danielewski, Safran Foer, & others might also have been unrealisable at viable cost.

Finally, punctuation studies ended the Twentieth Century triumphantly, thanks to Parkes, & bibliography ambitiously, launching *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (7 vols, 1999–2019)[196], but editorial attitudes to punctuation have since *c.*1950 often imitated Sir Guyon in *The Faerie Queene* (1590) : "But all those pleasant bowres and Pallace braue, [/] *Guyon* broke downe, with rigour pittilesse ; [/] Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue [/] Them from the

[193] For technical detail see Levinson, *Principles of Lithography* (2001; 4/e, Bellingham, WA: SPIE P., 2019).
[194] See Bromage & Williams, 'Materials, technologies and the printing industry', pp. 49–51, & Carter, 'Format and design', *CHBB* 7.41–60, 61–84.
[195] *1982 Janine* (1984; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 184–85; p. 184 is illus. on its Wiki.-p.. Thereafter the narrator passes out, and there are blank pp.. Gray, *A Life in Pictures* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2010), p. 221, reproduces pp. 184–85 with commentary; essays in Crawford & Nairn, eds, *The Arts of Alasdair Gray* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1991), mention the novel but say nothing about its most astonishing opening.
[196] There were parallel ventures — *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (Gen. Ed. Bill Bell, 4 vols, Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007–21); *The Oxford History of the Irish Book* (5 vols, Oxford: OUP, 2006–); Jones & Rees, eds, *A Nation and Its Books* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1998).

tempest of his wrathfulnesse".[197] Uncertain authority of punctuation licenses wholesale silent repunctuation, with knock-on effects via 'modernised' editions that inhibit informed thought about punctuation as a component of literature & element of hermeneutics. All else aside, editorial repunctuation strives to be conventional, means to be invisible, & succeeds. Matters are improving, but generations have had blindness inculcated.

2000+ : The Digital Future

It is still too soon to say what the consequences of the digital revolution may be, but to date digitisation has for literature been more a means of distribution & archiving than a new medium.[198] There is serious interactive work, read online in non-linear ways, globalisation & ecocrisis are affecting novel form[199], and children seem more interested in interactive reading[200], but prose fiction remains overwhelmingly consumed as deadtree codices, e- & audio-books, or sequential posts, all strongly linear, & e-books tend to skeuomorphism (as with shape & 'page-turning') as well as largely retaining the grammar of legibility & formats of deadtree pages. Similarly, digital poetry remains a tiny minority of work still largely tied to e-/books.[201] But our General Introduction notes caveats about contextualisation, fanfic, ragged-left setting, diction & orthography, scrolling, reflowability, grammar-checkers, & the nature of documents, and we expand on some of them here.

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[197] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* (1590; ed. Hamilton, London & NYC: Longman, 1977), p. 297 (II.xii.83.1–4).
[198] Jarvis, *The Gutenberg Parenthesis* (NYC: Bloomsbury, 2023) disagrees.
[199] See Montfort, *Twisty Little Passages* (Boston, MA: MIT P., 2005), Koenitz, *Understanding Interactive Digital Narrative* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2023), & ~ *et al.*, eds, *Interactive Digital Narrative* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2015), Ford, *Writing Interactive Fiction with Twine* (Indianapolis, IN: Que, 2016); Williams, ed., *The Novel in the Americas* (Niwot, CO: UP of Colorado, 1992), Hochman, *Green Cultural Studies* (Moscow, ID: U. of Idaho P., 1998), Levin, *The Contemporary Anglophone Travel Novel* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2008), Dwyer, *Where the Wild Books Are* (Reno & Las Vegas, NV: U. of Nevada P., 2010), Walkowitz, *Born Translated* (NYC: Columbia UP, 2015), Xavier, *The Migrant Text* (Montreal, QC, Kingston, ON, London, & Chicago, IL: McGill-Queen's UP, 2016), & Ganguly, *This Thing Called the World* (Durham, NC, & London: Duke UP, 2016). Satires like Doten, ~~TRUMP~~ SKY ALPHA (Minnesota, MN: Graywolf P., 2019) register global impacts in form.
[200] Hunt & Pearson, 'Children's books', pp. 338–39, *CHBB* 7.319–40.
[201] See Emerson, 'A Hyperspace Poetics, or, Words in Space', *Configurations* 17.1 (Winter 2009), pp. 161–92; & for wider views, Ray Murray, 'The digital book', & Nash *et al.*, 'Reading and ownership', pp. 269–76, *CHBB* 7.85–96, 231–76, & Stewart, *Book, Text, Medium* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020).

Metaphorical revolutions dislike definition, but the key points are fusing media & economics of production & distribution.[202] Before the digital revolution, to print words, project images, & play music needed distinct technologies, but word-processing supports images, text, & links to sound-files, all of which a computer can dis/play. And whereas in 2003 workers struggled globally amid a huge carbon-footprint to print & distribute millions of hardbacks of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (of which you do not get many to the pound or cubic foot[203]), a click or two could today, at negligible cost, create & globally distribute as many e-copies as one wished of a book ten times as long. But that does not mean e-books have no carbon footprint[204], nor that publishers will allow penny-prices or forgo greatly increased profit-margins, and determined maintenance by the Big 5 publishing cartels & retail-format owners of e-prices keyed to those of deadtree copies fuels aggressive piracy, particularly (given the library-pricing strategy of many UPs) of scholarly books.[205]

The digital revolution has created new as well as removing old restrictions. The e-book of this *History* is smart-PDF & could *not* be reflowable : allowing software to alter fount/-size/s & so layouts would scupper integrity of quotation, display, & argument, while special sorts would disappear. Footnotes would become endnotes, and on our scale of annotation digitally linking indices would bulk files already big enough to be problematic ; figures & captions would also be liable to part company. Reflowable text is radically destructive of *mise-en-page*, plasticity disrespecting spatial punctuation[206], & may alter linguistic as well

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[202] See Pierazzo & Stokes, 'The New Textual Technologies' in Eliot & Rose, eds, *Companion*, 2.677–89

[203] The Bloomsbury 1/e is *c.* 20 x 13 x 6.5 cm (8 x 5 x 2½ ins), & 1.3 kg (2.8 lbs). Copies already have the "brown edges and characteristic smell of cheap paperbacks […] evidence of the use of mechanical wood" (Gaskell, *New*, p. 222), not 'acid-free paper', so this bit of Pottermania will not last. *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007) was set in smaller type to reduce thickness & weight, and pr. on better quality, partly recycled paper.

[204] 18% of electricity consumed in Éire in 2022 was by data-centres; https://www.siliconrepublic.com/enterprise/data-centres-electricity-consumption-ireland.

[205] The lit.is large: see e.g. Albanese, ed., *Combating Piracy* (New Brunswick, NJ, & London: Transaction Pub., 2006), Johns, *Piracy* (Chicago, IL, & London: U. of Chicago P., 2009), [Stryszowski & Scorpecci], *Piracy of Digital Content* (Paris: OECD, 2009), & Scott, *Internet Book Piracy* (NYC: Allworth P., 2016), but cf. Haviland & Mullin, eds, *Who Owns This Text?* (Logan, UT: Utah State UP, 2009).

[206] The e-bk of Jorie Graham's *[To] The Last [Be] Human* (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon P./Manchester: Carcanet, 2022) provides in prelims a line of Latin & asks readers "to adjust the size of the text on your viewer so that the line of characters above appears on one line, if possible. [¶] When this text appears on one line on your

as bibliographic code : however great a readerly convenience, it is a cyanide chalice for work actively using typography or layout & complicates citation by destabilising pagination (if allowing Control+F searching) ; yet as the purpose of PDFs is readability on almost all platforms application of DRM restricting access to purchasers is hard, which also fuels piracy. The world of publishing & within it academic publishing became deeply unstable in the later-Twentieth Century, not clearly as a result of digitisation yet coincident with it ; some smaller UPs have folded or been engrossed, like so many publishers, but highly monopolistic models the Big 5 favour are hostile to authors & readers alike, and it is not vanity that has driven a massive increase in self-e-publication, sometimes linked to print-on-demand services.[207] But if that restores authorial control in so far as reflowable files respect it, bypassing copy-editors & IT advice may have unhappy consequences, as may any lapse in digital hygiene.[208]

As yet, then, the punctuation of literature *seems* unaffected, although emojis appear in some e-books (as occasionally here), and we recall an observation by Don McKenzie (1931–99) just before his untimely death :

> It is salutary to bear in mind how persistent and complementary most known forms of communication still are, whether gestural, oral, graphic, written or printed. Their more recent kinetic and digitized extensions are only that: developments of a comprehensive communications industry whose prime features, for all their ostensible differences, are continuity and complementarity.[209]

Such continuity matters greatly, but digital social media have proven in some measure distinct. It seems to have been enforced plain text in early e-mail systems on Usenet in the 1990s that popularised emoticons, ;–), etc., whence smileys, then

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device, the resulting settings will most accurately reproduce the layout of the text on the page and the line length intended by the author.": nice try, but if readers don't layout is grossly compromised.

[207] See Dalton, 'A System Destabilized', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 37.4 (2006), pp. 251–69; Withey *et al.*, *Sustaining Scholarly Publishing* (NYC: AAUP, 2011); & Rayner, 'University presses and academic publishing', pp. 479–83, *CHBB* 7.470–83.

[208] Text pasted but *not* stripped of redundant HTML coding can affect file-conversion, display, & ToCs.

[209] McKenzie, 'Printing and publishing 1557–1700', p. 553, *CHBB* 4.553–67; cf. Wheen, *Dot-Dash to Dot.Com* (NYC: Springer-Verlag, 2011).

emojis[210] : in written social communication tonal indication *matters*, and emojis, with plain-text emphases (‘*sigh*’, ‘_groan_’, etc.), have become its minders. One of the few subtleties of the service formerly known as Twitter was meta-comment on one’s own posts, as ‘</sarcasm>’, and such layered shadings of e-chat indicate what might be, but transfer outside social media is problematic : black-&-white emojis are easy to print, coloured ones amid print possible on a home-printer but on a commercial scale too costly[211] ; and with a page available diction & punctuation at length can do the same tonal offices. Some users also employ ‘send’ as punctuation, chunking a response into serial texts, a punctuation in time + space probably encouraged by the use in some messaging apps of the return-key, ‘↵’, to send. There is a mixed effect on exclamation-marks, texting encouraging use while common emojis supplant them 😱 ; the iterability of emojis (diagnostic of their tonal nature) may fuel emphatic repetition of words in texting. The apestail has transformed from a business & sports notation to multi-purpose tag in wide use ; an e-mail to A & B may have a paragraph ‘@B’ for hir particular attention. Compositional & phonetic spelling, abbreviations, & a snafu of acronyms have surged back into use, and if some can bemuse[212] demonstration of differing punctuational repertoires co-existing in different media is welcome. Ellipses, medial & terminal, also seem more heavily used in social media than in print, for implication after conditionals as well as grammatical incompletion.

Then there are automated systems built into popular programmes. If the purpose of prescriptivism is halting language change it fails, but as Curzan showed there are other ways to analyse its impulse, which has a new weapon in spell- & grammar-checkers.[213] Grammarians’ jobations may pass unheeded but the red & blue underlining whereby MS Word marks whatever it is programmed to disapprove is *much* more invasive : if the variety of English is properly set

[210] See Giannoulis & Wilde, eds, *Emoticons,* Kaomoji*, and Emoji* (NYC & London: Routledge, 2020), p. 3
[211] See Hazrat, *Admirable*, p. 62; coloured emojis mid-text would mean using a colour-press to pr. mostly black.
[212] IDC, ‘in due course’/‘I don’t care’ & LOL, ‘lots of love’/‘laughing out loud’, can offend or confuse.
[213] *Fixing English* (Cambridge: CUP, 2014), & see Cameron, *Verbal Hygiene* (London & NYC: Routledge, 1995).

usually rightly in spelling, *if* one is not quoting older material (we get much errant measling), but far more tendentiously & wrongly with grammar, where context of judgement is only a few words, ignoring more distant agreements. A handy way of catching genuine tyops makes for reluctance to turn checkers off, and they may prompt change as well as policing orthography — a force for homogenisation & *very* local grammar that may prove as costly as Tweeting to more extended prose, though algorithms & AI may improve them.

Anecdotally, there are also putative effects, especially in business practice, of bulleted lists, often via PowerPoint, that use *alinéa*, eliminating semi-/colons & sometimes all marks save commas or solidi, reflecting & promoting loss of securer literacy. We have heard plaintively from several sources of senior executives who, offered a memo in paragraphed 1.5-spaced prose on less than one side of A4 or US Letter, demand it be broken into bullet-points, suggesting joined-up incapacity & incompetence of punctuation. This is one form of concern about attention-spans in the days of ex-Twitter, but various educators & writers of fanfic independently tell us that those who read on phone-screens are more likely to complain about sentence- & paragraph-lengths than those who read on larger screens, and the confining PowerPoint rectangle full of oversize & wilfully simplified bulleting may be having synergistically unhappy effects.[214]

The punctuation of scholarship & criticism, however, is considerably bettered in what can be quoted. A half-century ago we could not have included our many special sorts, for reasons of cost. Vast increases in accessibility of MSS & older codices through digitisation, with technology that uses no type, transform what scholars & students are able to *see* **and** *print* : but the efforts of the Medieval

[214] Elliott *et al.*, 'The Effect of Screen Size on Reading Speed', in Ahram *et al.*, eds, *Advances in Human Factors in Training, Education, and Learning Sciences* (Cham: Springer, 2020), pp. 103–09, report little effect on *speed* (unsurprisingly, as the bouma of words is unaffected), but do not ask about sentence- or para.-lengths despite noting that "fewer words in the screen [...] caused the participants to skip lines and scroll more becoming distracting [*sic*]" (p. 104). If a reader cannot see a whole sentence checking syntax requires scrolling, so error will prob. accumulate. Work on optimal context, how much text is simultaneously on screen, remains a desideratum.

Unicode Font Initiative[215] are badly needed in implementing coded marks & brevigraphs in common founts, for the let is software that could expand but hasn't, supposed unimportance of punctuation inhibiting perceptions of need.

Finally, we offer as brief case-studies four works that could not exist as they do or be punctuated as they are without the digital revolution : the 'Liaden Universe®' novels & chapbooks (1988–) by Sharon Lee & Steve Miller ; Ursula Vernon's graphic novel *Digger* (2003–11, pr. 2013) ; the second poetry collection by Airea D. Matthews, *Bread and Circus* (2023) ; & the ongoing Jane Austen Fanfiction (JAFF) *Keeping Calm* (2012–) by Linda Wells (aka 'Booknut').[216] All might be surprised to be chosen as punctuational exempla, yet each is distinctive.

For bibliography of the 'Liaden Universe®' we refer readers to its regularly updated Wikipedia-page & the authors' website.[217] The nub is that Lee & Miller published the first three novels in 1988–89, with some success, but problems with publishers led to the series lapsing until they discovered in the mid-1990s that Usenet-group rec.arts.sf.written had built them a cult following. With *Two Tales of Korval* (1995) they began to issue 'Liaden Universe®' short stories gathered in chapbooks issued by their own company, SRM Publisher, and novel publication resumed in 1999 ; but new novel-publisher Meisha Merlin went bankrupt in the mid-2000s, owing them royalties, & they struck an online 'storyteller's bowl' deal with fans, whereby draft chapters of novels were not posted until a sufficient sum had been paid & those who contributed enough were entitled to a deadtree copy of the revised whole. Baen Books, a notable e-retailer, picked them up in 2008, later buying their back catalogue, and there are in 2023 no less than 26 novels & 35 chapbooks of one to three short stories + some outtakes, fragments, etc., which Lee & Miller e-publish through their own company, now Pinbeam, &

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[215] See https://mufi.info/q.php?p=mufi/home & https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_Unicode_Font_Initiative.

[216] We say this with Wells's permission, for which & her co-operation we thank her. *Keeping Calm* is posting at A Happy Assembly (meryton.com) & elsewhere; it may be read freely but registration & log-in are required to protect against piracy & plagiarism, unhappily rife (copy, paste, upload to KDP) & under-policed by e-retailers.

[217] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liaden_universe & http://korval.com.

Baen gathers in e- & deadtree omnibi (five to date).[218] Nothing defies cold-metal publication, but online links with readers were twice a lifeline, and if the digital revolution has not affected how Lee & Miller punctuate sentences it has affected levels-7–8 : novels in main strands (differentiated by protagonists & chronology) go to Baen, chapbooks fill-in backstory, provide sidelights, & build characters, weaving a pattern of distributed fiction no less complex (if in plainer prose) than Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County. From comments in forewords & elsewhere it seems commercial viability of chapbooks, especially with e-publication, affects their writing-process/es, novels having deadlines, chapbooks providing answers in their own time to creative niggles, exploring incidents that for whatever reason defy inclusion in novels, & enabling experiments they couldn't risk with commercial credibility for Baen at stake.[219]

Vernon's splendid *Digger*, about a female wombat engineer with attitude & a dead god, is also partly a tale of reader-power. It is another work without an MS, composed on-screen & strictly black-&-white, without halftones, except when (supposedly) primitive cave-art is quoted. Published online 2003–11, at two pages a week when Vernon's muse was on song, with hiatūs when not, it acquired a cult following for ground-breaking artwork & a mordant, clever storyline with memorable speech-balloons. The print edition has 788 graphic pages + paratexts, including Vernon's web-commentary during composition, and exists only because demand, boosted by a 2012 Hugo for Best Graphic Story, proved willing to adopt a subscription-model ; a four-page, small-print 'Honour Roll' lists those who paid ahead of time, funding "initial design and print run".[220] At minimum, the work's history shows digital enablement of fine, long, & idiosyncratic

[218] Baen have been v. proactive, using free bks as series-tempters, DRM-free back-catalogues on CD-ROM with hbks, & 'E-ARC's ('Advanced Reader Copies') — e-proofs that are cheaper than 1/es & available months earlier, a commercialisation of proofs, plainly labelled as such, that fans profitably appreciate. Their deadtree distribution outside the US, however, is very patchy.

[219] A good example is chapbk 19, *Legacy Systems*, containing 'The Space at Tinsori Light', & *Reflections on Tinsori Light* (both Waterville, ME: Pinbeam Bks, 2012). We thank Steve Miller for his time & help.

[220] *Digger* (Saint Paul, MN: Sofawolf P., 2013), p. 809; the webcomic can be read at https://diggercomic.com. In pr., p. 98, online a single panel with an aspect ratio of *c.* 3:95, becomes five parallel panels, each *c.* 3 x 19 cm.

material big publishers are unlikely to accept.

Matthews's *Bread and Circus*, the Poetry Book Society Summer Choice 2023, depends on digital setting & offset-printing. There are photographs among & beneath text, graphs, text at angles, overlapping texts, & text in more than one shade on the same page, black & light grey. The last two would require multiple impressions on any pre-digital press, with differing intensities of ink very prone to wasteful error & paper-damage. The effects are too varied to generalise, but Matthews is African-American & the blurb claims a "bold poetic reckoning with the realities of systemic poverty and its intergenerational effects" by "juxtaposing" "redacted texts" by economist Adam Smith (1723–90) & Marxist philosopher Guy Debord (1931–94) "with the lived experience of a US urban Black community".[221] Collages & collisions of the *mise-en-page* are thematic, and the satire by Juvenal (fl.*c.* 100–27) the title almost quotes glosses political disempowerment : as Ramsay renders Satire X.78–81, "the people that once bestowed commands, consulships, legions and all else, now meddles no more and longs eagerly for just two things—Bread and Games !" (*panem et circenses*).[222]

Finally, while fanfic based on copyright material is legally unpublishable (though free posting is tolerated much as Cnut tolerated a rising tide), Austen having been out of copyright since 1847 makes JAFF distinct & has shaped a very active fandom. Many fic authors post freely, others post freely until complete, welcoming feedback, then take down, revise, & publish, or go straight to self-publishing platforms. With (we estimate) well over 2,000 sequels to or variations on *Pride and Prejudice* now published & at least as many again posted, this is a crowded arena[223], but Wells's work has long stood out for length, twists, &

[221] *Bread and Circus* (London: Picador, 2023), back-cover blurb.
[222] *Juvenal and Persius with an English Translation by G. G. Ramsay* (London: Heinemann/NYC: Putnam's, 1918), pp. 199.
[223] Variations alter some circumstance or personality (Lydia & Wickham not found, less indolent Mr Bennet, etc.) & work things through to the happy ending. The remarkable analytical index to JAFF at https://www.jaffindex.com, requires a User-Name & PW from one of the major Austen fic-sites (e.g. A Happy Assembly, Derbyshire Writers' Guild), which may require registration.

complex plotting, and in her work-in-progress since 2012, *Keeping Calm*, she has been outdoing herself. Running (in June 2023) to exactly 300 chapters & 2,865,216 words[224], it is set during World War Two : Elizabeth & Darcy marry after a whirlwind romance in 1939 & with chapter 300 the tale is in the aftermath of D-Day. Besides the improbability of any commercial publisher accepting such a ratio of elapsed narrative-time to words, and clear evidence from the *very* many, overwhelmingly positive comments at various posting-sites that its readers welcome such length, whatever publishers think, Wells's research & multimedia punctuation have been exemplary. When daily news, popular songs, or historical minutiae of the 1940s come up, links to videos, sound-files, & archival material are provided, while end-notes to each chapter cite sources, so full advantage is taken of digital capacities & the whole is first-rate social history as well as fiction. Photos illustrate places & buildings, with fine art when drawings by Darcy matter to plot and are provided.

Wells cheerfully admits that with a story posted over such a long period, and so many readers who comment, authorship becomes in some measure social — which may not affect marked, spatial, & deictic punctuation on her e-pages, but certainly repunctuates writing & reading :

> Yes, the running feedback from the comment thread is vital to me for many reasons, and I have valued it from my very first story. This is one reason why I still post my stories before publishing, where most JAFF writers who intend to publish beyond a story site no longer do. Readers often make observations that spark new thoughts. They tell me that I'm holding their interest, they encourage me to keep going, and often offer corrections, criticisms, new information, and questions that make the story better in the end. I have not read *Keeping Calm* through yet, I won't until it's finished, but I have readers who have read it many times and they will often quote passages or send me off to look at something I've forgotten. Some even keep their own character family trees and fact sheets. In a way it's a collaborative effort.[225]

In deadtree *Keeping Calm*, unless severely cut, will be at least a nine-decker

[224] Raw computer count, incl. nn., images, & links: Wells, e-mail to Lennard, 26 Jun. 2023, qtd with permission.
[225] *Ibid.*, qtd with permission.

novel/series, and Wells has interesting decisions to make about links[226] ; however less than 'interactive' as now usually defined, *Keeping Calm* is a work both appearing & conceived online, in the context of digital multimedia, and in its embedded links & other materials a literary fiction that is, vitally & rewardingly, digitally as well as conventionally punctuated in composition & reception. Print would in clear ways reduce & limit it ; and if its true medium is e-text, smart-PDF or reflowable, there *is* fundamental change : in the parameters of what is viable with punctuated text & its length[227] ; in a new self-enabling *signe de renvoi*, the link, that (potentially ; one needn't click) disrupts linearity to enrich reading with source-data, images, & music, and fascinatingly engages with the intrinsic intertextuality of fanfic[228] ; & through that, a new form, a strongly linear spinal text (the linguistic code + e-text bibliographic code) amid a vast digital reticulation of references (linked, explicit, implicit, allusive) with nodal clusters (Austen, Derbyshire, London, wartime) & more limited or singular outliers (bespoke artwork, historical individuals mentioned, continental European & US connections) — within the single-authored wholeness of which punctuation steps boldly up to the mark ; and to the space & to the deixis of links. The stops *have* bucked here.

[226] One way is in Krasznahorkai's *Mindig Homérosznak* (2016; as *Chasing Homer*, trans. Batki, NYC: New Directions, 2021): each ch. has a QR link to soundtrack for that ch.; see Dames, *The Chapter*, pp. 295–96.

[227] Acceptable length is changing, esp. in children's/YA bks. The last four Potter bks average 203,708 words: Tamora Pierce said 'Daughter of the Lioness' is "a pair of books instead of a quartet thanks to J. K. Rowling [...] who taught adults that American kids will read thicker books": *Trickster's Queen* (NYC: Random House, 2004), p. 468.

[228] The Organization for Transformative Works, which runs the Archive of Our Own & Fanlore wiki, and pub. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, argues fanfic is transformative (with its own ©) not derivative (breaching another's), but IP law is hostile & the distinction does not alter intrinsic intertextuality. Constant awareness of existing in relation to a © canon & other fic within a fandom is formalised in embedded links, but exceeds them in unlinked allusions to canon & other fics, and comment-threads attaching to posted chs, themselves a punct., explorable before reading on, perhaps referring back-&-forth in the text & to any prequels, sequels, or related works. Unconstrained by publishers' notions of marketability or the economics of deadtree & profit, fanfic is an engine of generic innovation, creating new forms (as the demi-/drabble of exactly 50/100 words) & narrative structures (hurt/comfort as a dominant story-arc, missing scenes, & reverse-angle narration), so it is unsurprising it should first supply a strong candidate for genuine e-change & a new form + context of narrative. For sensible analysis see Jenkins, *Textual Poachers* (NYC & London: Routledge, 1992), Pugh, *The Democratic Genre* (Bridgend: Seren, 2005), Hellekson & Busse, eds, *Fan Fiction and Fan Communities in the Age of the Internet* (Jefferson, NC, & London: McFarland, 2006), & Jamison, ed., *Fic* (Dallas, TX: SmartPop, 2013).

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