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A Stylistic Analysis of the Pragmatics of *thou* in
Early Modern English Dialogues

submitted by
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A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (2005)

Compiled by Merja Kytö (Uppsala University, Sweden) & Jonathan Culpeper (Lancaster University, England)

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or part to another university for the award of any other degree

A Stylistic Analysis of the Pragmatics of *thou* in Early Modern English Dialogues

Abstract

This study investigates the changing pragmatics of *thou* in Early Modern English dialogues. It considers the contexts in which *thou* and *you* are used with singular reference, analyses in detail the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange and how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets in a broad range of constructed and authentic texts.

The study is data-driven. Texts in the Corpus of English Dialogues featuring inflected forms of *thou* are identified and the unmarked usage of the speaker to the addressee is established by a close reading of these texts. Motivation for switches to marked usage of *thou* and singular *you* is assessed from the context. Address terms and affective epithets collocating with *thou* and singular *you* are noted to trace diachronic usage. A comparison is made between usage in drama and non-drama texts. The findings show that *thou*-usage connotes affect not only in Shakespearean drama, as has previously been proposed, but also in a wide range of texts throughout the period studied.

The study presents a new pragmaphilological model with a finding that the process of pronoun switching frequently acts as a pragmatic marker. The study establishes that features influencing change of use are speaker's change of topic, speaker's change of stance on the topic and speaker's change of perception of the persona of the addressee. In comparison with *you*, *thou* is used as an address term with diminishing frequency throughout the whole period. It is used more frequently in collocation with affective epithets than with address terms. It continues in use with an affective function in drama texts until the end of the period. The switching of address pronouns is motivated. The pragmatics of *thou* is understood through its switching behaviour with *you*.

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A Stylistic Analysis of the Pragmatics of *thou* in Early Modern English Dialogues

Chapter 1 Aims & Objectives

This is a qualitative and quantitative study investigating the changing pragmatics of *thou* in Early Modern English dialogues. It considers the contexts in which *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference, analyses the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange and analyses how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets in a range of constructed and authentic texts.

In Old English *thou* was the second person singular personal pronoun in the nominative case and *ye* was the plural form. The use of the plural form in singular contexts developed in the Middle English period probably initially in formal contexts (Hogg 2002:20). This usage probably came into English via Latin and French texts written in twelfth-century England (Johnson 1966:261). Horobin & Smith suggest that by the Middle English period, '*thou* was not only singular but also intimate and *ye* was regarded as more formal as well as plural' with the distinction being 'roughly comparable with the *tu/vous* distinction in present day French' (2002:112). Analyses of contemporary texts, however, have shown that the distinction is more subtle than intimacy and formality with *ye/you* being: 'not so much 'polite' as 'not impolite'; it is not so much 'formal' as 'not informal' (Quirk 1986:7). By the end of the Early Modern English period Lowth considers that '*thou* in the polite, and even in the familiar style is disused, and the plural *you* is employed instead of it,' with *thou* being restricted to 'the serious and solemn style,' that is, the register of poetry and sermons ([1762]1799:vi).

Ulrich Busse, author of a comprehensive study of *thou/you* variation in the Shakespeare corpus, suggests:

If two linguistic forms in a specific language co-occur at a given time it is from the point of view of economy in language very likely that they are not semantically identical – at least in their connotations, or since we deal with a set of closed-class elements that acquire meaning through their capacity of anaphoric reference, or their pragmatic value, we may assume that they are

neither in free variation nor in complementary distribution ... but that there is a certain overlap in function in that they should not be viewed as if in a clear-cut binary division but as if on a sliding scale. (2002:8)

In order to investigate the changing significance of the second person pronoun in Early Modern English, I have analysed the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*,¹ a computerized corpus of constructed and authentic dialogues compiled by Merja Kytö of Uppsala University and Jonathan Culpeper of Lancaster University. The analysis adopts a diachronic form-to-function model in which the pertinent question is, according to Fitzmaurice & Taavitsainen (2007:15): ‘What are the constraints on ways in which meaning can change while form remains constant?’ Therefore, one of my objectives is:

to discover the contexts in which the forms *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference.

My second objective is:

to determine the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange or within a single utterance.

My aim is to make my study data-driven rather than hypothesis-driven. Rather than considering features that had already been proposed as potential determinants in the selection of *thou/you*, my approach is to identify the phenomenon of switching from one form to another with singular reference and then to assess possible causes. In this way, I hope to answer the Fish criticism of stylistic analysis (1979:129): that it ‘was always arbitrary, less a matter of something demonstrated than of something assumed before the fact or imposed after it.’ Fish asserts that ‘the goal of stylistics – an objective account of form and meaning – is an impossible one’. It would be possible only if it were possible to ‘point to a formal structure without already having invoked some interpretative principle’ (1979:130).

¹ Henceforth CED.

Concepts and Terminology

Deixis

The choice of the variant is likely to be significant. With this choice the speaker indicates or points to some aspect of the addressee. This pointing feature, which serves to ‘express distinctions in terms of orientation within the immediate context of an utterance’ (Trask 1993:75), is termed ‘deixis’ from the Greek for ‘pointing’ (Wales 2001:99). Bussmann defines deixis (1996:116) as ‘linguistic expressions that refer to the personal, temporal or spatial aspect of any given utterance act and whose designation is therefore *dependent on the context of the speech situation*’ [added emphasis].

Quotations in the *Oxford English Dictionary*² under the definition *to thou* as a speech act verb, to address someone as *thou*, in the Early Modern English period suggest that it was regarded as the marked form of the *thou/you* pair that is: the use of a singular form to a single addressee invited comment. Before the seventeenth century, the comments indicated that it was perceived as implying lack of social deference:

c1450 in Aungier *Syon* (1840) 297 None of hyghenesse schal thou another in spekyng.
c1530 *Hickscorner* (1905) 149 Avaunt, caitiff, dost thou thou me! I am come of good kin I tell thee!

and that *thou* was the common form of address to God, making the use of *you* in this context worthy of comment:

1564-78 W. BULLEIN *Dial.agst. Pest.* (1888) 5 He thous not God, but you[s] hym.

Markedness

Because both *thou* and *you* were perceived as marked and invited comment in certain contexts, it seems appropriate to pursue the objectives above using the concept of markedness. This concept was first postulated in terms of phonological opposition by Trubetzkoy ascribing to phonetic features (such as voicing) opposed actual values, either positive or negative and extended to grammar and lexis by Jakobson

² Henceforth OED.

(Shapiro 1983:15). Grammatical and lexical features may have opposed values which may add a level of connotation to their strictly referential content.

According to Trask (1993:167) the marked form of a variable is:

1 a form or construction differing from another with which it stands in a paradigmatic relationship (the unmarked form) by the presence of additional morphological material.

2 a form or construction which is regarded as less central or less natural than a competing one on any of various grounds, such as lower frequency, more limited distribution, more overt morphological marking, greater semantic specificity or greater rarity in languages generally.

An example of the first category is the addition of the suffix *-ess* to a noun to denote a female person. Trask gives the example *hostess*, which is marked with respect to *host*.

Bussmann defines markedness as:

the distinction between what is neutral, natural or expected (which is) unmarked and what departs from the neutral along some specified parameter (that is) marked. (1998:295)

He suggests that in semantics prototypes are unmarked categories. As an example of his second category Trask gives the noun *drake* as being marked with respect to its superordinate *duck*. We can develop this as: all ducks are ducks but not all ducks are drakes, thus, as a hyponym of *duck*, *drake*, is the marked form. Wales (2001:243) notes that when the female gender is explicitly marked on nouns, as in English, and the unmarked form is used ‘with generic as well as male reference,’ there is concern that this may be ‘taken evaluatively, with connotations of “abnormality” or inferiority.’

Markedness Shift

Markedness shift (Trask 1993:167) is ‘the historical process by which the more marked of two competing forms becomes less marked and vice versa.’ Markedness shift occurred in modern British English with reference to an apparatus for receiving radio signals. This was originally termed *wireless* with US usage *radio* as the

marked form in British English. Quotations from the OED illustrate the process by which the term *wireless* became marked:

1927 T. E. Lawrence *Let.* 4 Oct. (1938) 543 We have no *wireless*, and I don't look at papers.

1936 King Edward VIII in *Manch. Guardian Weekly* 6 Mar. 185/1 Science has made it possible for me..to speak to you all over the *radio*.

1941 W. H. Auden *New Year Let.* ii. 36 He moves on tiptoe round the room, Turns on the *radio* to mark Isolde's Sehnsucht for the dark.

1944 K. Douglas *Alamein to Zem Zem* (1946) 49 The *wirelesses* in the new tanks had to be checked.

1968 *New Society* 22 Aug. 265/2 Non-U *radio*/U *wireless* is no longer true; the U call it a *radio* too.

1971 *Daily Tel.* 13 May 7/1, I used to stand alone in front of that big brown box that used to be called a '*wireless*' and conduct symphony concerts.

With the *thou/you* variants the plural form *you* began to be applied as a marked form with singular reference and progressively ousted the singular form *thou* until this form itself became marked. During this process some *thou/you* usage acquired evaluative connotation. Subsequently markedness reversal occurred when the direction of the shift seemed to change in certain contexts.

Shapiro notes (1983:15-17) that 'markedness is a species of interpretant' also that 'one part of the referential field must be represented by the unmarked term of an opposition' (e.g. *duck*), 'but the remaining part may be represented by either the marked or the unmarked term' (e.g. *duck* or *drake*). It seems likely that a change in the linguistic variant referring to an addressee connotes some aspect of the status of that addressee. It is not only that the 'precise characterisation of markedness is a matter of some controversy' (Trask 1993), but also the fact that the history of the second-person pronoun system 'is intricate and not well understood' (Lass 1999:148), that motivates the present investigation.

The controversy over the characterisation of markedness seems to arise over Jakobson's definition of meaning as 'an intrinsic property given by the linguistic system itself, not by external reality' (Jakobson 1967:671 in Andrews 1990:14). As Andrews states (1990:148) 'generally, conceptual features in grammar and morphology cannot reverse synchronically if the fundamental premises of Jakobsonian markedness theory, as Jacobson himself developed them for morphology, are accepted.' Since they do appear to reverse synchronically

according to the data in the CED, this suggests that meaning, or some feature of it, may be found in external reality; that is in language use as a pragmatic feature. Basing her argument on conceptual features as the basis of meaning, Andrews refutes Waugh's example of the lexical pair *male/female* to illustrate markedness reversal (1990:151). Waugh suggests (1982:310) that 'female' is marked for occupation in the context of doctor or professor, since, in Western culture and until relatively recently at least, the general assumption would have been that doctors and professors would have been male. Similarly 'male' would be marked for secretary or nurse. Andrews considers that this example misdefines categories of extra-linguistic experience such as gender and animacy as semantic invariants.

I suggest that markedness is not only semantic, however, but may also be pragmatic. Andrews goes on to claim (1990:156) that, 'acknowledging the marked nature of the "feminine" form allows one only to assume, based on our experience of extra-linguistic reality, that the marking is something like "a being who is perceived as having feminine gender and all this entails".' She questions why if 'feminine' forms are marked for 'femaleness' the lexeme 'she' also refers to 'ships, planes, hurricanes and gay men.' The answer, I propose, is that these entities are not beings 'perceived as having feminine gender and all this entails' but entities with perceived female characteristics. Andrews suggests though that the fact that hurricanes in the US are now given both male and female proper names and that 'pronominal usage now corresponds to the gender indicated by the proper noun ... shows that pronominal gender is defined within the linguistic system itself; the pronoun agrees with the lexical or grammatical gender of its referent.' There seems no reason why it would not agree, whether the femaleness were a semantic invariant or a pragmatic component.

Pronoun usage does agree with the gender indicated by the proper noun in hurricane naming but how does an inanimate object acquire the features of animacy and feminine gender? The explanation is suggested on a meteorological website, as is the subsequent change to the custom of alternating male and female names for tropical storms:

... in the 1940s ... when short-wave radio came into general use for the transmission of weather forecasts and warnings to shipping and aviation ...

giving hurricanes nicknames was a very simple and quick way of identifying a particular storm from one day to the next.

In 1953 the National Weather Service began using female names for storms. For many years hurricanes and other tropical storms bore only girls' names. In that era when political correctness had never been heard of, the exclusively male meteorological community in the USA considered female names appropriate for such unpredictable and dangerous phenomena. In the 1970s the growing numbers of female meteorologists began to object to such a sexist practice, and from 1978 onwards girls' and boys' names alternated. (history of hurricane names weatheronline)

I would suggest connotation rather than entailment as the deciding feature. Tropical storms are 'unpredictable and dangerous', features perceived as characteristically female by the 'exclusively male meteorological community'.

Shapiro explains the concept of markedness assimilation (1983:84) as occurring when 'the normally unmarked value for a given feature occurs in an unmarked (simultaneous or sequential) context, and the normally marked value in the marked context.' Andrews views this as a circular argument (1990:146), since one must first assume what is marked and unmarked. In the case of *thou/you* distinction Shapiro's claim does seem to be valid, since the *thou* variant, which ultimately became marked in conversational use, has survived in the marked contexts of poetry, prayer and ritual. Haiman (1980) asserts that the significance of markedness assimilation is that it recognises that markedness relates to context. He illustrates this with the example of a bilingual speaker who speaks French at home and English in the office. Were he to change this to speak English at home and French in the office, this would be for him marked behaviour. 'Neither language and neither context is in itself marked; what may be either marked or neutral is only the relationship between the two' (Haiman 1980:529). The bilingual speaker's habitual usage would be the default unmarked usage. A switch to the other language would be marked and probably motivated. Haiman rejects as 'insufficiently specific' the idea that *you* forms can be explained as examples of markedness assimilation (1980:529fn). He notes that the morphological distinction between familiar and polite forms of address exists in other European languages. In some *you* is the plural form and an icon of power. In others *you* is in the third person singular or plural form connoting distance. 'These are all marked with respect to the second singular addressee, as are the first person and the genitive case but neither of these is ever found as a signal of polite address'

(Haiman 1980:529fn). He does not give examples here but, assuming that the first person and genitive case he suggests relate to ‘the hospital *we*,’ as in ‘how are we today? how is our arm feeling?’ asked of a patient by a (rather patronising) doctor, these could be cited as examples of markedness assimilation. They do not signal polite address but are a marked expression of singularity connoting a further aspect of the *thou/you* variable,³ solidarity, in the marked context of a medical interview.

In his study of markedness as an evaluative feature, Battistella (1990:2) defines semantic markedness as ‘a relation between a very specific linguistic sign (the marked term) and a sign that is unspecified for the grammatical or conceptual feature in question.’ The unmarked term (1990:4) ‘will be more broadly defined, carry less information and is a conceptual default value unless the marked term is specifically indicated.’ Further markedness relations are not fixed but, significantly for the present study, depend on the ‘language-internal evaluation of the terms of an opposition’ and ‘context may have the effect of reversing markedness relations.’ According to these criteria *thou* may be defined as the marked term in the CED. The distribution criteria for unmarked forms cited by Battistella are considered in the present analysis. He discounts text frequency as a test for unmarkedness because of what he terms the ‘type/token fallacy’, that is ‘greater text frequency may indicate frequency of use of a particular category rather than its semantic properties’ (1990:38). The danger of relying on counting tokens is illustrated in the CED texts. A bare quantitative analysis reveals nothing more than quantity:

You, you, you, shall we fetch a kennell of Beagles that may cry
nothing but you, you, you, you. For we are wearie of it.
[1595 1CWARNE]

Because of space constraint, this study concentrates on those texts in the CED in which *thou*, the postulated marked term, features. The second defining feature of unmarkedness, broader distribution or involvement in a greater number of contexts than the marked value, though noted, is not considered in detail.

The third distributional criterion noted by Battistella (1990:38), neutralisation, relates to the wider application of the unmarked term, in this case *you*, to the general ‘not-implying T[hou]’ and the specific ‘implying not-T[hou]’ (Jakobson 1957 cited

³ See chapter 2 Brown & Gilman’s (1964) *Power & Solidarity* model.

in Battistella 1990). This is relevant to a consideration of markedness reversal, a concept defined by Battistella (1990:58):

markedness values reverse when a marked term's referent comes to be the expected or general member of an opposition and the unmarked term's referent becomes the unexpected. Then the feature value distinguishing the marked element becomes the new unmarked value, reversing its previous status.

Levinson relates markedness and markedness reversal to Grice's (1975) model of Generalized Conversational Implicature (2000:31):

Grice's Second Maxim of Quantity: Do not make your contribution more informative than is required, from which can be deduced, 'if what is simply described can be presumed to be stereotypically exemplified, then what is described in a *marked* or unusual way should be presumed to contrast with that stereotypical or normal exemplification' and 'one need not say what can be taken for granted,' so that 'what's said in an abnormal way isn't normal ... or a marked message indicates a marked situation.'

Battistella applied markedness to a brief survey of the *thou/you* variable in English (1990). He suggests that *thou/you* developed from a number distinction to the use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the singular *you* to superiors to express deference. *Thou* then became unspecified for deference giving either no indication of deference or purposeful nondeference with the feature [nondeferential] as the unmarked feature value. Shortly after this *thou* came to signify 'close family relationships, intimacy and shared values and in some cases contempt,' (1990:175) thus constituting a shift and a re-evaluation of the [deferential]/[nondeferential] opposition.

After the establishment of *you* to indicate extreme politeness to social superiors, the usage would spread and the social meaning would weaken in a process of semantic bleaching to politeness rather than social superiority. Battistella suggests that this involved a parallel shift of the component [nondeferential], 'since one term of an opposition cannot be changed without changing the other as well.'⁴ This would then

⁴ Andrews (1990:158) disputes the inevitability of this shift citing the example of *bad* in BEV [AAVE] which may now mean *good* i.e. *bad* [negative] has been extended to *bad* [positive] but the reverse does not apply, since *good* [positive] remains unchanged. Andrews considers this shift a 'contextual variant meaning.' I consider the difference to be that, whereas *bad* and *good* are distinguished only by the presence or absence of the feature [positive], so that *bad* may now be [-positive]/[+positive], *thou* and *you* may be distinguished by several different features.

connote familiarity as either intimacy or impoliteness, depending on the context. The semantic bleaching noted by Battistella is the stage at which the vertical semantic of social status connoted by *you* extended to include the horizontal semantic of familiarity and distance. The next stage would be markedness reversal as *you* became generalised and unmarked for neutral address and *thou* narrowed becoming marked. Eventually, the feature value [deferential] (1990:178) would ‘no longer apply in the pronoun system.’ The consequence of this markedness switch is not only that these variants *thou/you* with singular reference co-existed in Early Modern English but that in some contexts they appeared to be interchangeable within one exchange and even within one utterance.

Grammaticalisation, Subjectification & Pragmaticalisation

In their study of the influence of language on human thought, Mühlhäusler & Harré note (1990:133) that a Japanese-speaker ‘must learn the local hierarchies of respect and condescension and where he or she belongs within them,’ since ‘without that knowledge *grammatically* correct choice of person-referring words cannot be made’ [original emphasis].

Levinson (1994:5), in offering several potential definitions of pragmatics, finds ‘those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language’ to be a feature of pragmatics, that is, of ‘language in use’. For a feature of the context to be linguistically encoded, it must be:

- intentionally communicated
- conventionally associated with the linguistic form in question
- a member of a contrast set, the other members of which encode different features
- subject to regular grammatical processes (1994:11)

These features apply to the second-person pronoun in Modern French when the plural form of the verb may be used with a singular reference so that ‘morphological agreement’ can make ‘distinctions not overtly made by the pronouns themselves’ (Levinson 1994). Where there is ‘no overt distinction between second person singular polite and second person plural pronouns the finite verbs will agree in both cases with the superficially plural pronoun’ (Levinson 1994:70). With the ‘polite plural’ (semantically singular but plural in surface structure), the distinction is

morphologically marked, with noun-like predicates agreeing with the real-world number, whereas the grammatical subject is plural as in sentence (a) (Comrie 1975:409). The French examples here illustrate this, but it applies also to the English translations. Sentence (b) is ambiguous as to number in both English and French:

a) *Vous êtes le professeur?*
Are you the teacher?

b) *Vous parlez français?*
Do you speak French?

Sentences (c) and (d) have the same truth conditions (singular addressee) but express a difference in interlocutor social relationship (Levinson 1994:129):

c) *Tu es le professeur*

d) *Vous êtes le professeur*

whereas both have the same form and singular reference in Modern English:

You are the teacher

This encoding of social relationship within the address term *vous* in Modern French and in the *you* variant of Early Modern English means that, with a singular addressee, the pronoun has the sense [+singular +honorific]. That is: the social relationship is grammaticalised. Levinson defines such a system as a ‘referent honorific system, where the referent happens to be the addressee’ (1994:90).

Levinson finds that his next proposed definition of pragmatics (1994:12) as ‘the study of all those aspects of meaning not captured in a semantic theory’ or ‘meaning minus semantics’ (1994:28) reveals a problem with his previous definition of ‘language in use’. If pragmatics is concerned only with grammatically encoded aspects of context, the meaning encoded in the *you* of the *thou/you* variants would be only ‘social distance or superiority’. Additional sociolinguistic features of use such as regional variation, age and sex would account for which speakers would give *you* to which addressees. These sociolinguistic features would need to be considered, however, to account for switches in use. The pragmatic aspect would encode only the social locating of the addressee by the speaker. Levinson’s third and fourth definitions of pragmatics as ‘the study of the relations between language and context that are basic to an account of language understanding’ and ‘the study of the ability

of language users to pair sentences with the contexts in which they would be appropriate' relate to the ability of the addressee to identify marked usage, that is: unexpected or inappropriate usage. The sociolinguistic features of the exchange would need to be considered in identifying expected, unmarked usage in a particular context in order to determine what constitutes marked usage in a particular context. Levinson's further suggestion concerns features that are indicative of, or influenced by, some aspect of markedness: 'pragmatics is the study of deixis (at least in part), implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and aspects of discourse structure.'

The grammatical encoding of [singular][honorific] in the use of the plural second person pronoun *you* to social superiors is attested in Middle English. By the Early Modern English period use of *you* to a single addressee had spread to interlocutors of similar social status so that the encoding appeared to have become [singular][polite]. This development illustrates the phenomenon of *subjectification* in the application of the singular *you*. Initially *you* denoted only plurality. Its use with singular reference in Middle English encoded the speaker's attitude of deference to the addressee, which outweighed the real-world situation of singularity. Traugott explains the process of subjectification as a:

mechanism whereby meanings come over time to encode or externalise the SP/W's [speaker/writer's] perspectives and attitudes as constrained by the communicative world of the speech event, rather than by the so-called "real-world" characteristics of the event or situation referred to (2003:126)

The change to encoding [+polite] in Early Modern English reflects speaker attention to the addressee's self-perception or face. This is *intersubjectification*, defined by Traugott as a:

mechanism whereby meanings become more centred on the addressee ... [becoming] over time to encode or externalise implicatures regarding SP/W's attention to the 'self' of AD/R [addressee/reader] in both an epistemic and a social sense (2003:129).

There was a progression from a process of subjectification in Middle English to one of intersubjectification in Early Modern English. Thus 'the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs' (Lyons 1982:102) by the use of an honorific pronoun to connote deference developed into consideration of the addressee's self-perception or face, exemplified by the use of a 'polite' address term.

Traugott's research into grammaticalisation and subjectification postulates these tendencies in the process of semantic change (1989:34):

Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal evaluative/perceptual/cognitive described situation

Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation

Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition

Traugott (1989:31) illustrates the rise of epistemic meanings⁵ with reference to modal auxiliaries, assertive speech act verbs and modal adverbs. She shows that they all 'develop from less to more strongly subjective epistemicity.' This agrees with my finding of the development of singular *you* in the CED data.⁶ The more subjective evaluation becomes (Tendency III), the greater its potential to influence the structure of the text and to perform a linguistic act, such as a focus shift (both of which are Tendency II). It seems that intersubjectification (Tendency III) reinforces the tendency of usage in context to connote subjective epistemicity sufficiently strong to influence the interpretation of the utterance (meaning based in the textual and metalinguistic situation).

Traugott's postulated Tendencies are exemplified in the diachronic development of the *thou/you* variants. Under Tendency I, *you* acquired the evaluative concept of deference and under Tendency III that of politeness. Tendency II, discourse deixis indicating topic shift or development as a function of *thou/you* switching is investigated in the current study. The *thou/you* pronoun in this context undergoes a process of pragmaticalisation. Such an element, according to Jucker (2002:216), 'loses its semantic or truth-conditional meaning (semantic bleaching) and at the same time increases its potential for conversational implicatures and its attitudinal meaning (pragmatic strengthening).' Frank-Job (2006:361) defines pragmaticalisation as a process by which 'a word form, in a given context, changes its propositional meaning in favor of an essentially metacommunicative, discourse interactional meaning.' Because *thou* and *you* are used synchronically with singular

⁵ 'Epistemics have to do with knowledge and belief about possibilities, probabilities,' whereas 'deonitics have to do with will, obligation and permission' (Traugott 1989:32).

⁶ See tables and discussions of unmarked address in chapters 4, 5 and 6, particularly the discussion in chapter 5 on the consequences of the misapplication of intersubjectivity.

reference in the CED texts, both forms have undergone semantic bleaching and consequent pragmatic strengthening. When they are used interchangeably by the same speaker to the same addressee, this marks a change in perception of some aspect of the exchange. The switch functions as a pragmatic marker.

Pragmatic Markers

Jucker finds discourse markers in Early Modern English a particularly productive area of study in historical pragmatics (2002:210-230). He notes they include terms such as *marry* and *why*. These may be semantically bleached and are syntactically detachable from the sentence, but there is little agreement as to which elements should be included in this category.

Discourse markers are indicators of thematic discontinuities and thus work as episode-boundary markers. My discovery that *thou/you* in markedness reversal may also connote thematic discontinuity led me to investigate them as discourse markers.⁷ Since it transpires that a *thou/you* switch may also have interpersonal connotation, I adopt the broader term pragmatic markers.

The term ‘pragmatic marker’ is generally applied to single lexical items such as: *ah*, *anyway*, *but*, *now*, *well*, to phrases such as: *I say*, *I mean*, *you know*, *let’s see*, and less frequently to morphosyntactic forms such as the use of the historic present tense. Because the terminology in the literature is so varied, I retain the original usage in all references cited, whilst rejecting immediately the term ‘particle’ in relation to *thou/you* usage, as this tends to be generally used to refer to interjections. I have taken as a point of reference the classification of pragmatic markers that Brinton derived from a general overview of current research. Brinton lists their characteristics as being (1996:33):

- predominantly a feature of oral rather than written discourse, as this tends to be less formal and more impromptu
- stigmatized as a sign of disfluency
- often phonologically reduced,
- they form a separate tone group
- often sentence-initial

⁷ See discussion and tables in chapter 7.

- have little or no propositional meaning
- may be separate from syntactic structure and have no clear grammatical function
- seem to be optional rather than obligatory
- do not derive from a single word class.

A further characteristic of pragmatic markers is their multi-functionality (Brinton 1996:37) as they operate on morphophonemic, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels simultaneously, as well as textually and inter-personally. This multi-functionality induces me to classify *thou/you* switching as a pragmatic marker. All of the other features proposed by Brinton describe the interjections, conjunctions and set phrases that are typically studied as pragmatic markers. The pronouns *you* and *thou* in Early Modern English have an interpersonal evaluative function *per se*. The *switching* of the pronouns *you* and *thou* within a text or within a single utterance, however, has a textual function of foregrounding the usage to mark some aspect of significance.

The functions of pragmatic markers listed by Brinton fall into two categories. Those I find applicable to *thou/you* switching are:

Textual

- to mark a boundary in discourse,
- to indicate a new topic or partial shift in topic, or the resumption of an earlier topic,
- to indicate new or old information

Interpersonal

- subjectively, to express a response or reaction to some aspect of the discourse
- interpersonally, to effect co-operation, sharing or intimacy between speaker and hearer, including confirming shared assumptions, checking or expressing understanding, requesting confirmation, expressing deference, or saving face.

Fraser develops his concept of markers in a series of papers: *Pragmatic Markers* (1996), *Discourse Markers* (1999) and *Topic Orientation Markers* (2009). He assesses the function of pragmatic markers in the grammar of the sentence, that is, how they contribute to sentence meaning e.g. without those features of performance and context that contribute to the interpretation of an utterance. Pragmatic markers (Fraser 1996:168) constitute the non-propositional part of the sentence meaning.

They are ‘the linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker’s potential communicative intentions.’ There are four types. The pragmatic marker is emboldened.

1) The basic marker signals the force of the message by means of sentence mood and lexical expression:

- a) ***I regret*** that he is still here.
- b) ***Admittedly***, I was taken in.
- c) *The cat is very sick.*

Although Fraser does not specifically say this, his analysis implies that some pragmatic marker is an implicit component of any sentence. Whilst it is apparent from his examples that (a) is an expression of regret and (b) an admission, sentence (c) has no lexical basic marker. This is because ‘its declarative mood signals that it is the expression of belief (a claim, a report) that the state of the world expressed by the propositional content is true.’ Thus, sentence (c) would not include a Pragmatic Marker under Brinton’s general classification.

2) The commentary marker provides a comment on the basic message:

Stupidly, Sara didn’t fax the correct form in on time.

3) The discourse message signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse (but I find that markers are not exclusively anaphoric):

*Jacob was very tired. **So**, he left early.*

4) The parallel marker (see immediately below) signals a message additional to the basic message:

John, you are very noisy

These last three pragmatic marker categories are optional and do not overlap in function.

Of particular interest in a study of the *thou/you* variants is Fraser’s category of parallel markers ‘whose function is to signal an entire message in addition to the basic message’ (1996:185). One class of these is vocative markers such as: ‘standard titles, occupation name, general nouns, pronominal forms’ (1996:185).

The use of a vocative, i.e. an address term, sends the message that the speaker is explicitly categorising the addressee (Fraser 1996:185). In a study of Early Modern English, I would add relationship terms, which are less frequently used as vocatives in Modern English.

In his subsequent study of discourse markers, Fraser (1999) excludes vocatives, ‘since they signal a message in addition to the primary message conveyed by the sentence, and do not signal a relationship between segments’ (1999:942). In Hallidayan social semiotic terms, they are interpersonal as the speaker ‘intrudes himself into the context of the situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgements and seeking to influence the attitudes and behaviour of others’ (Halliday 2007:184). ‘They must be treated as pragmatic idioms, which constitute an entire, separate message’ (Fraser 1999:943). In his later study on topic orientation markers (2009:892), Fraser incorporates parallel markers into the category of commentary markers ‘by which the speaker can convey an attitude towards either the action or state represented in the segment or [to] an individual’ (2009:891). The examples he gives, however, comment on the proposition and not on an individual:

- a) **Frankly**, you should see a doctor.
- b) **Amazingly**, John made it home before dark.
- c) **Apparently**, he won’t go.

I am not aware of this category of parallel markers being studied elsewhere. Where I have found parallel markers mentioned, there is little elaboration. Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg (2009:7-8) cite the category in Fraser’s proposed taxonomy of pragmatic markers: ‘parallel markers (including some vocatives) where the message signalled is different from the basic message ... can be illustrated by vocatives.’

It may be that parallel markers generally and their sub-category of vocative markers particularly are more significant in a variety such as Early Modern English that has the capacity to express dual categorisation to the addressee rather than a variety such as Modern English that has lost this facility. Consider Fraser’s example:

Waiter, please bring me another fork.

‘By using one of these vocative forms, for example *waiter*, the speaker is explicitly sending the message that the addressee of this message is the waiter’ (Fraser 1996:185). There are two concurrent, messages within one utterance: You are the waiter + I am asking you to bring me another fork. Fraser does not suggest that this connotes evaluation. It has the potential to do so, however, in Modern English. My intuition is that, if the speaker needed to attract the waiter’s attention, this utterance would not be perceived as patronising. If, on the other hand, the waiter was already aware that the speaker was addressing him, the use of this address term could be perceived as a device to emphasise their relative unequal social status. In the CED texts the addition of the second person pronoun in this request would inevitably position the addressee in relation to the speaker. In Modern English, the parallelism in Fraser’s terminology presumably derives from the speaker’s construction of the addressee in the address term and in the illocutionary force of the proposition. There are two parallel messages.

In his study of pragmatic markers, Fraser has a parallel marker sub-category of solidarity markers (1996:186) These are address terms indicating either solidarity:

My friend, we simply have got to get our act together ...

or lack of solidarity (unsolidarity):

Look, birdbrain, this has been sitting in the “in box” for over a week ...

It is not apparent from these sentences out of context if the apparently friendly address *my friend* does connote solidarity. It may connote irony.⁸ Similarly, the apparently abusive epithet *birdbrain* may constitute banter⁹ in an offer of help to a close friend. It would not be apparent either in such sentences in Early Modern English taken out of context. In the context of an Early Modern English conversational exchange, however, the evaluative function of the *thou/you* variable in conjunction with an address term would constitute not two separate and parallel

⁸ irony: an implied reversal of the evaluative meaning of the utterance (rather than of the propositional/ideational meaning (Partington 2007:1547).

⁹ OED *banter*: good humoured ridicule. Similar to Partington’s *teasing* (2008:773) ‘hedged critical evaluation, an FTA that violates the Gricean maxim of Quality as it is (supposedly) not meant to threaten the hearer’s face; it is (apparently) a fictional face attack ... teasing and banter is best viewed as a form of conflict management, whereby potential real conflict is diffused and defused by playing it out, by converting it into ludic combat’ (2008:789).

messages but one re-enforced inter-subjective message. Additionally, had there been a switch in the speaker's use of the variant to an addressee, this would, like Fraser's discourse markers (1996:186) constitute a further procedural message to the addressee on how the utterance was to be interpreted. Switches would, like discourse markers, function as 'topic change markers, contrastive markers, elaborative markers and inferential markers' (1996:187).

Terminology for this function varies across studies. The term *evaluative marker* seems inadequate, since it relates only to the interpersonal aspect of the relationship between the interlocutors. *Discourse marker* is more wide-ranging. It includes the subjective aspect of inter-personal usage and the textual component but does not appear to account for the evaluative component.¹⁰ It seems, therefore, that the term *pragmatic marker* should be applied to *thou/you* shifting, for want of anything better, as this feature implicitly functions as a pragmatic marker in Early Modern English.

A further proposed type of pragmatic marker is discourse management markers 'which signal a meta-comment on the structure of the discourse' (Fraser 2009:893). Of these the sub-category of topic orientation markers seems relevant to *thou/you* shifting. They may signal the intention to digress from the present topic or to introduce a new topic (2009:893). Attention markers (*and, now, oh, well, then*) which may occur before topic orientation markers, signal a coming topic change but not usually the nature of that change. They also frequently signal a switch to marked *thou/you* usage in which the persona of the addressee undergoes restructuring motivated generally by changing affect. Attention markers in collocation with *thou/you* shifting are, therefore, noted in my analysis of the CED texts.

Deixis and Affect

My third objective is:

to investigate how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets and what this may imply about their changing significance in the Early Modern English period.

¹⁰ Although, writing of discourse markers in Early Modern English, Jucker finds that many 'are used with increasingly interpersonal functions that express the speaker's emotions and attitudes towards the addressee' (2002:230).

Lyons, assessing deixis as a form of ‘gestural reference’ (1995:303), proposes the term ‘pure deixis’ with reference to the first-person and second-person personal pronouns in (Modern) English, since ‘they refer to the locutionary agent and the addressee without conveying any additional information about them.’ He contrasts this with third-person singular pronouns which ‘are impure deictics: they encode the distinctions of meaning which are traditionally associated with the terms “masculine”, “feminine” and “neuter”.’ Such distinctions do not relate to the spatio-temporal role or location of the referent and are, therefore, not fully deictic, since they ‘encode the speaker’s assumptions about the entity in question’ (1995:308). This is ‘secondary deixis’ involving the displacement of the primary deixis spatio-temporal dimensions with emotional or attitudinal dimensions. This feature is found in languages with the *thou/you* distinction and may express ‘relatively stable interpersonal relations’ (social deixis or in the CED *unmarked usage*). A switch in the use of the *thou/you* variants may express the ‘speaker’s change of mood or attitude’ (personal deixis, which I have termed *affect*). Lyons terms this merging of social and expressive meaning ‘socio-expressive’ (1995:310). Such usage, ‘social deixis’, is ‘concerned with the grammaticalisation or encoding in language structure of social information’ (Levinson 1994:93).

‘Affective meaning’ is given in Bussmann as another term for ‘connotation’ (1996:96) and defined as ‘the emotive component of a linguistic expression which is superimposed upon its basic meaning and which – in contrast to the static conceptual meaning – is difficult to describe generally and *context independently*’ [added emphasis]. I would suggest, however, that ‘affect’ is a hyponym of ‘connotation’, since ‘connotation’ includes the component of social evaluation, whereas ‘affect’ includes individual speaker evaluation. Bussmann defines ‘denotation’ (1996:118) as ‘the constant, abstract, and basic meaning of a linguistic expression *independent of context and situation* [added emphasis], as opposed to the connotative, i.e. subjectively variable, emotive components of meaning.’

Evaluation of Connotation & Expression of Affect

The use of *thou* in this seventeenth century quotation connotes negative affect when it collocates with pejorative address terms. The terms *viper* and *traitor* generally

connote pejoration:

1603 COKE in Hargrave *State Trials* (1776) I. 216 All that Lord Cobham did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I thou thee, thou Traitor! (OED)

Traitor according to the OED has the referential or denotational, ‘constant’ or ‘basic’, meaning of:

One who betrays any person that trusts him, or any duty entrusted to him;
One who is false to his allegiance to his sovereign or to the government of his country;
One adjudged guilty of treason.

From the mini-corpus of quotations in the OED containing the term *traitor* it is possible to evaluate the social perception (connotation) attributed to the term by native speakers firstly from its early application to Judas Iscariot:

c1375 *Sc. Leg. Saints* vii. (*Jacobus Min.*) 29 þat wekit tratore Iudas

and from the inclusion of collocations such as: *untrue*, *infamy*, *disloyal* together with several examples of the term *false*. These contribute to the construction of pejorative connotation. The verb *betray* frequently collocated with the term *traitor* is similarly early attested with reference to the betrayal of Jesus by Judas:

c1275 *Passion Our Lord* 93 in *O.E. Misc.*, On me scal bi~traye – þat nv is vre yuere

and collocates with the terms: *faithless*, *punishment*, *much wrong'd* all of which connote negative social perception.

Betray in the OED is defined as:

To give up to, or place in the power of an enemy,
To be or prove false to (a trust or him who trusts one); to be disloyal to;

OED definitions for the terms *traitor* and *betray* both have the component *false*, which is defined in the OED as, *erroneous*, *wrong*, further contributing to the perception of them as having negative connotation.

In figurative use *viper* is similarly pejorative according to the quotations given in the OED and has the negatively evaluated component *false*.

fig. A venomous, malignant, or spiteful person; a villain or scoundrel
a false or treacherous person.

The quotation is repeated here for clarity:

1603 COKE in Hargrave *State Trials* (1776) I. 216 All that Lord Cobham did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I thou thee, thou Traitor!

The implication of 'for I thou thee' is that such usage is worthy of comment. Sir Edward Coke is emphasising to Walter Raleigh that he is not addressing him as *you*, the conventionally polite term. The implication is that, because Coke identifies Raleigh with these pejorative epithets, *viper* and *traitor*, he addresses him with the term *thou* rather than the term *you*, which generally connotes politeness, therefore for Coke, the speaker, *in this context* [added emphasis], this address term expresses his negative feeling towards Raleigh (possibly adopted for professional legal reasons). It is the evaluative component of his address - the affect.

As this is a study of address rather than case, I do not consider the variability of the Early Modern English plural *ye/you*. The study analyses the connotation of the use to a single addressee of the previously plural form *you* and more particularly the connotation of the continued use of the previous singular form *thou* when the previously plural form was apparently superseding it. I refer to all parts of the *thou* paradigm as *thou* and employ *you* for all components of the *you* paradigm.

Table 1:1 Diachronic Paradigms of Second Person Personal Pronouns

(after tables in Hogg (2002:20), Horobin & Smith (2002:109) and Nevalainen (2006:77))

<i>Number</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Old English		
Nominative	þu	ge
Accusative/Dative	þe	eow
Genitive	þin	eower
Middle English ¹¹		
Nominative	thou/thow	ye
Accusative/Dative	the(e)	you/yow
Genitive	thy(n)(e)	your(e)(s)
Early Modern English		
Nominative	thou ~ ye → you	ye → you
Accusative/Dative	thee ~ you	you
Genitive	thy/thine → thy ~ your	your
	thine ~ yours	yours

¹¹ 'Thou, ye and so on had special uses in ME. The distinction was roughly comparable with the **tu/vous** distinction in present-day French; in ME **thou** was not only singular but also intimate and **ye** was regarded as more formal as well as plural.' (Horobin & Smith 2002:112)

Chapter 2 Review of Previous Studies

In the Preface to the Third Edition of his *Shakespearian Grammar* Abbott notes (1883:xxiii) that ‘the interesting distinction between *thou* and *you* ... has not hitherto attracted the attention of readers,’ though adding that he subsequently discovered that Skeat had discussed this. This indicates that, by the time Skeat and Abbott were writing, the distinction was probably imperceptible to contemporary audiences and even to contemporary readers. Shakespearean texts exist in differing editions compiled by different seventeenth-century editors. These reveal contemporary perceptions of usage and some have differing *thou/you* usage in the same context. Some of these are discussed in the present study, as is the hypothesis that in the early seventeenth century, the period when various editions of Shakespeare’s texts were issued, the *thou/you* distinction was already blurred.

More interesting are texts revised by the original author in which the *thou/you* usage is changed. Partridge notes Jonson’s revision of his original 1598 edition of his play, *Every Man in His Humour*, which he reissued in 1616. A comparative study of these two texts could reveal if there is a motive for the changes. Partridge says only that Jonson modified ‘the literary flavour’ of his original text and ‘in doing so, lost some nice distinctions by inconsistently changing *thou* to *you*.’ This implication is that by the end of the sixteenth century *you* had become colloquial usage and *thou* was perceived as ‘the high-flown language of pseudo-rhetoric’ (1969:27).

Contemporary Early Modern English comments seem to suggest that, in the sixteenth century, *you* was perceived as a polite singular address term and that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, *thou* was perceived to connote affect. Cooper, a seventeenth century grammarian, (1685:121 cited in Lass 1999:150) refers to affect with reference to *thou* and *ye*. He claims ‘pro *thou*, *thee* and *ye* dicimus *you* in communi sermone, nisi emphatice, fastidiose, vel blande dicimus *thou* [in ordinary speech we say *you* for *thou*, *thee* and *ye*, but emphatically, contemptuously or caressingly we say *thou*]’. Cooper suggests the use of *thou* could express not only the speaker’s feeling of disdain (*fastidiose*) or flattery (*blande*) but, more interestingly, he implies that it could also function as a discourse marker by indicating a change of emphasis (*emphatice*).

Quotations in the OED show that *thou* is also considered to typify Quaker usage:

1664 PEPYS *Diary* 11 Jan, She [a Quakeress] thou'd him [the king] all along.

1682 R. WARE *Foex & Firebrands* II. 103 He .. Quaker-like, thou'd and thee'd Oliver.

George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, reports in his *Journal* ([1694] 1904) that Quakers perceived their general use of *thou* to connote social equality:

1648-49 Moreover, when the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any, high or low; and I was required to Thee and Thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small.

and reports several instances of adverse reaction to his addressing strangers as *thou*:

1651-2 Thence I passed on through the country, and came at night to an inn where was a company of rude people. I bade the woman of the house, if she had any meat, to bring me some; but because I said Thee and Thou to her, she looked strangely on me

1661-2 ... we were often beaten and abused, and sometimes in danger of our lives, for using those words to some proud men, who would say, "What! you ill-bred clown, do you Thou me?"

In his *Grammar of the English Language* (1653) Wallis's opinion on the implication of *thou* usage is: 'to use the singular in addressing someone usually implies disrespect or close familiarity' (Kemp trans. 1972:323) and a 1655 criticism of Quaker usage includes the feature of affect:

we maintain that thou from superiors to inferiors is proper, as a sign of command; from equals to equals is passable as a note of familiarity; but from inferiors to superiors if proceeding from ignorance, hath a smack of clownishness; if from affectation a tone of contempt. (Fuller 1655 in Partridge 1969:24)

Abbott (1870:154) includes affect in his assessment of the connotation of *thou* in Elizabethan English, suggesting it was,

the pronoun of

- (1) affection towards friends
- (2) good-humoured superiority to servants, and
- (3) contempt or anger to strangers. It had, however, already fallen somewhat into disuse, and, being regarded as archaic, was naturally adopted
- (4) in the higher poetic style and in the language of solemn prayer.

Since Abbott suggests (1870:154) that *thou* in Elizabethan English may be used without offence to servants: 'the pronoun of good-humoured superiority to servants,' it presumably *would* cause offence if used to one's social superiors. The need for

courtesy to one's social superiors was stressed in an Elizabethan courtesy book (cited in Replogle 1987:110):

And let this stand for a general rule; that whatsoever familiarity a nobleman shall show to any his inferiour, yea, though he professe to make him his equall friend; let the inferiour still beware of using himself rudely, saucily, or carelessly, especially in the presence of others. (S.R. tr. *The Court of Civill Courtesie* (London 1591), sig B)

Speaker care was needed, however, over Abbott's third category; *contempt or anger to strangers* (1870:154), since the problem was often being able to recognise one's social superiors: (cited in Replogle 1987:105)

For if wee meete with a man, we never sawe before: with whome, uppon some occasion, it behoves us to talke: without examining wel his worthings, most commonly, that wee may not offend in to litle, we give him to much, and call him Gentleman, and otherwhile Sir, although he be but some Souter or Barber, or other such stuffe: and all bycause he is appareled neate, somewhat gentleman lyke. (Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo or a Treatise of Manners* tr. R. Peterson 1576, p43)

The perceived danger of giving offence may well have been a driver of change. This echoes the claims by both Partridge and Wales concerning the gradual spread of the *you* of politeness and deference with singular reference. 'By 1600,' suggests Partridge (1969:25), 'the distinctions seem to have become too subtle for the average person to observe, as are the uses of *shall* and *will* in modern English. A contributory cause of the breakdown may have been the rise in social position of the middle and lower classes.' Wales also attributes the marginalisation of *thou* to the rising prestige of the London dialect among the rising middle classes (1996:76), who would be anxious to avoid the socially stigmatised rural dialects with their use of *thou*-forms 'inherited from Old English' being imported into London by immigrant workers from the surrounding countryside.

By 1762 Lowth considered that *thou* had fallen out of use except in 'the solemn style' (i.e. poetic style), where it gives rise to 'great impropriety' and 'grammatical inconvenience' in the matter of verb agreement, so that Pope's:

O thou my voice inspire,
Who touch'd Isiah's hallow'd lips with fire!

indispensably ought to be ... you, who touched, or thou, who touchedst, or didst touch. In order to avoid this grammatical inconvenience, the two distinct forms of thou and you, are often used promiscuously by our modern poets, in the same paragraph, and even in the same sentence, very inelegantly and improperly. (Lowth [1762] 1799:34)

Brown & Gilman – Power and Solidarity semantic

One of the first studies of the pragmatics of the second-person pronouns, elaborated by subsequent researchers, is the Brown and Gilman nonreciprocal Power Semantic model in which the superior gives *thou* and receives *you*. They suggest this developed in Middle English (1964:255). Pronominal address was reciprocal between equals, with the upper classes exchanging mutual *you* and the lower classes mutual *thou*. Other European languages had similar usage but, according to Brown and Gilman, the use of the *thou/you* variants was always more fluid in English. They attribute a growing use of a reciprocal solidarity semantic¹² to growing social mobility (1964:264). They suggest that one of the factors contributing to the gradual loss of *thou* was a popular reaction against the radicalism of Quakers and Levellers and antagonism at their ‘violations of decorum’ (1964:266). George Fox, the Founder of the Quaker movement, in his *Journal* cited above describes the reaction he received to his perceived inappropriate universal use of *thou*. His *Journal* was published in 1651 and the Quaker movement founded in the 1650s. My analysis of authentic spoken data (chapter 4) reveals declining use before this period, so, while Quaker usage may have been seen as over-familiar and a possible threat to social stability, it seems unlikely that reaction to it was an influential factor in changing use, rather a reflection of the already established perception of what constituted appropriate use. Brown and Gilman (1964:273) attribute deviation from the power semantic model as an expression of attitude or emotion (that is: affect) and suggest that these were the *thou* of contempt or anger and the *you* of admiration or respect.

In her response to Brown and Gilman, Wales (1983:115) suggests that, since the initial changing use was from one of number, with *you* to a single interlocutor assuming a new connotation of deference, as *you* became more fashionable, *thou* would be likely to remain in private discourse, the register in which emotion is more

¹² Brown & Gilman’s horizontal axis of social status in their Power and Solidarity model (1964) was developed by Friedrich (1966) into Group Membership comprising seven ‘cultural rules and principles’ and three transient variables: ‘topic of the discourse, context of the speech event and emotional solidarity.’ Shifts in these last three function as the retractable expressive shifts discussed in Brown & Gilman’s return to the topic in their paper on politeness theory (1989). Where there was a retractable shift in the pronoun of address between speakers with apparent positive affect, I found that there was frequently a connotation of temporary solidarity of purpose (Appendix 1). I term this feature *affinity*.

likely. Affection and anger would, therefore, be expressed by *thou*. This was happening at the end of the fourteenth century (Wales 1983:115). Contrary to the suggestion by Brown and Gilman (1964:264) that a growing reciprocal solidarity semantic developed as a reflection of growing social mobility, Wales proposes that degrees of difference (1983:122) would give rise to a simpler uni-dimensional model of politeness. Her finding that in the Shakespeare plays (1983:121) *thou* forms are fewer than *you* forms, with infrequent mutual *thou* usage and momentary shifts from *you* to *thou* occurring more frequently than shifts from *thou* to *you* suggests that, even in the constructed language of literature as well as in natural dialogue, *thou* was becoming semantically marked. This cannot be easily explained in terms of power or solidarity semantics because *thou* can be associated with ‘meanings of contempt or anger’ and *you* with ‘momentary feelings of admiration and respect’ (Wales 1983:110). Determining the motivation for the switch from one term to the other forms one of the objectives of the current study.

In his assessment of literary usage in Middle English (1066-1476), Blake (1992:539) suggests that the genre is significant; the ‘*thou* of intimacy’ having been ‘largely abandoned’ in the Paston letters (1425-c1495), *thou* is left as a ‘mark of contempt or as a social marker’. *You* is prevalent in courtly romances. When *thou* occurs, it is ‘usually a sign of high emotional tension’, though shifts are infrequent in this genre and ‘liable to corruption in scribal transmission’. This last possibility suggests a further line of investigation. In the case of deposition texts in the CED, such apparently corrupted transmission may occur hundreds of years after the first written record of the speech event.

Paston Letters

Lass’s résumé of the diachronic change from *thou* to *you* (1999:11) is that

the *you* versus *thou* distinction is first pragmaticised, [with] the old singulars attracted toward more intimate and familiar uses, and the plurals [becoming] polite or honorific [until] by the eighteenth century only invariable *you* remains except in special registers like verse or religious discourse.

He proposes (1999:150) that, since ‘characters are not independent of their author’s linguistic habits, as evidence, the speech of literary characters is only as good as

authorial observation of the speech of others.’ He, therefore, considers personal correspondence as a more informative source of diachronic change. He finds the style in the fifteenth century to be formal and the usual pronoun *you*, but this gradually changes in the sixteenth century. He observes that letters in the fifteenth century even between family members tended to relate mainly to business topics and to be written in a formal style with the ‘pronoun of choice’ being *you* (1999:151). This supports my hypothesis that topic change could influence usage, since in more personal correspondence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries he finds that pronoun usage tended to vary according to the topic. He analyses the pronoun variation within a letter from Katherine Paston to her son in 1624 and finds that the use of the *thou/you* variants is influenced by the emotional tone and topic of the text with *thou* relating to her personal feelings and *you* to external matters of business. A second letter he considers is from Henry Oxinden written to his wife in 1662. Lass again charts the changing ‘key’ from impersonal to heightened emotion illustrated by the changing *thou/you* usage. This seems to imply, suggests Lass, that the *thou/you* contrast eventually became one of [spatial] deixis, with *you* as the distal (distant from speaker) and *thou* the proximal (speaker-oriented) form. The use of *thou* tended to ‘be restricted to an immediate, factual or real present’ and *you* for ‘business, social superiors and unreal conditions, such as verbs of guessing and conjecture.’ But this was only a tendency ‘even among members of the same social class at the same time’ (1999:153).

Evaluating these same letters from a sociolinguistic approach Nevalainen appears to suggest the determining features for the use of *thou* to be affect: ‘a mother writing to her child, or spouses expressing their mutual affection’ and regional variation; ‘both writers come from rural areas.’ She notes that ‘even these writers alternate between two pronouns within one and the same letter’ but does not attempt to account for this (2006:79).

The gradual replacement in most registers of *thou* with *you* is a process of morphological change. The majority of *thou/you* studies have attempted to explain this change through the analysis of extralinguistic factors such as: text type, the social status of speakers, speaker gender, the influence of regional dialect and the social relationship of the speakers. Lass (1999:185), however, remains ‘sceptical of

any social explanation for a structural change (rather than its propagation)’. Since its introduction, it seems that the *thou/you* contrast has always been one of social deixis. I propose that this contrast was eventually grammaticalised as discourse deixis to function as an indicator of thematic discontinuity, as Lass found in his samples of personal correspondence and which he termed ‘change of key’ (1999:152). (See also: Wales (1983:115) ‘a shift in emotional key’; B. Busse (2006:47) ‘dynamic tenor’; Calvo (1992:16) ‘discourse markers’). I propose that the *thou/you* variable does function as an indicator of thematic discontinuity and thus works as an episode boundary.

Shakespeare Corpus

Linguistic & Extra Linguistic Motivation

Most previous studies of the *thou/you* variants in Early Modern English have concentrated on the Shakespeare corpus, principally because it has been seen as the most accessible data. Both linguistic and extralinguistic factors have been considered. One linguistic process proposed as expediting the loss of *thou* has been the simplification of the second person singular verb ending. This seems to be the feature that Abbott refers to as ‘euphony’. He says (1870:158) ‘In almost all cases where *thou* and *you* appear at first sight indiscriminately used, further considerations show some change of thought, or some influence of euphony sufficient to account for the change of pronoun.’ He suggests that *thou* indicative of affection towards friends may be modified [i.e. changed to *you*] by ‘euphony or fluctuations of feeling.’ He finds that in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* Valentine’s switch to address Proteus with *you* ‘as soon as they begin to jest’ after their initial reciprocal use of *thou* is because ‘*thou art* is found too seriously ponderous’:

Pro.	... and in <i>thy</i> danger,	
	(If euer danger doe enuiron <i>thee</i>)	20
	Commend <i>thy</i> griuance to my holy prayers,	
	For I will be <i>thy</i> beades-man, Valentine.	
Val.	And on a loue-booke pray for my successe?	
Pro.	Vpon some booke I loue, I'll pray for <i>thee</i> .	
Val.	That's on some shallow Storie of deepe loue,	25
	How yong Leander crost the Hellespont.	
Pro.	That's a deepe Storie, of a deeper loue,	
	For he was more then ouer-shooes in loue.	

Val. 'Tis true; for *you* are ouer-bootes¹³ in loue,
 And yet *you* neuer swom the Hellespont. 30
 Pro. Ouer the Bootes? nay giue me not the Boots.
 Val. No, I will not; for it boots *thee* not.
 (TG of V act 1:i First Folio 1623)

Valentine concludes their jesting over the expression ‘over shoes, over boots’ with further wordplay ‘it boots *thee* not’ (line 32), suggesting that use of *thou* does not connote seriousness. Wales says of the concept *euphony*, ‘it is hard to imagine a term less critically useful and more highly subjective and impressionistic ... what is euphonious depends on the critic’s ear’ (2001:138). It is difficult to appreciate in what way Abbott felt *thou art* to be ‘ponderous’, though his later comments suggest that it is the second-person singular verb ending that he considered awkward; ‘it is partly euphony, which makes Gloucester use *you*’ (to Lear in IV:vi 10 and 24). The use of *thou* in lines 29-30 would not change the prosody:

Val. 'Tis true; for *thou art* ouer-bootes in loue,
 And yet *thou* neuer swomst the Hellespont. 30

but perhaps Abbott has reservations about *thou* co-occurring with the sibilants in ‘swomst the Hellespont’. The fact that Valentine and Proteus continue exchanging *you* until their leave-taking when they switch to *thou*, suggests that Abbott’s second category, ‘fluctuations of feeling’, is involved here. The two protagonists begin with the familiar *thou* of address. Their discussion turns acrimonious from line 25. Proteus has said that he will pray upon a book he loves for Valentine’s safety and success on his adventures. Valentine is disparaging about the sort of ‘shallow’ love-story book he assumes Proteus will pray on. Proteus protests, that, on the contrary, Leander crossing the Hellespont is a deep story of a deeper love, since Leander was ‘more than over shoes in love.’ Valentine completes the phrase, ‘over shoes, over boots,’ but it is unlikely that this is merely in jest as Abbott suggests. His use of *you* to Proteus seems a definite, distancing ‘fluctuation of feeling’ to a friend who is so foolish as to be in love.

Abbott (1870:154) proposes a contrary motivation for Hotspur’s switch from his customary use of *thou* to his wife to *you* ‘when he becomes serious’ (line 947).

¹³ OED ‘over shoes, over boots’: expressing reckless continuance in a course already begun.

Hotspur switches to the distancing *you* when he admonishes his wife for questioning him. He signals this with the pragmatic marker¹⁴ **but** in line 947 and the switch back to *thou* with **for** in line 955.

Hot. Come, wilt *thou* see me ride? 945
 And when I am a horsebacke I will sweare
 I loue *thee* infinitely. **But** harke *you* Kate,
 I must not haue *you* henceforth question me
 Whither I go, nor reason where about,
 Whither I must, I must, and to conclude 950

This euening must I leaue *you* gentle Kate,
 I know *you* wise, but yet no farther wise
 Then Harry Percies wife, constant *you* are,
 But yet a woman, and for secrecy
 No Lady closer, **for** I well beleeeue 955
Thou wilt not vtter what *thou* dost not know,
 And so far wil I trust *thee* gentle Kate.

It seems unlikely that *thou art* was ‘seriously ponderous’ and *you* was ‘used in jest’ in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, whereas *you* was used to indicate serious address by Hotspur. The switch to *you* connoted affective distancing in both contexts. The most likely explanation for the variation seems to be Abbott’s proposed ‘fluctuation of feeling.’

Partridge considers the fact that Jonson uses *thou* more sparingly than Shakespeare may indicate that *you* ‘was gradually becoming the ordinary parlance of the day’, but does not substantiate his claim that ‘Shakespeare’s fondness for *thou* must have been archaic or the result of a Warwickshire dialect habit which he brought to London’ (1969:25). Partridge’s further claim that social distinctions in the use of the pronouns were well preserved before 1590 but seem to have become too subtle to be appreciated by 1600 is not substantiated by contemporary comments on usage. Falstaff is perceived as mad for transgressing the norms of deferential address to the King.

Falstaff: Save thy Grace, King Hall, my Royall Hall!
 Pistol: The heavens thee garde and keepe, most royall Impe of Fame!
 Falstaff: ‘Save thee, my sweet Boy!
 King: My Lord Chiefe Justice, speake to that vain man.
 Chief Justice: Have you your wits? Know you what ‘tis you speake?
 First Folio 1623 Shakespeare 2 Henry IV V:v 41-46

¹⁴ Pragmatic markers are emboldened.

In Jonson's work Partridge finds *thou* generally restricted to friendly banter. He also notes, 'elderly gentlemen are, however, moodily whimsical in their uses of the modes of address to children and servants' (1969:25).

Torsten Dahl, cited in Partridge (1969:25), shows how spatial deixis reflects social deixis:

I suggest that *thou* implies approach, *you* distance. If a person wishes to make an affectionate or urgent appeal, if he steps forward, as it were, to voice rebuke or displeasure, nay, to utter a threat, *thou* comes readily to his tongue. The implications of *you*, on the other hand, are to be looked for in the senses of 'aloofness' and 'deference' of the word 'distance'. A speaker who is in a huff, who deprecates something, uses the same pronoun as the person that wishes to address another in a respectful manner.

The implication of movement is significant here. I suggest it is not the case that the social relationship of interlocutors is fixed in terms of a vertical axis of social rank and a horizontal axis of distance/proximity. If this were so, a speaker's *thou/you* usage to the same addressee would not change during an exchange or even within one utterance. The fact that it does change is indicative of a speaker's changing viewpoint relative to the addressee, or to the topic or situation of the utterance. Speakers orientate themselves linguistically relative to these factors by means of deictic expressions, such as the 'you' pronouns. The changing personal deixis between the interlocutors connoted in the changing *thou/you* use between speaker and addressee implies spatial deixis. One can visualise characters on the stage approaching each other and moving apart as their address terms change.

Quirk considers that the *thou/you* variation in Shakespeare's plays is often explained as *you* representing polite, formal usage whilst *thou* was familiar or insulting (1986:7). He sees this as a gross oversimplification and suggests that the modern linguistic contrast of *marked* and *unmarked* members can give us a truer picture. He suggests that, as *you* is usually stylistically the unmarked form, *thou* can operate in a wide variety of contrasts with *you*.

Quirk cites Sir Toby Belch's advice to his drinking companion, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, in *Twelfth Night* (First Folio Act III:ii) on the best way to challenge his rival for Olivia,

taunt him with the license of Inke: if *thou*
thou'st him some thrice, it shall not be amisse
 ... Let there bee gaulle e-nough
 in *thy* inke.

The implication here is that it would be offensive for Sir Andrew to address his rival, Cesari, as *thou*. Quirk suggests that, since Sir Andrew addresses Sir Toby as *you* throughout and since another gentleman, Fabian, and Sir Andrew exchange *you*, Sir Toby's *thou* to Sir Andrew connotes 'more than a suggestion of contempt' (1986:7). Sir Toby addresses Sir Andrew as *you* once (Act I:iii):

Toby: Accost Sir Andrew, accost.
 Andrew: What's that?
 Toby: My Neece's Chamber-maid.
 Andrew [Maria in original]: Good Mistris accost. I desire better acquaintance
 Maria: My name is Mary sir
 Andrew: Good mistris Mary, accost.
 Toby: *You* mistake knight: Accost, is front her, boord her, woe her, assayle her

and thereafter as *thou*. Maria and Sir Toby have previously been discussing Sir Andrew as 'a foolish knight', so I propose that this exchange alone in which Sir Andrew displays his naïveté is unlikely to have influenced Sir Toby's usage. When Sir Andrew and Cesario meet as for a fight provoked by Sir Toby (Act III:iv), Sir Toby addresses Sir Andrew with the formal *you*:

Come Sir Andrew, there's no remedie, the Gentleman
 will for his honors sake have one bowt with *you*:

This reflects a change in their social relationship, as Sir Toby, having tricked the two protagonists into believing a fight is inevitable, adopts the role of impartial observer, rather than that of Sir Andrew's drinking companion.

Several circumstances may influence the choice of address term; a widely proposed one being the expression of contempt, but it seems to me that Sir Toby's non-reciprocal use of *thou* to Sir Andrew is a reflection of their social status relating to age. As Olivia's uncle, Sir Toby is presumably older than Sir Andrew, which would license this non-reciprocal usage. In addition, although Sir Toby has no great respect for Sir Andrew's intellect, referring to him as a *Clodde-pole* [i.e. a blockhead] (Act

III:iv), he frequently addresses Sir Andrew with the positive term, *knight* and as *deere venom*.

Sir Toby's usage to other characters changes as a reflection of their changing relationships. Initially he addresses Maria, his niece's maid, as *you* but this changes to *thou* when they conspire together to deceive Malvolio. He addresses the Clown as *you* until the Clown assumes the persona of the Parson in furtherance of their deception of Malvolio. Then Sir Toby changes his address to *thou*. I suggest that these changes reflect solidarity – not of social status – but of purpose, which I term *affinity*.¹⁵ As relationships between the characters change, this is reflected in their changing use of address terms. It is these synchronic changes that illustrate the pragmatic implication of the choice of the variant.

Salmon proposes that 'for the colloquial spoken language ... there is only one possible source ... which we find in dramatic texts' (1987:265). Dramatic texts may not provide an authentic account of natural conversation but that is surely not their objective. Salmon concedes (1987:266) that drama may be 'a selective and inadequate representation of speech' but asserts, 'all those features of language which indicate *one speaker's awareness of another*, and his *linguistic reactions to given situations*, will undoubtedly be present' [added emphasis]. Mazzon claims, 'theatrical works mimic spoken interaction relatively more faithfully than other types of literary works' (2002:223). In his discussion of gender distinction in the use of discourse markers Blake (2002:298) says, 'it is uncertain how far Shakespeare's usage is typical of his time,' and this applies to other linguistic features. We cannot know exactly what the selection of the *thou/you* variants connoted to contemporary audiences. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that it had some significance.

Mulholland ([1967] 1987:154) suggests that, since both *you* and *thou* can be used in the singular and both *you* and *ye* can be used as subject or complement, number and case do not determine the choice of the pronoun. Previous research has considered contextual or attitudinal grounds as motivation for the usage, where, 'in a context of *you*-expectation *th* can be used as an affective index.' Since 'the definition of expectation has been left rather vague,' she considers it necessary first to investigate

¹⁵ See footnote 13, page 26.

the possibility of linguistic motivation. In her exploratory paper, she analyses the texts of *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600) and *King Lear* (1603-16) to assess the singular use of *thou/you* personal pronouns in the contexts of open and closed class verbs to determine if there is a systemic influence behind the choice of the form (1987:155). In *Much Ado About Nothing* she finds a preponderance of *you* forms, which is more pronounced when they are the subjects of lexical verbs in statements and questions, but she could not determine if this was linguistically motivated. In *King Lear* the ratio of *thou:you* was much higher, notably in the category 'subject before closed verb', in which there were more occurrences of *thou* than *you*. Mulholland suggests that additional grammatical analysis is needed on the whole Shakespeare corpus in order to determine if the use of the *thou/you* variable is influenced by grammatical factors (1987:158).

Mulholland then assesses what she terms the 'permanent connections' of social class and sex in her two texts to 'ascertain the majority forms'. Such forms can only be seen as pragmatically significant once a study of the whole corpus has established which form is the norm or unmarked form in a given context. McIntosh, in his paper on *As You Like It* (1963:68-81, in Mulholland 1987), has labelled *thou* as the 'unmarked form' and *you* as the 'marked form'. He concludes that Rosalind is characterised as markedly reserved by her use of a majority of *you* forms. Had he identified *thou* as the marked form, however, her cousin, Celia, who used more *thou* forms, would have been categorised as outgoing and emotional. Mulholland concludes that further investigation is needed (1987:161) to determine the motivation for the choice of *thou/you*. McIntosh's findings demonstrate the need for microanalysis. It is not enough to identify a form as marked during a period of transition. It is necessary to determine which particular form is marked in context, where context includes interpersonal and textual relationships.

Barber's (1987) findings of *thou/you* usage in *Richard III* contradict Mulholland's view that there is a lack of evidence to support the view that members of the lower orders use reciprocal *thou*. He cites features such as the reciprocal use of prose (1987:163) by Clarence's murderers to identify them as lower class. Barber finds that they regularly use reciprocal *thou*. He investigates the use of the *thou/you* variants with open and closed class verbs and combines his data with that from

Mulholland's earlier study. From this he finds that *thou* is more favoured with closed-class verbs and postulates that, rather than the grammatical construction (open or closed class verbs) determining the choice of pronoun, the pronoun may be chosen on 'social or emotional grounds' and that 'this choice may then influence the grammatical construction [class of verb] used' (1987:176). Ulrich Busse (2002:288), however, finds that 'no firm evidence for an intralinguistic conditioning of the variation could be proved empirically.' Mulholland lists as closed-class the primary auxiliary verbs *be*, *have*, *do* and the modal auxiliaries *shall*, *will*, *should*, *could*, *would*, *may*, *might*, *must* and *ought* together with the non-auxiliary uses of *be* and *have* (1987:154). Since closed class verbs reflect speaker judgement, Barber's assessment seems more likely.

Barber does not, however, agree with Mulholland's finding of *you* as the 'generally accepted' unmarked form among the upper classes 'except from father to daughter and possibly from women to their female servants' (1987:176). He finds that in *Richard III*, in which most of the conversation is between characters of noble rank, *thou* usage outweighs *you* usage in a ratio of around 54:46. In the Shakespeare corpus as a whole, he suggests (1987:177), there is probably no great difference in frequency between *thou* and singular *you*. His résumé of the varying *thou/you* usage by the characters in *Richard III* suggests that choice of the variant may be motivated by relative social status and age, but that changing affective relationships may also have been significant. He enters the common caveat (see also Hope 2003:77) that 'in drama, because of its concentration of emotional tension and its tendency to present scenes of confrontation, *Thou* appeared much more frequently' (Barber 1987:177). Barber's finding that in *Richard III* certain respectful vocatives collocate exclusively with *you* and certain abusive vocatives collocate always with *thou* and never with *you* (1987:174) was not repeated when a similar investigation was made of the CED data (Appendix 2).

Personal preference

Calvo attempts to demonstrate that 'in dramatic texts ... the choice may have been entirely a matter of personal preference between two pronouns which denoted second person singular reference and did not connote much.' In a comparative study

of two texts of *Hamlet*: the Quarto of 1603, Q1, believed to be a reported text reconstructed from memory, and the Quarto of 1604-5, Q2, thought to be directly descended from Shakespeare's text, she finds discrepancies of *thou/you* usage: 'it is possible to find lines which are present in both texts and which are identical except for the choice of pronoun' (1996:18). She finds it difficult to account for these inconsistencies.

Since Quirk (1971:71 & 1986:8) considers that the selection of *thou* and the subsequent reversion to *you* must be meaningful, Calvo offers possible reasons for her finding. It may be attributable to a compositor error or free variation and the vagaries of speaker's idiolect (1996:17-21). Her tentative conclusion is that, if we assume the 'superior literary talent of William Shakespeare', when the apparently authentic version does not demonstrate affective sensitivity in its selection of the variant, the implication is perhaps to 'question the importance of the *thou* of affection.' The danger of this approach is that there are too many variables to establish a definitive finding. As far as I am aware, we cannot know if any of the extant texts can be identified as the definitive Shakespeare text, so cannot say which text we expect to show 'greater artistic merit and superior literary talent' (1996:19). Calvo's approach is then to analyse each use of *thou* as though it were intended to connote affect and then, when not all usages conform to this expectation, to conclude that not all pronoun shifts are meaningful. A more constructive approach in shift analysis would be to consider each individual occurrence in context and to attempt to account for the motivation for its use.

She analyses several scenes from *Hamlet*. In Polonius's report to the King and Queen (Act II:ii) the (apparently reconstructed) text in Q1 could be construed as indirect or reported speech that is: Polonius spoke to his daughter to this effect,¹⁶

Q1 Cor: Now when I saw this letter thus I bespake my maiden:
Lord Hamlet is a Prince out of *your* starre,

whereas the Q2 (apparently authentic Shakespearean text) represents direct speech: these are the actual words he used.

Q2 Pol: And my young Mistris thus I did bespeake,
Lord Hamlet is a prince out of *thy* star

¹⁶ Polonius in Q2 = Corambis in Q1.

If the compilers of Q1 were ignorant of the potential nuances of *thou* as a connotation of affection in this context, as Calvo suggests, presumably the contemporary audience would have been similarly ignorant and there would have been no pragmatic inference in the variant. Her argument depends on the assumption that Shakespeare was the author of Q2, whereas Q1 was a ‘memorial reconstruction’ by others ‘for pecuniary profit’. Her analysis assumes that an apparent sensitivity to the *thou* of affection in Q2 is a reflection of Shakespeare’s ‘artistic merit and superior literary talent’. This, she suggests, becomes problematic in her next example when the ‘pirate’ Q1 text employs the ‘non-neutral *thou* of supposedly emotional overtones and superior literary achievement,’ whereas the supposed ‘Shakespeare’ text employs the ‘neutral *you*.’

When Hamlet has seen his father’s ghost and Gertrude (the Queen) begins to suspect that he is mad, in Q1 the Queen, who has not seen the Ghost, ‘addresses Hamlet with a pronoun which shows her emotional state, her confusion when she hears her son holding a conversation with the air, her sadness when she suspects he might be after all really insane’ (1996:19)

Queene: Alas, it is the weaknesse of *thy* braine,
Which makes *they* tongue to blazon *thy* heart’s grieve
Q1 ‘pirated’ text

Ger. This is the very coynage of *your* braine,
This bodillesse creation extacie is very cunning in.
Q2 ‘Shakespeare’

Calvo suggests, ‘we are forced to grant that the pirates improved Shakespeare’s choice of pronoun’ (1996:19). This seems too simple an explanation, as it is misleading to analyse one isolated utterance. There is not one emotional focus in this scene. Instead it is a scene of changing emotions, which are expressed in the Queen’s changing use of address pronoun to Hamlet. One needs, therefore, to consider the whole exchange (in this case the whole of Act III:iv). Most of the Queen’s addresses to Hamlet use *thou*. She begins with affectionate *thou* but distances herself with *you* to rebuke his perceived impoliteness:

Q2 (presumed Shakespeare)

Ger. Hamlet, *thou* hast *thy* father much offended.

Ham. Mother, *you* haue my father much offended.

Ger. Come, come, *you* answere with an idle tongue ... Haue *you* forgot me?

This reverts to a fearful *thou* when she fears Hamlet may murder her

Ger. What wilt *thou* doe, *thou* wilt not murther me,
Helpe how

and when he does murder Polonius

Ger. O me, what hast *thou* done?

She becomes angry when Hamlet appears to be about to make an accusation against her

Ger. What haue I done, that *thou* dar'st wagge *thy* tongue
In noise so rude against me?

and reacts with sorrow to his long emotive speeches, in which he accuses her of murdering his father

Ger. O Hamlet speake no more,
Thou turnst my very eyes into my soule,

When she hears him in conversation with the Ghost, who is invisible to her, she recoils at his apparent insanity, though her affection is still apparent when she addresses him as 'gentle sonne' and refers to '*thy* distemper',

Ger. Alas how i'st with *you*?
That *you* doe bend *your* eye on vacancie,
And with th'incorporall ayre doe hold discourse,
Foorth at *your* eyes *your* spirits wildly peep,
And as the sleeping souldiers in th'alarme,
Your bedded haire like life in excrements
Start vp and stand an end, o gentle sonne
Vpon the heat and flame of *thy* distemper
Sprinkle coole patience, whereon doe *you* looke?

Ger. To whom doe *you* speake this?

Ger. This is the very coynage of *your* braine,
This bodillesse creation extacie is very cunning in.

This utterance concludes the subject of his conversation with the Ghost. In the remainder of the scene, the Queen is moved by Hamlet's plea for her to repent and reverts to emotive *thou*:

Ger O Hamlet *thou* hast cleft my hart in twaine.

Ger: Be *thou* assur'd, if words were made of breath
And breath of life, I haue no life to breath
What *thou* hast sayd to me.

Next Calvo analyses the scene in which Hamlet discusses his proposed play with the players. Here, claims Calvo, the so-called pirated text (Q1) 'is, on artistic grounds, better than the text of Q2' (the supposed authentic Shakespearean text), *if the use of thou is explained as the thou of affection* [added emphasis]. 'We are again forced to grant that Q1 improves Q2's choice of pronoun, since in Q1 Hamlet addresses one of the players with the *thou* of affection and conspiratorial intimacy' (1996:20). Calvo does not explain why she assesses this usage as the *thou* of affect, and her argument seems circular. There is no question of one version being 'better' than the other. The usage here could just as reasonably be interpreted as one of number and status. In Q1 (the 'pirated text') Hamlet's address to one of the players, probably not with 'the *thou* of affection and conspiratorial intimacy', but with the *thou* of number, is separate from his addresses to the group. In Q2 Hamlet appears to ask one player if the group of players could perform the play. In Q1 Hamlet asks the group of players if they can perform the play and then asks the single player if he could perform 'some dozen or sixteene lines.'

Quarto 2 (presumed Shakespeare)

Ham. Follow him friends, wee heare a play to morrowe; dost *thou* heare me old friend, can *you* play the murther of Gonzago?

Play. I my Lord.

Ham. Wee hate to morrowe night, *you* could for neede study a speech of some dosen lines, or sixteene lines, which I would set downe and insert in't, could *you* not?

Play. I my Lord.

Ham. Very well, followe that Lord, & looke *you* mock him not.

My good friends, Ile leaue *you* tell night, *you* are welcome to Elsonoure.

Quarto 1 (presumed 'pirated' text)

Ham. Come hither maisters, can *you* not play the murder of Gonsago?

Players Yes my Lord.

Ham. And could'st not *thou* for a neede study me

Some dozen or sixteene lines,

Which I would set downe and insert?

Players Yes very easily my good Lord.

Ham. T'is well, I thanke *you*: follow that lord:
 And doe *you* heare sirs? take heede *you* mocke him not.
 Gentlemen, for *your* kindnes I thanke *you*,
 And for a time I would desire *you* leaue me.

‘Not many would agree, though, with the suggestion that the pirates, the thieves who stole the text of *Hamlet* and memorially reconstructed it, actually improved Shakespeare’s text’ (Calvo 1996:20). The issue is not one of ‘improvement’ but of what the variants connote. The changing use of variants in the Q2 version connotes a varied range of emotions.

Calvo’s final example concerns Hamlet’s instruction to the players:

later in the play when Hamlet meets the player again to give him the speech and the instructions on how to perform it, we find that the reported text has a pronoun shift from thou to you. This is one of those single pronominal shifts which when it is thought to come from Shakespeare’s pen is attributed to his mastery at expressing temporary or ‘fleeting’ moods (1996:20).

Q2 shows no pronominal shifts. I suggest that this may be due to number rather than mood. In Q2 Hamlet addresses the group of players throughout and warns them against employing the delivery of ‘many of our players’, who are possibly fellow troupe members. In Q1 Hamlet addresses a single player ‘as I taught thee’ to whom he then directs non-possessive generic *you*:¹⁷

Mary and *you* mouth it, as a many of your players do

that is: ‘If one mouths it as many players do.’ This is not to claim my analysis as the only possible one but demonstrates the need for close contextual analysis. Isolated instances of pronoun variation reveal little.

Q2 [presumed Shakespeare]

Enter Hamlet, and *three of the Players*. [added emphasis]

Ham. Speake the speech I pray *you* as I pronoun'd it to *you*, trippingly on the tongue, but if *you* mouth it as many of our Players do,
 I had as liue the towne cryer spoke my lines, nor doe not saw the ayre too much with *your* hand thus, but vse all gently, for in the very torrent tempest, and as I may say, whirlwind of *your* passion, *you* must acquire and beget a temperance, that may giue it smoothnesse,

¹⁷ Wales terms this *your* 2 and suggests an interpretation of ‘the players like you/the profession to which you belong’ as appropriate here, indicating ‘a close affinity between *your* (pl.) and *your* 2 proper [i.e. non-possessive use] (1985:9).

Q1 [presumed 'pirated' text]
Enter Hamlet and the Players.

Ham. Pronounce me this speech trippingly a the tongue
as I taught *thee*,
Mary and *you* mouth it, as a many of *your* players do
I'de rather heare a towne bull bellow,
Then such a fellow speake my lines.
Nor do not saw the aire thus with *your* hands,
But giue euery thing his action with temperance.

Calvo's (1996) proposal that 'in dramatic texts ... the choice may have been entirely a matter of personal preference between two pronouns which denoted second person singular reference and did not connote much,' is all the more remarkable when one considers her earlier paper¹⁸ in which she proposed that the *thou/you* shift 'performs a signalling function in the global organisation of the dramatic dialogue (1992:26) i.e. a discourse marker.

Politeness Theory

Brown and Gilman's application of politeness theory to Shakespearean tragedies (1989:178) finds that the combination of status and affect is inadequate to explain all instances of *thou* and *you*. Citing the scene between the two gravediggers in *Hamlet* v:i they say that these two characters mostly exchange *thou* but that 'each also says *you* once and, indeed, there is a shift within a single speech' (1989:178). They comment:

Someone really devoted to the principle that "motive-less anything is un-Shakespearean" (Kittredge 1916:49) could perhaps think of subtle gravediggerly moods that would explain these shifts, but that does not seem to be the right way to go. We think it wiser to assume that a simple pair involves a simple contrast (in this case, distance) and assign complications to context. One form (*thou*) always expresses less distance, the other (*you*) more, in relation to each other, but, in context, there are many uses we cannot explicitly account for.

It is unfortunate that Brown and Gilman do not elaborate on why an attempt to explain shifts that do not fit their status/affect model is not 'the right way to go'.

¹⁸ This study in which Calvo (1992) suggests that *you* and *thou* 'may be operating as discourse markers and as social markers in the negotiation of social identities' came to my attention after the present draft was completed. I acknowledge Calvo's priority. She says that her aim was not to offer a 'new magic formula for the pronouns of address ... rather to question the validity of some extant approaches.' The present study explores both of these aims over a wider range of sources than the text of *As You Like It* that gave rise to Calvo's original suggestion.

Shifts within a single speech are common in the drama section of the CED and involve a diverse range of characters other than gravediggers. Brown and Gilman's proposal to 'assign complications to context' seems to dismiss the very method that could suggest an explanation for these apparently motiveless shifts: that is a consideration of the context of the utterance where 'non-fixed factors' are to be found (Hope 1994:63).

I offer the following contrasting analysis of the extract to which they refer (*Hamlet* v:i) in which I 'apply complications to context':

The two gravediggers, who are labelled as Clowns, that is, of the lower orders, discuss the Coroner's decision to afford a Christian burial to Ophelia.

The First Clown asks:

Is she to be buried in Christian burial that
wilfully seeks her own salvation?

to which the Second Clown replies:

I tell *thee* she is

This is the unmarked usage of the *thou* form between two characters from the lower orders. The First Clown tries to rationalise the Coroner's decision to permit a Christian burial to an apparent suicide:

... she drowned herself wittingly

to which the Second Clown responds:

Nay, but hear *you*, goodman delver, ...

The First Clown responds with

Give me leave. Here lies the water; good: here
stands the man; good; if the man go to this water,
and drown himself, it is, will he, nill he, he
goes, ... mark *you* that;

and the Second Clown concludes:

Will *you* ha' the truth on't? If this had not been
a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out o'
Christian burial.

In this exchange the two characters are involved in a general discussion about the legal definition of suicide in which they address each other as *you*. The First Clown then comments:

Why, there *thou* say'st:

turning the topic from the general to this particular event. He continues to use *thou* in discussing the Second Clown's understanding of Scripture:

How dost *thou* understand the Scripture?
... I like *thy* wit well,

The 'shift within a single speech' (1989:178) that Brown and Gilman seem to regard as the decisive factor in attributing all variations from unmarked usage to the ragbag of 'context' is partially explicable by analysing marked usage as a discourse feature. This is the 'change of key' model suggested by Lass (1999:152).

The First Clown addresses the Second Clown (whom he has previously addressed as *thou*):

Cudgel *thy* brains no more about it, for *your* dull
ass will not mend his pace with beating; and, when
you are asked this question next, say 'a
grave-maker: 'the houses he makes last till
doomsday. Go, get *thee* to Yaughan: fetch me a
stoup of liquor.

The switch to *your* in the first line is not the possessive pronoun but generic *your*, used to 'express a general truth in an informal, colloquial way (Hope 2003:82) implying: 'that you know of'.¹⁹

The second usage of *you* in this utterance is the one example that is potentially more problematic:

when *you* are asked this question next, say a grave-maker.

Here *you* could be interpreted as an indefinite generic personal pronoun but this seems unlikely, as the instruction seems to be specific to the gravedigger. To me the likely motive for the switch seems to link second person address to the speaker's

¹⁹ Attested with this connotation OED **1550** J. Coke *Deb. Heraldes Eng. & Fraunce* sig. Ivi^v, In Fraunce..the most parte of your speritual men..be symple persons, hedge priestes not lerned.

construction of the addressee's persona. When the First Clown advises the Second Clown how to respond to a question from a third party, he adopts the appropriate socially deictic form of the questioner. As fellow workers of low social status, the two gravediggers exchange *thou*. An outsider posing a question to one of the gravediggers may address him as *you*.

Brown and Gilman's objective in this paper (1989) was not to account for synchronic or diachronic variation in *thou/you* usage, rather to assess the hypothesised determinants of politeness in four Shakespearean tragedies. They refer to the claim by 'casual grammars' that *you* is the polite and *thou* the familiar form of singular address, making *thou/you* usage relevant to their politeness study (1989:177). They take 'unemotional' usage to relate to social status but say that an 'expressive corollary' must be added to account for unexpected or marked usage (1989:177). Ultimately, they dismiss *thou* and *you* as of little importance in 'scoring speech for politeness', since some usage shifts cannot be explained and, where usage can be explained, 'in many of the clear cases that follow the status rule, the pronoun of address, an obligatory aspect of speech, is automatic and ever-present and so does not function to redress an FTA' (1989:179) [that is: a Face Threatening Act or impoliteness]. So, in order to indicate status, there must be an appropriate pronoun of address. If this appropriate unmarked form is used, they suggest, it does not function to redress any concomitant impoliteness. This does not, however, allow for usage shifts between interlocutors within an exchange or even within one utterance. This is a feature I investigate in my analysis of CED texts with the hypothesis that one of the functions of such shifts may be to redress impoliteness or otherwise influence or reflect changing affect.

Significance of context

Hope's study of the second person personal pronoun in Shakespearean plays finds (2003:73) that 'the basic factor determining choice ... is social relationship: *th*-forms are used *down* the social hierarchy; *y*-forms *up* it. Social equals usually exchange mutual *y*-forms.' Two systems govern choice: this 'relatively fixed social semantic' and 'an unfixed emotional or affective semantic.' The first system constitutes the norm, that is the unmarked usage, but when the second is applied consideration must

be given to ‘the broad social context and the immediate context of the discourse.’ This is the objective of the current study. In his 1994 study of Court Records (discussed later), Hope finds that when exchanges do shift, there is a motivated shift from *you* to *thou*. In his analysis of Shakespeare’s usage, Hope considers it likely that ‘Early Modern drama generally, and Shakespeare especially, over-represent the frequency of *th*-forms,’ which were highly marked in contemporary Court Records. An interesting suggestion is that *Henry VIII*, believed to have been a collaboration with John Fletcher (Hope 2003:81) and to have been first performed not long before 1613 (Gillespie 1994:791), demonstrates ‘an almost complete avoidance of *th*-forms,’ which is unusual for both playwrights in their other work. Hope considers that this demonstrates an avoidance of possible archaic usage in order to depict more accurately contemporary usage.

In his much more comprehensive study of the *thou/you* variants in the Shakespeare corpus Ulrich Busse (2002) rejects the hypothesis proposed by Mulholland that open and closed class verbs influence *thou/you* choice. Instead, he adopts the approach defined by Jacobs & Jucker (1995:11) as *pragmaphilology*, that is a detailed analysis of, ‘the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text.’ In assessing potentially significant factors such as the ‘geographical location and socio-economic status of the participants’ to assess how these correlate with *thou/you* usage,’ Busse considers Brown and Gilman’s application of power semantics and politeness theory too restricted in their approach to account for the wide range of contexts in which *thou/you* variation is found.

Busse finds a lower use of *thou* than *you* in the comedies, where the majority of characters are of the middle and lower orders, compared with the tragedies (2002:58) but suggests that this is attributable to the greater emotive usage in the tragedies rather than to social status. He disagrees with Wales (1983) and Taavitsainen (1997) who consider *thou* to be the unmarked form among the lower orders. Since he finds *thou* more frequent than *you* in Shakespeare’s verse and since verse is the marked genre, Busse suggests that *thou* is marked in contrast to *you* and signals emotive stance rather than power semantics. Hope has a similar finding on the proportion of

thou/you usage in the comedies and the tragedies (1994:63) but ‘no consistent relationship between genre and numbers’ and concludes ‘non-fixed factors are in operation here again’. I take ‘non-fixed’ to mean pragmatic. The problem with the Brown and Gilman model of sociolinguistic variables is that it does not account for such ‘non-fixed’ changes of use within an exchange or even within a single utterance. Such changes are much more common in the drama texts than in the Court Records in the CED corpus, so may well not be representative of authentic conversational use. Even so, these changes merit study, since they possibly imply a specific contemporary interpretation lost to later audiences.

Ulrich Busse (2002:32) contrasts Brown and Gilman’s (1989) model of social rank as a permanent feature with the concept of social identity. Social identity has to be negotiated between speakers and allows the selection of more than one social identity at the same time in the course of one single interaction allowing shifting pronouns to be interpreted as indirect social markers in their function of in- or out-group markers. Calvo has such shifts as marking discourse boundaries by indicating changes in topic in addition to affect (1992:5-27). Lass (1999:153) suggests that by the 1660s ‘the *thou* and *you* contrast finally became a deictic one: *you* is the distal pronoun, *thou* the proximal.’ *Thou* tends to be used when ‘the topic is within the “charmed circle” of a relationship, and restricted to an immediate, factual or real present.’ This deictic motivation for variation coincides with my findings from the CED texts, though I find a more intricate pattern of variation than that proposed by Lass. This is particularly evident in the drama texts.

In her study of Shakespeare’s use of Markedness Reversal, Bruti suggests that pronoun switching between the same interlocutors is marked usage and that it indicates change from social or emotional remoteness to closeness and vice versa, so that markedness is context-dependent i.e. pragmatic rather than systemic or paradigmatic (2000:25): ‘It is not so much a question of frequency, as rather a situationally bound or situationally determined selection which establishes which option is natural or unnatural along a sliding scale of possibilities.’

Bruti makes the proposal (echoed by Hope 2003:77) that two interacting systems govern the choice of the *thou/you*: the basic determining factor of social relationship

and an unfixed emotional or affective semantic (2000:35). This is illustrated by the exchange between Henry V and Katherine of France (*Henry V*) who begin with the reciprocal *you* relevant to their social status. Henry moves to *thou* in the wooing scene but reverts to *you* when Katherine does not reciprocate his usage. This markedness reversal, says Bruti, is on the axis of affect rather than that of social status (2000:36).

Chivalric and Exalted Register

Jucker's 'situational context' features in address to monarchs, who may on occasion be addressed with *thou*. Hope (2003:80) gives an example of what he terms 'chivalric' use where the French herald addresses Henry V as *thou* when offering him the opportunity to surrender before the battle:

Once more I come to know of *thee* King Harry,
If for *thy* Ransom *thou* wilt now compound,
Before *thy* most assured Overthrow:
Henry V IV:iii

This usage is common in Shakespeare's history plays when challenges are issued. In his study on addressing the king as *thou* in Shakespeare's plays, Lock (2008:120-142) suggests that the use of *thou* as an address to those who exercise 'sovereign power' (henceforward 'kings') is universally perceived as a Face-Threatening Act (FTA). This is not necessarily true. Such *thou* usage could be considered a feature of an exalted register in which the address is directed to the office itself rather than to the holder of the office.²⁰ Lock categorises the use of *thou* to kings in Shakespeare's plays as:

situation-positive – when T(hou) is conventionally permitted e.g. by suppliants
affect-positive – unconventional but non-hostile emotive use of T(hou)
situation negative – intended FTA, usually denying or challenging the king's authority
affect negative – hostile emotive use that is insulting but not insubordinate

²⁰ This seems to be similar to Friedrich's assessment of the use of *ty* to their landlord by Russian serfs: 'vy generally did symbolize greater power but when the greatness passed a certain point the speaker switched back to what might be called the *ty* of total subordination or of an intimacy that could not be jeopardized'. He notes Pitt-Rivers' point that 'total subordination implies intimacy, whereas formal social usage implies social distance which obtains where respect might conceivably be denied' (Friedrich 1966:237-238). As with address to God in Middle and Early Modern English Traugott's model of subjectification does not apply in these instances because it is inconceivable that respect should be denied.

Appropriate usage depends on the speaker correctly identifying both his addressee and the situation of the exchange. Sovereigns in particular have two personae: public and private. Falstaff's error (2 *Henry IV*) is in publically addressing his old friend Prince Hal in an affect-positive manner, 'Save thee my sweet boy.' Henry, as the king he has become, reacts to this as an affect-negative address and instructs the Lord Chief Justice to respond, since it would be beneath the dignity of a king to respond to such an informal approach:

Falstaff: 'Save thee, my sweet Boy!

King: My Lord Chiefe Justice, speake to that vain man.

Chief Justice: Have you your wits? Know you what 'tis you speake?

First Folio 1623 Shakespeare 2 Henry IV V:v 44-46

The effect of a private/public persona dichotomy is seen in the drama comedy texts in the CED when high-status males tend to address their wives and daughters as *you* in public but may use *thou* in private.

A further example of the effect of dual personae occurs in the final scene of *Richard II*. The victorious Bolingbroke addresses his supporters, Northumberland and Fitzwater as *thou* when they bring him news of their victories on his behalf. Then Northumberland's son, Percy, enters with his prisoner, the Bishop of Carlisle, an opponent of Bolingbroke. As the holder of the office of the Bishopric of Carlisle, the prisoner is addressed with the formal *you* but the man, in whom Bolingbroke has seen 'high sparks of honour', receives the more intimate *thou*.

Q1 1597 [Folio 1 1623 same *thou/you* usage]

King: Carleil, this is *your* doome;

Choose out some secret place, some reuerent roome

More than *thou* hast, and with it ioy *thy* life:

So as *thou* liu'st in peace, die free from strife,

For though mine enemy *thou* hast euer beene,

High sparkes of honour in *thee* haue I seene.

Lock (2008) finds that the two positive categories account for the majority of *thou* usages in Shakespeare, with situation-positive the most common type. The speaker may signal deference in some way as a prelude to using *thou*, thus identifying the utterance as being non face-threatening. Lock lists formal speech acts such as vows, oaths, swearing, promises, surrenders, resignations and blessings as involving situation-positive *thou*. He suggests that supplication, which also motivates *thou*, is

part of a negotiation process and may involve additional politeness strategies such as kneeling. In the final scene of *Richard II*, not only the nobles but also Sir Pierce Exton address the victorious Bolingbroke as *thou* in reporting the defeat of the latter's opponents and in deference to his new status as King. Exton, however, reverts to *you* when Bolingbroke condemns his murder of Richard. This, says Lock, expresses Exton's 'incredulity, anger or disappointment, certainly a strong negative affect.' In the 'high style' of this final scene, exemplified by *thou* and rhyming couplets, the use of the (by this time) unmarked *you* becomes marked and therefore significant.

Q1 1597 [Folio 1 1623 same *thou/you* usage]
Enter Exton with the coffin.

Exton: Great King, within this coffin I present
Thy buried feare: herein all breathlesse lies
The mightiest of *thy* greatest enemies,
Richard of Burdeaux, by me hither brought.

King: Exton, I thanke *thee* not, for *thou* hast wrought
A deed of slaunder with *thy* fatall hand,
Vpon my head and all this famous Land.

Exton. From *your* owne mouth my |Lo.| did I this deed.

Address Terms and Epithets

Bruti hypothesises that the meaning of the *thou/you* variants in the Shakespeare corpus (2000:33) may 'often be confirmed or disconfirmed by the accompanying epithets ...'

Those instances of *you* which occur with either offensive or appreciating terms take on the meaning encoded by the epithets themselves. For example: Ah, you sweet little rogue, you! Doll Tearsheet to Falstaff (2HIV, II:iv) sweet and little mitigate the negative meaning of rogue and turn it into a positive evaluation.

Other scholars see this as problematic. Barber (1987:170) suggests a character's usage may be hypocritical, and 'then reveal[s] his true feelings in an aside or a soliloquy.' Furthermore (1987:171) 'the use of *You* may be mock-polite or ironical, and may then be followed by a switch to a more normal *Thou*.' Ulrich Busse also has reservations over Brown and Gilman's claim that that pronoun use is predictable from address terms. This is partly because of the possibility of 'either ironic, mock-polite and flattering uses of language, where the nominally polite form is employed

to convey the opposite and also cases that do not seek to minimise an FTA, but rather to maximise it' (Busse 2002:186) .

Beatrix Busse (2006) investigates the meanings of vocatives in a corpus of seventeen Shakespeare plays. These are the categories I term address terms and epithets. She applies a range of theories, linguistic, literary and cultural in her comprehensive study, defining *vocative* as 'a direct attitudinal adjunct-like form of address, which is realised as a nominal group or head alone' (2006:12). Her application of Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics leads to her finding that 'vocatives in Shakespeare construe interpersonal, textual and experiential meanings' (2006:15). She concludes 'a switch from one vocative to another when speaker and listener remain constant is both textually and interpersonally noteworthy. As a conjunctive adjunct, a vocative may serve as a discourse marker, indicating a change in topic or cohesion' (2006:453).

I attempt to resolve the question of the significance of epithets in the analysis of the collocation of the *thou/you* variants by applying Jucker's proposed model (2000a). He suggests that a data analysis that distinguishes between a default or unmarked usage and deviations from the default is 'too static' (2000a:161). A micro-pragmatic analysis is required (Jucker 2000a:158) to investigate a third consideration in addition to the social status a speaker occupies in a society and their social role in relation to their interlocutor (Brown & Gilman's 1960, vertical and horizontal axes of power and solidarity). This consideration is the momentary situational context that may include a temporary disruption to the status quo. Important though social roles are, Jucker views the *thou/you* distinction not solely as 'a social default with stylistic variations' (2000a:159) but as dependent also on 'the situational context ... [that] includes more temporary balances of power, which may disrupt the other two balances.' In a period of transition, each conversational exchange has its own marked usage. A diachronic analysis will reveal a direction of change but detailed synchronic analysis is necessary to attempt to explain that change.

Witness Depositions

In his study of evidence from depositions from the ecclesiastical court of Durham in the 1560s, Hope (1994:141) challenges Brown and Gilman's assertion (1989:159)

that dramatic texts provide the only available evidence on colloquial speech of the period. Depositions, being dictated to court clerks by witnesses and litigants and ‘written down at the time’ are ‘closer to spoken language than other written forms.’ The data is from the initial actual conversations rather than subsequent court transcripts and Hope considers that, since they mainly constitute cases of defamation, attention is likely to have been paid to the actual words used (1994:143). ‘It is striking to note, following this point, that in those cases where there are multiple accounts of the same conversation, the accounts almost always preserve identical pronoun forms’ (1994:143). This is contrary to my findings from my analysis of the depositions²¹ in the CED corpus. Where they do not preserve them, it may be because this is a progressive change, implying a progressive loss of awareness of implicature.

In the depositions, Hope finds none of the multiple shifts that are relatively common in Shakespeare (1994:144). This agrees with my findings for depositions in the CED. He suggests (1994:148) that in Court Records *thou* is the marked form in 1560 and that its usage is always motivated but this may be a case of participants reporting what they expect to hear. In a period of transition, unless usage is strongly marked, perhaps it passes unremarked.

Corpus of English Dialogues Study

In a previous study of the CED Walker (2007) aims to account for *thou/you* variation across the period 1560-1760 and to investigate the difference in usage between male and female speakers. She assesses the influence of extra-linguistic factors such as speakers’ social status on the basis of sex, age and rank, the social distance between them and their addressees, their social role and the emotion, level of formality and context of the dialogue. She notes the finding from previous research that *thou* would tend to be used to those of lower social status and these recipients would use *you* to social superiors. Social distance and formality would promote the use of *you*, whereas strong emotion would encourage *thou*. She cites Busse’s finding (2002) from his study of the Shakespeare corpus that the genre of the text influences *thou/you* distribution.

²¹ Chapter 4.

Walker selects her data by constructing sociolinguistically comparable sub-corpora from the CED (2007:66), comprising texts having both male and female speakers. For each of the three text types witness depositions, trials and drama she undertakes a macro analysis, that is a quantitative analysis, for sex, age and rank and a micro analysis in which she illustrates qualitatively the use of *thou* and discusses ‘the possible motivation behind each example, while noting which of the sex, age and rank parameters are at work in each case’ (2007:80). My reservation about this approach is its apparent assumption that the sex of the speaker may be significant in *thou/you* usage. In examining all *thou* usage I intend to avoid any presupposition about its interpretation.

Seventeenth Century Drama & Prose Fiction

Another study not based on Shakespearean texts is that by Johnson who analyses a corpus of 33 drama comedies and 14 works of popular fiction from the seventeenth century to determine the influence of rank on *thou/you* variation. Walker finds that Johnson’s quantitative results validate her findings. Johnson categorises speakers into three broad social types: upper class (approximately equivalent to A-C1 in Walker’s classification),²² middle class (approximately equivalent to Walker’s C2-D categories) and lower class (approximately E-G in Walker’s categories). She finds ‘counting the number of occurrences of *you* and *thou* in the speech of those who are described with sufficient fullness to be treated as social types, leads to the conclusion that analysis is all but impossible’ (1966:264). This suggests that rank may be too narrow a category for analysis. She finds *you* employed ironically and *thou* to express intimacy or to address an inferior, but takes the fact that ‘*you* may frequently be found in circumstances where *thou* might be expected and at times *thou* where we should expect to find *you*,’ demonstrates ‘the meaninglessness of the distinction between them’ (1966:266).

Johnson finds that the three classes employed the pronouns of address with relative frequencies that are ‘extremely erratic; their variability immediately suggests that the distinction [i.e. difference] between *you* and *thou* had become meaningless in the seventeenth century’ (1966:265). She claims the upper classes use more *thou* throughout, though this is only apparent in her statistics for the first half of the 17th

²² Discussed in Chapter 3.

century; ‘this maintenance of the distinction by the better educated ... would also seem to imply that *you* and *thou* are employed in free variation’ (1966:265). She does not substantiate her claim that the ‘upper class’ is ‘better educated’ and therefore more aware of prescriptive use.

Johnson finds throughout the period use of singular *you* to connote respect or irony and *thou* to connote emotion or intimacy, to address an inferior or reciprocally among the lower class. ‘However, further demonstrating the meaninglessness of the distinction [i.e. difference] between them, *you* may frequently be found in circumstances where *thou* might be expected to occur and *thou* where we should expect to find *you*’ (1966:266). Johnson concludes that we cannot determine why *you* replaced *thou*. This is presumably because she describes usage but attempts to account for it only in terms of rank. This limits her study as a qualitative analysis.

Pronoun Switching

Mühlhäusler & Harré’s (1990) study of pronouns and their reference to social relationships finds Brown & Gilman’s influential proposed power (later ‘status’)/solidarity axes to be inadequate in categorising the *thou/you* choice. They add the following minimum list of categories for consideration: ‘rank, status, office, generation, formality, informality, public discourse, private discourse, intimacy, social distance, high degree of emotional excitement’ and cite Goodenough’s concept (1965, in Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990:132) of ‘differentiated social persona’ as an attempt to combine all of these. Most studies of pronoun switching of which I am aware deal with Shakespearean drama. Several scholars have commented on this phenomenon with the implication that further investigation would be useful. In a brief analysis of King Lear’s dialogues with his daughters McIntosh (1963:54) notes that a Shakespearean character may shift from a more formal pronominal mode to *thou*:

because of a surge of personal satisfaction with, or affection towards, the person addressed;

because of a surge of feelings of quite the opposite kind: anger, contempt, or the like.

He mentions, though does not account for, a ‘counter-move from singular to plural’ in Celia’s address to her cousin, Rosalind in *As You Like It* (1963:55).

Brown & Gilman note an ‘expressive shift’ (1989:177) in their study of politeness in four Shakespearean tragedies and propose a corollary to their status rule: “‘in cases where *you* is expected, the occurrence of *thou* indicates that the speaker is emotionally aroused”’. ‘This amounts to making *you* the unmarked or default form and *thou* a form marked for effect’ (Mulholland 1987). The shift differs from that found in French or German where a mutual change from *you* to *thou* connotes a permanent change in the relationship. Retractibility of the shift from *you* to *thou* identifies it as a temporary expression of emotion whether negative or positive. Since they take *you* to be the unmarked form, they do not consider *thou*>*you* shifts.

Barber (1976:208) does find markedness reversal in a selection of passages from Early Modern English texts: ‘*thou* is used, even in situations where *you* would be normal, when the emotional temperature rises ... either to indicate intimacy, affection, tenderness ... [or] to show, anger, contempt, disgust. The reverse is also true: *you* may become the insulting and hostile form.’ He notes that most ‘switches from one to the other even within a single sentence ... are motivated: there is a change of tone or attitude in the speaker’ (1976:210). In a later analysis of *you* and *thou* in *Richard III*, however, (1987:172) he finds that some switches ‘seem to have no great significance ... some of these fluctuations may be significant ... but some appear not to be.’ One interesting observation (1976:212) is that *thou* continues to be used at the end of the seventeenth century in addresses to the reader, even when the dedicatee may be addressed as *you*. Perhaps this literary device of implied intimacy is intended to draw the unknown reader in to the privileged context of a private conversation with the narrator; a social deictic feature connoting shared assumptions.

In her re-appraisal of Brown & Gilman (1983:115) Wales finds that ‘not all switches ... can be easily explained ... in terms of shifts of social attitude or feeling’ but may well function ‘almost like a prosody, to indicate a shift in emotional ‘key’.’ Lass similarly has the concept of a change of ‘key’ (1999:152). In a brief assessment of sixteenth and seventeenth century personal correspondence he finds that the choice

of variant within one letter changes according to topic. Lass finds that the *thou/you* contrast eventually became deictic, not only as a reflection of the speaker/addressee relationship with *you* as the distal pronoun and *thou* as the proximal but with *thou* also as a reflection of immediate, factual topics and *you* of ‘unreal conditions (verbs of guessing, conjecture etc)’ (1999:153). Calvo, in a study of *As You Like It*, finds that shifts of address cannot always ‘be directly related to a character’s emotional outbursts nor to a negation of social identities’ (1992:22). Instead, in some contexts *you* and *thou* appear to function as discourse markers that indicate ‘the presence of boundaries of the supra-sentential organisation of the dramatic dialogue’ (1992:16). She finds that at times they have a textual function in that there are passages where “the shift from one pronominal form to another seems to have ... been exploited by Shakespeare to differentiate two intertwined conversational topics or to mark the boundary between two distinct sections in a dramatic dialogue’ (1992:26).²³

Pronoun Switching in other languages

Friedrich’s study of the nineteenth century Russian second-person pronoun system finds that it, like that of Early Modern English, has been influenced by French usage. As in Medieval England, where aspiring gentlemen spoke French ‘for to be i-tolde of’ (Higden [1350] in Freeborn 1998:258), in nineteenth century Russia, literary French ‘was well spoken even by much of the provincial gentry’ (Friedrich 1966:223), so that (Leroy-Beaulieu 1881:361 cited in Friedrich 1966:223) ‘Le français était devenu une sorte de passeport mondain’ [French had become a sort of world passport] and Friedrich claims ‘French determined Russian pronominal usage.’ In his study of the Russian use of second person pronouns Friedrich’s system is also more sensitive than Brown & Gilman’s broad two dimensions. He itemises various biological and social considerations (roughly equivalent to Brown & Gilman’s ‘status’ category) and group membership (roughly Brown & Gilman’s ‘solidarity’). Friedrich found two textual variables to influence *thou/you* (*ty/vy*) usage in Russian (1966:231). These were implicit in all speech events:

Topic of the discourse: involving code switching according to the formality of the theme

Context of the speech event: which influences the degree of formality

²³ Tables in chapter 7: *Pragmatic Factors motivating thou/you switching in different text types* illustrate this function in the CED.

Of particular significance is *Emotional Solidarity*, that is the sympathy and antipathy between the two speakers. ‘A mutual formal *vy* may be retained between close friends as a form of respect, while intonation and gestures signalled affection;²⁴ whereas *ty* could be used to signal contempt or incipient violence or other emotions that were neither intimacy nor respect’ (1966:231). Solidarity differs from the other variables in that ‘it relates to individual emotion and does not consist so obviously of cultural rules and principles’ (1966:231).

Friedrich suggests ‘it is difficult to predict behavior within an actual system in terms of a simple continuum between the *ty* of “like-mindedness” (as in Brown & Gilman 1964) and the *vy* of “weak solidarity”’ (1966:231). A switch to *ty* was often unconscious and ‘did not necessarily evoke or reflect a mutual restructuring of the relationship’ (1966:248). A switch may be motivated by surprise, fear, drunkenness, despair, insanity, lack of contact with reality. In fact, Friedrich suggests, it ‘often symbolized an outlook on man and society characteristic of the insane, the senile, hermits and extreme revolutionaries, notably terrorists.’ He does add (1966:252) ‘the role of emotion was comparatively great in the Russian way of life’ and does not propose his categories as universal. Most of his study concerns contemporary Russian society and a consideration of how second person pronoun usage co-varies with aspects of Russian social culture. His data is from a corpus of novels of Russian Realism. He says ‘the Russian novel was always ‘realistic’ in its concern with burning moral and political issues, with differences of social or bureaucratic status, and with the nature of human thought and emotion’ (1966:216).

In their review of research into the function of pronoun choice as an expression of social relations in different languages Mühlhäusler & Harré conclude (1990:141) ‘the uses of *ty* are plainly not to be accounted for by its role as the pronoun either of solidarity or of condescension. It is as much, or more, the pronoun of surprise, upset, derangement and strong emotion of every kind, both hate and love, anger and tenderness.’ I rarely encountered such strong emotion in my corpus probably because Friedrich’s data is from [tragic] Russian novels of the Romantic period, whereas the fictional dialogue I investigated in my corpus is from comedy drama and

²⁴ Friedrich’s corpus is 19th and early 20th century Russian novels, thus he has access to such extralinguistic data rarely available in the CED trials and comedy drama texts.

didactic texts, in neither of which would one expect to find heightened emotion depicted as realism. Where heightened emotion does occur in the CED it often gives rise to pronoun switching.²⁵ Friedrich's finding (1966:249) that the use of *ty* symbolized extreme social dislocation does not correspond to my general finding that *thou* in Early Modern English connotes some aspect of intimacy. It is not to be expected that the negative social features he found will be reflected in Early Modern English drama comedies, which differ from his data diachronically and in genre and social context. My findings do agree with Friedrich, however, that a sudden switch in usage must be significant: 'the many cases of switching symbolized some realignment, or a change in relative power, or simply the addition or subtraction of a component' (1966:239).

A study of modern Polish second person pronoun usage shows (Stone 1981 in Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990:147) that 'with the exception of classroom discourse and warder-convict conversation in prisons, the dimension that Brown & Gilman (mis)called "power" (namely, the polarity between expressions of deference and reciprocal displays of condescension) does not exist.' The Polish system seems rather to have an rural/urban divide with the more intimate rural variants *ty* (singular) and *wy* (plural) connoting familiarity rather than friendship (the latter being Brown & Gilman's 'solidarity' of which Stone finds no evidence) and the urban intimate/formal singular *ty/Pan* (where the latter denotes the address term 'Mister') and the urban intimate/formal plural *wy/Panowie*. Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990:146) conclude that the choice is socially driven and depends particularly on 'status, rank and class'. There is evidence (1990:150) of Brown & Gilman's 'expressive shift' when 'the emotional tone becomes intense or there is a marked change in degree of intimacy (and sometimes this is a matter of topic) or both'.

²⁵ See especially Appendix 3, Apostrophe & Personification, use of *you* in Apostrophe.

Chapter 3 Data & Methodology

Given that my objectives were to discover the contexts in which *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference, the motivation for shifts from one variant to the other and how the variants collocated with address terms and epithets, the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*, provided appropriate data. Its purpose is to explore ‘spoken interaction of the Early Modern English period’ (Kytö & Walker 2006:9). The corpus brings together different text types so that it is possible to investigate authentic usage, prescribed usage and the stylistic effect of the potential subversion of these. The dialogues were selected to constitute a representative sample of natural spoken Early Modern English. They include speakers of both sexes and of a range of social ranks. Where possible the earliest available printed version of a text was used, since the objective was to represent linguistic authenticity. Later editions of constructed texts tend to aim for literary style and authentic dialogues may be censored. The two superordinate text categories are authentic dialogue and constructed dialogue. Authentic dialogue comprises written records of real speech events written at the time of the speech event. This includes trial proceedings and witness depositions. Constructed dialogue comprises: drama comedy, didactic works including language teaching, and prose fiction. I have not included prose fiction in my analysis. This is because it seemed to be the genre most unlike authentic dialogue because of the potentially multiple levels of discourse structure in which indirect speech is filtered through a narrator with lexis and deixis appropriate to the narrator. Furthermore, this increased the proportion of authentic dialogue in my data.

	Authentic dialogue	Constructed dialogue
Minimum narratorial intervention	Trial Proceedings 285,660 words	Drama Comedy 238,590 words
		Didactic Works A. Other 162,250 words B. Language Teaching 74,390 words
		Miscellaneous 25,970 words
Considerable narratorial intervention	Witness Depositions 172,940 words	Prose Fiction 223,890 words
Total word count	458,600	725,090

Table 3:1 Overall structure of the CED and word counts for each text type (Kytö & Walker 2006)

A potential problem in a historical pragmatic analysis is the extent to which one can rely on the authenticity of the data. Fries referred to this as the problem of ‘bad data’ (1998:85). Where possible the earliest available printed version of constructed dialogue texts was used in the CED, except for the one Shakespeare text for which the 1623 First Folio version was used in preference to the earlier so-called ‘bad’ quarto of 1602.²⁶

A significant comment in the *Guide to the CED* (2006:27) relates to trial and deposition texts; many contemporaneous records were in manuscript form. Funding for the transcription of these was not available. Therefore, later printed versions were used, with the concomitant risk of editorial interference. Commenting elsewhere (2003:228) Kytö and Walker, the authors of the *Guide*, list other potential hazards in the attempt to find authentic speech data: direct speech in a text may have been recorded in and reconstructed from an unknown note form instead of shorthand; in depositions witness testimony is generally represented by the scribe as indirect speech mixed with formulaic words and legal phrases, so that the actual speech has to be reconstructed. There is also the possibility of scribal or editorial error. Partisan reporters may modify the published text. A text printed from a manuscript may have transcription errors. This is significant in the present study, as ‘many editions – when compared with the original manuscripts – have been found to omit/add or switch the pronouns *you* and *thou*, which might well affect overall findings in a quantitative linguistic study’ (2003:235). It is particularly significant in a qualitative study where my objective is to account for speakers’ variation in their *thou/you* usage. Ideally, I should follow the advice given (2003:241) and compare the deposition texts in the CED with the original manuscripts. Unfortunately, time constraints prevented this.

Text Types

Authentic Dialogue - Trial Proceedings

The *Guide* to the Corpus describes the trial texts as ‘taken down by an official scribe, or an observer who is not otherwise involved in the proceedings.’ ‘Scribal

²⁶ See chapter 2 for discussion of the Q1 and Q2 versions of *Hamlet*.

intervention' notes the *Guide*, 'tends to be limited to speaker identification, or to explanatory comments on the proceedings' (2006:20). Trial texts and witness depositions are both categorised by Jucker (2007) as 'retrospective' texts.

Authentic Dialogue - Witness Depositions

'Depositions are records of the spoken testimony of a witness (or defendant or plaintiff) usually taken down by a scribe before the case is heard in court (but we also include texts in which the record is made during the court hearing)' (Kytö & Walker 2006:21). The testimony is generally third-person narrative with considerable scribal intervention, most frustratingly where the scribe censors the text, for example when 'wyd-arst hoore' is rendered as '- hoore'.²⁷ 'Direct speech can occur when the witness cites earlier speech events that may then be rendered verbatim by the scribe' (2006:21).

Reliability of Data

Although the two superordinate CED dialogue categories are termed in the *Guide* (2006:12) 'Authentic' and 'Constructed', it is questionable just how authentic or spontaneous the dialogue of witness depositions and trials can be. The spoken word recorded in the texts has passed through at least one intermediary in being transferred from the spoken to the written medium. We cannot know what changes the scribe has made. He may have misheard the evidence. He may have adjusted what he heard to a version that he considers appropriate. Cusack (1998:7) says of depositions, 'formal summaries give the alleged defamatory words in both second and third person form, since *thou art a whore* and *she is a whore* are equally actionable.' Problems with the authenticity of the text arise because, although there is a first-person narrative as subject matter, this is rendered into reported speech in the third person and may then undergo further expansion (Cusack 1998:93). The response may be disguised as 'a freely offered statement' so that it is difficult to know 'whether the wording is the witness's own, or whether it was fed to them by an unrecorded question, or, indeed, whether all the words are from the interrogation, with the witness's yea, aye or yes being expanded to include the question' (1998:97).

²⁷ This also is instructive: presumably the epithet *wyd-arst* was considered to be more offensive than the term *hoore* and, as Cusack notes (1998), it is only necessary to record the term that actually constitutes defamation.

Jucker (2000b:27) looks at the case of the trial of Lady Alice Lisle. Barter, her servant, relates to the Lord Chief Justice a conversation he had with her several weeks previously in which the written text relates he addressed her as *Madam* and she addressed him as *thou*. Lady Lisle was charged with High Treason. How the interlocutors addressed each other is not significant for the outcome of the trial. It may be that Lady Lisle addressed him as *thou*. It may be that Barter or the Clerk of the Court changed the address term to what they felt appropriate. We cannot know.

In the case of depositions sometimes we have an indication that deponents have modified their evidence. Cusack (1998:97) finds evidence ‘that clerks in general carry out with scrupulous care their task of setting down what the deponent said.’ She cites a case from 1644 in which both husband and wife made depositions:

Deposition of Robert Wyard, deponent said: Villaine what are *you* doeing heare
Deposition of Eleanor Wyard, his wife, her husband said: O *thou* wicked Rogue
what art *thou* doeing

The deponents had come upon Nathaniell Moore allegedly ‘buggering a calf’. This gives rise to the question of why the deponents differ in their reporting of what Robert Wyard said. It may be that Robert felt that his more formal language was more appropriate to the environment of the court, given that he reported that he then said to Moore,

Villaine *you* have done ynough to bee hang’d

It may be that Eleanor Wyard was more outraged than her husband and that this coloured her recollection of what she felt would have been an appropriate response to Moore in the context of the incident. She deposed that her husband’s response to Moore was,

thou hast done that which *thou* must hang ffor

From a twenty-first century perspective, it seems more likely that Eleanor’s is the accurate reporting and that her husband’s language was not as moderate and formal as he purports.

In a paper assessing the reliability of written records of depositions and trials, Kytö & Walker (2003) warn not only against the problem noted by Cusack (1998:93) of the accuracy of the initial recording of the speech, but also against the possibility of

the corruption of the text by subsequent editors and the potential of this leading to ‘erroneous conclusions’ in pragmatic research. They cite the example from the Courts of Durham [1573 1WDURHA Sample 14 CED], ‘Quarrelling and Fighting in the Church and Churchyard of Stannington’. In this, several witnesses give a very similar account of the conduct of an argument. Where they differ is in their reporting of the use of the second-person pronoun. Pragmatically, this influences the interpretation of the participants’ perception of the incident and of each other. Kytö & Walker report that the nineteenth century printed edition used as the source by the CED (1845)²⁸ does not, unfortunately, follow the original manuscript. The manuscript consistently uses *y^u* to represent *thou* but the later edition is not consistent in its transcription and has a confused attribution of *you* and *thou* to the participants. This, suggest Kytö & Walker (2003:235), ‘might well affect overall findings in a quantitative linguistic study.’

It is perhaps significant that the two informants²⁹ to whom *you* is erroneously attributed by the nineteenth-century editors are the vicar and the bailiff, who would be of higher social status than John Rosse to whom they attribute the use of *thou*. Perhaps this influences their transcription. Kytö & Walker (2003:241) note that text editors in the nineteenth century were compiling texts for legal and historical interest rather than for linguistic research, so perhaps the *thou/you* variant was of no interest to them at all. Given that the speaker may be charged with defamation for the employment of abusive or defamatory words but not with impoliteness for the perceived inappropriate use of an address pronoun, more confidence can be placed on the reporting accuracy of actionable epithets than on that of the accompanying pronoun.

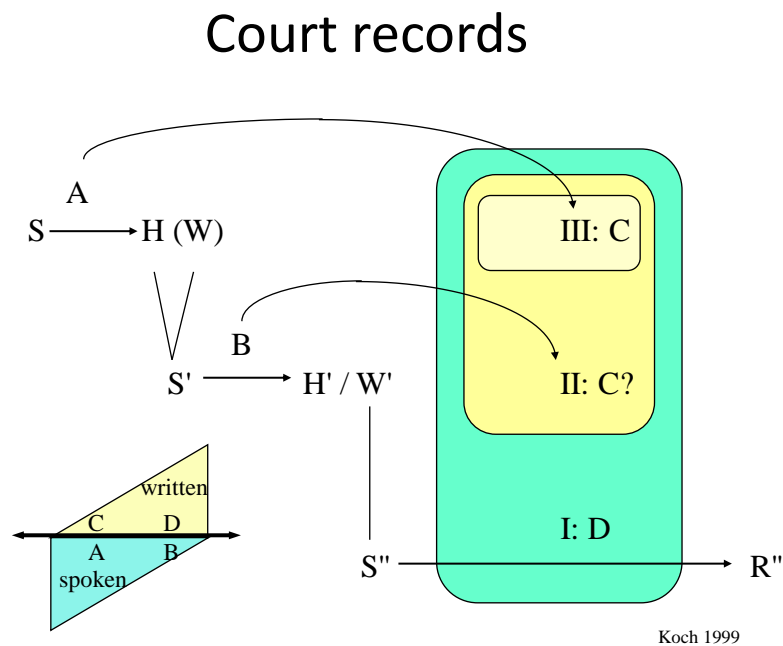
On the question of the authenticity of data Jucker (2000b:20) examines Koch’s model of the embedding of communicative situations in court records. Koch argues for a distinction between the language medium (phonic or graphic) and the conceptualization of the language of immediacy and the language of distance. The

²⁸ Quarrelling and Fighting in the Church and Churchyard of Stannington [1573 1WDURHA] Sample 14 CED, Raine ed. Depositions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham, 1845.

²⁹ ‘Informants’ report the speech of others to the Court. ‘Speakers’ are the actual producers of the utterance.

extremes of these are the phonic code as a language of immediacy, typical of ‘everyday spontaneous interaction’ (Koch 1999:411) and the graphic code of distance that of complex legal documents. This range of communicative situations has a range of characteristic features. Jucker elucidates (2000b:25) how Koch applies his model to court records. I have added further interpretation in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 The Discourse Structure of Court Texts
(adapted from Koch 1999:400, 411)



The process by which the natural language of initial spoken utterance A is recorded as written formal text D

Interpretation of Diagram

$S \rightarrow H (W)$

S = primary communication act, spontaneous face-to-face conversation A, addressed by Speaker to Hearer H and possibly overheard by Witness (W)

$S' \text{ i.e. } H \text{ or } W \rightarrow H'(W')$

S' = Secondary communication in the Courtroom B, by the original Hearer or Witness as plaintiff or witness. The original utterance is quoted as ‘literally as possible’.

This Secondary communication is directed to H' the questioner in Court and is heard by the secondary Witness W', the Clerk of the Court, who records it in writing as Statement S'' to be available as a tertiary communication act for later Readers R'', who receive it as a written document D in the formal legal language of communicative distance.

Within this report is the secondary communication act of the statement S' given orally to the Court 'which presumably tends towards communicative immediacy A' (Koch 1999:411) but is amended by Jucker (2007) to B, being more likely, as the language of courtroom interaction, to be in the language of distance in the spoken code. This is recorded at level II, area C and transcribed into the language of immediacy in the written code.

Some features of the written record may be recorded in Latin. Indeed, Cusack notes the use in Church Courts of 'standard documents with a set pro-forma framework in Latin, prepared in advance with blanks left at appropriate places into which the details of particular case could be entered ... and only the abuse itself is on record' (1998:7). Koch characterises this 'primary communication act S' as having 'a very pronounced communicative immediacy' (1999:411).

He explains that 'it is on account of their emotionality and spontaneity that the utterances themselves become justiciable ... and there is an attempt to reproduce the utterances as authentically as possible with regard to the specific language and conceptionable aspects' (Koch 1999:411). Because of this it is generally assumed that the text in the secondary communication act received and recorded by S'' is authentic. The power of memory and the honesty of the witness S' are relevant variables, as is the difference between reported and direct speech (Koch 1999:412).

It is apparent that some exchanges in the CED depositions texts are not validly interpreted as authentic conversation, since the witness is concerned with the illocutionary force of the utterance reported rather than with the precise terms in which it was framed. An informant, Margareta Gravenour, reports Randull

Ramshea's utterance to Sybil Blakhurst as:

"if euer I marry any, I will Marry *the*", the same wordes that wer spoken afore, *or the like in effect.*' [1565 1WCHEST Sample 3 [added emphasis]

In another matrimonial, case the witness Margareta Waite reported Alexander Winstanley's words to Ellen Sonkie:

"I will take *thee* for my wief from this daie forward"

When asked, 'whether theis were the wordes of contract, or whether ther were more spoken', Margareta replied that,

'theis and all the wordes vsid to be spoken bie the priest, were spoken, altho nowe she hath forgotten them: then she had them in memory.'
[1564 1WCHEST Sample 11]

This does not invalidate these utterances as data in a qualitative study. It would be difficult to produce definitive results in a quantitative historical pragmatic study of conversation. It would be possible to detect the gradual loss of a feature regionally and socially, but the data can only ever reveal an approximation of contemporary usage. What Koch's model demonstrates is that historical texts should be 'assessed on the basis of the individual parameters of the distinction between the language of communicative immediacy and the language of communicative distance' (Jucker 2000b:27). They should be seen not as 'an imperfect reflection of some ideal spontaneous conversation', therefore 'even highly constrained forms of language are "real"' (Jucker 2007). Attention must be paid to contexts: textual, regional, temporal, social, affective to discover, if not when *thou* was actually used, when it was likely to have been used or when contemporaries considered it likely to have been used and what this implies about the function of the *thou/you* variant.

What is possible from records of depositions and trials in which several speakers use the same form of words (as the Fighting in the Churchyard example discussed above)³⁰ is an assessment of the context in which *thou* was *actually used* or, when witnesses recall an utterance from twenty years previously (as Margareta Waite's report above [1564 1WCHEST]), of the context in which it would have seemed to them *likely to have been used*. One objective of this study is to discover this context.

³⁰ Quarrelling and Fighting in the Church and Churchyard of Stannington [1573 1WDURHA Sample 14].

Constructed Dialogue

Drama Comedy is categorised in the *Guide* as ‘dialogue constructed by an author which is presented as direct speech’ with ‘limited intervention by the narrator’ (Kytö & Walker 2006:22), such as stage directions and minimal and frequently erroneous speaker identification. Drama texts are referred to as ‘constructed’ dialogue. Jucker (2007) categorises drama as simulated spoken interaction. These texts differ from the so-called ‘authentic’ dialogues in that they are constructed to be overheard by a third party.

Figure 3.2 The Discourse Structure of Drama
from Short (1996:169)

Prototypical structure of drama

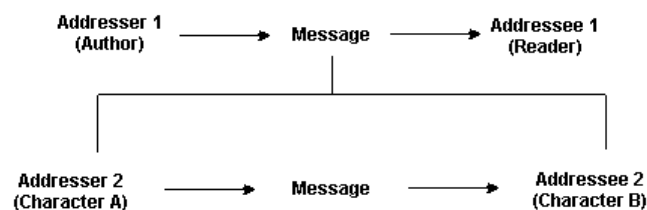


Figure 3.2, Short’s diagrammatic illustration of the discourse structure of dramatic texts, shows that the playwright gives his message to the speaker, character A, who delivers it to the addressee, character B, in such a way that it is received by the audience/reader. The way in which character A addresses character B constructs their identities to the third party. In plays with a more complex discourse structure, a narrator relates the story of a play within a play to characters on the stage who are in turn observed by the audience. In this case, the narrator is constructing the characters he describes by the way in which he describes them. The audience’s perception of the inner characters may then be filtered through the narrator’s perception. Identity is constructed not only through the actions of the characters but also through the language used by the characters and through the language used about them. The language used in constructed texts is, therefore, likely to index their social identity and social relationships in addition to having the discourse function of developing the story. What can be deduced from the language of drama is the contemporary implication of the use of linguistic variables. Unlike the dialogues in the authentic texts, which were not intended to be overheard, the dialogues in the

constructed texts were written specifically to categorise the participants to a third party. The authentic dialogues have been preserved incidentally as legal documents. We cannot be sure to what extent any of the dialogues represents authentic Early Modern English usage but ‘even highly constrained forms of language are “real”’ (Jucker 2007).

Didactic Works

Like drama texts didactic works have little narratorial intervention. Their purpose is to instruct or inform. Jucker (2007) categorises them as ‘prospective’ dialogues to be understood as models for future use, perhaps to be learned by heart. The *Guide* notes that they comprise dialogue structured ‘as if between master and student’ (Kytö & Walker 2006:23), which suggests that they may be useful as an indication of potential social status in *thou/you* usage.

Language Teaching Handbooks

The dialogue in language teaching handbooks may be affected by ‘the target language or by the native language of the author’ (Kytö & Walker 2006:23). They may have ‘long vocabulary lists.’ Jucker (2007) categorises them as ‘prospective’, that is: they constitute models for future use and thus illustrate prescribed usage.

Miscellaneous Texts

Miscellaneous texts are categorised in the *Guide* (Kytö & Walker 2006:24) as mainly fictional dialogues resembling didactic works but seem ‘intended as entertainment or complaint rather than as informative/instructional.’ All have dialogue as direct speech with minimal narratorial intervention.

Methodology

As far as I am aware, previous studies of the *thou/you* variants in Early Modern English have analysed texts on the basis of some component of the vertical and horizontal axes of status and distance, or like Mulholland they have sought a grammatical feature to account for variation. Calvo’s 1996 study based on artistic merit and on the supposed superior literary talent of Shakespeare concludes from a comparison of two versions of *Hamlet*, the ‘non-authoritative’ 1603 Quarto and the

‘genuine’ 1623 First Folio that ‘we are now forced to grant that the pirates improved Shakespeare’s choice of pronoun,’ (1996:19) so that ‘the swift shifts of pronominal choice which we have been bent on deciphering and explaining as the expression of transient feeling could perhaps be, in some cases, the result of meaningless free variation’ (1996:21). The problem with these approaches is that they limit the analysis so that, if the particular feature investigated cannot be shown to motivate *thou/you* variation, one is left with the conclusion of Johnson’s 1966 study that the difference between the pronouns of address had become ‘meaningless’ by the seventeenth century.

Pragmaphilological Model

For the present study a pragmaphilological³¹ model has been used, based on an in-depth contextual analysis of the CED texts. This approach has been chosen rather than the more common method of analysing the text for specific features in order to avoid any preconceptions which might influence the results. The intention was to arrive at a fully data-driven model to explain the pronoun switches.

In identifying switching usage as potentially significant, I do not set out to justify any particular explanation. I do not assume that usage necessarily connotes power or solidarity, only that a change in use may be significant in some way since, Jucker (2007) claims:

Language without situational constraints does not exist.

Language is always produced in a complex matrix of conditions of participants, medium, formality of the situation and so on, some of it ephemeral, some of it preserved, some of it original, some of it a reproduction.

Therefore even highly constrained forms of language are “real”.

Unmarked Usage

My approach is not whether or not a specific feature appeared to motivate *thou/you* variation, rather to find all examples of *thou* usage in my corpus and then to identify any common features in their context. This relates to my first objective:

³¹ Jacobs & Jucker 1995:11.

to discover the contexts in which the forms *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference

I identified the *thou* forms, but where a speaker habitually used *thou* to an addressee, noted this only once, since my objective was not to count tokens but to discover the context of use. As I undertook a close reading of these texts, there was no problem in sifting out plural *yous* and no need to estimate their number. In his analysis of *thou/you* usage in *Richard III*, Barber notes that of the 22,767 examples of *you* in Shakespeare's work as a whole,

quite a few of these 22,767 examples must be of plural *you* ... it seems likely that there is no enormous difference in frequency between *thou* and singular *you*. It can by no means be said, therefore, that in Shakespeare's works as a whole the usual form is *you*, and *thou* merely an occasional variant used on special occasions (1987:177).

Barber bases this assumption on his findings in *Richard III*, which are contrary to Mulholland's (1967) finding in *King Lear* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. It seems hazardous therefore to extrapolate from one text to the entire corpus.

The repetition of forms in the following examples from the CED texts illustrates why token counting alone is inadequate.

Peniculus: *You, you, you*, shall we fetch a kennell of Beagles that may cry nothing but *you, you, you, you*. For we are wearie of it.
[1595 1CWARNE]

Sir Paul Plyant: *Thy, Thy*, come away *Thy*, touch him not, come hither Girl, go not near him, there's nothing but deceit about him;
[1694 4CCONGR]
>his daughter Cynthia, presumably *Thy* here is a hypocorism [θi:] not [ðai]

In the deposition and trial texts the relationship of the participants and the nature of the discourse was apparent from the identification of the roles they played. Dialogue in the drama comedies was more difficult to classify. After identifying *thou*-forms, my next step was to identify unmarked usage among the participants in the dialogues. My method differed significantly from that employed by Walker in her analysis of the drama comedy sub-corpus. Walker focuses on pronoun usage in the play samples given in the corpus and does not 'attempt to relate this usage to the play as a whole' (2007:173). I found it impossible to determine the relationships of the

characters, their relative social status and distance without the context of the whole play. Some samples began with the play opening but other samples were taken from the middle of the play. Often the character names were given only as abbreviations and a list of characters was rarely supplied. It was sometimes necessary also to know what had transpired previously between the characters in order to interpret apparent aberrant usage. Where possible, I therefore, studied the whole play text, frequently from EEBO,³² in order to set the CED extract in context. My objective was to study language in use. I was concerned that an isolated extract of text would be more appropriate for the study of language as a system.

Walker sets sociolinguistic parameters and investigates how they might motivate pragmatic interpretation. I adopted the reverse approach and identified each pragmatic change then investigated what extra-linguistic or linguistic factors may have motivated the usage. This meant that I had to look for pragmatic indicators within the text. She excludes from her quantitative summary disputed cases ‘in which different deponents give conflicting reports about which pronoun was used in an earlier speech event’ (2007:116). I have categorised these as ‘reporting discrepancies’ and include them since they connote that the speaker considered that the variant they report is appropriate to the context they are reporting. I also considered those extra-linguistic variables ‘degree of intimacy and emotion’ categorised by Walker as being ‘too subjective for precise quantification’ (2007:21 fn), where they appeared to influence *thou/you* variation.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

For my second objective:

to determine the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange or within a single utterance

Various studies have differed in their assessment of the marked form at a particular time. Since *you* initially had only plural reference and *thou* eventually came to be used in very restricted registers, there may have been a period marking a ‘tipping point’ when *you* ceased to be marked and *thou* became marked. Since this happened

³² Early English Books Online.

at different times in different registers, my objective is to establish the form that is marked in a particular exchange and to discover the implication of its use.

I identified *thou* as the diachronically socially marked form of the *thou/you* variable over the Early Modern English period, in accordance with Battistella's criteria (see discussion on Markedness Chapter 1). I did not assume that this would be the case for individual exchanges. This differs from Stein (2002:252), who in analysing *thou/you* in *King Lear* and *As You Like It* identifies 'the normal, or the unmarked pronoun for a given social relationship,' then analyses 'the individual occurrences of departures from these socially determined uses as marked uses.' He claims that since 'the speech conventions of the Elizabethan period were socially based and supra-personally valid, and the theater audience of the time relied on them and reacted accordingly,' markedness 'cannot be determined right from the start for every address relationship individually, excluding general language use' (2002:276). If the audience were aware of linguistic convention, presumably they would be aware when it is flouted whether this occurs in the initial address or in subsequent markedness reversal.

For the drama extracts I undertook a close reading of the complete text, where available, to establish each character's unmarked usage. I then attempted to account for each instance of a speaker's usage switch to an addressee, either within one conversational exchange or within the same utterance. This analysis depends on the concept of markedness reversal. Where one form appears to be the established unmarked form for a particular pair of interlocutors in an exchange, my objective is to discover the motivation for a sudden change of use to the form that is *marked for them in that context*.

Correlation of Address Terms and Epithets with *thou/you*

One of Walker's (2007) aims in her study of the CED is to examine the influence of extra-linguistic factors on the distribution of *thou/you*. For each genre she categorises usage according to sex, age and rank. She supplies the following table (3.2) to illustrate the system of rank classification used for her data analysis.

As far as I am aware, rank is the factor most widely cited as influencing *thou/you*

distribution in Early Modern English, that is Brown and Gilman's *power semantic*. Walker uses these categories to test hypotheses concerning usage among those of equal rank and between those of unequal rank in drama comedy (2007:184). Whilst I found social status significant in determining usage, because my *thou/you* variation analysis did not depend on a quantitative assessment of social status, I found this classification system too detailed for my requirements.

Classification of Rank

Wrightson finds that Elizabethans assessed social status pragmatically:

The Elizabethan hierarchy of degrees was a perception of the social order which was concerned less with universal ideals than with present realities, less with function than with place, less with vocational and occupational differentials than with the bald facts of relative wealth, status and power ... degrees conventionally distinguished lacked for the most part both fixity of definition and independent institutional reality. Relative status emerged from the interplay of a range of variables (of which wealth was the single most important) in a process of social assessment which was, and remained, largely informal (1991:43-44).

Table 3.2 Detailed Classification System for the Rank Parameter
(Walker 2007:25)

	Code		Description	Official Title	Occupation
Non-commoners	A		royalty, nobility, and the high clergy	Queen, Duke, Archbishop, Baron, Bishop	
	B		knights and baronets	Sir	
	C	C1	gentry	Esquire	
		C2	those in the professions, wealthy traders, wholesale merchants	Doctor, Colonel	lawyer, doctor, army officer, clergyman, teacher, financier
Commoners	D		well-to-do farmers, and retailers, urban masters, and certain urban craftsmen		yeoman, shopkeeper innkeeper, cutler
	E		poorer farmers and (especially) rural craftsmen		husbandman, weaver, blacksmith, shoemaker, alehouse keeper
	F		poor wage-earners, or those bound to a master		labourer, servant, apprentice
	G		unemployed, criminals		pauper, vagrant, whore, thief

Coward (1996:43-46), assessing social distinctions in the early seventeenth century, finds that there is no commonly accepted terminology:

It is easier to reject terminology for this purpose than it is to find acceptable categories ... 'gentry' itself is not a precise term: the most usual definition is those who had the right to bear coats of arms, but it is clear that contemporaries considered others also to be 'gentlemen' ... Similar confusion surrounds the terminology used to describe those lower down the social scale; of these 'yeoman' and 'freeholder' are perhaps the most ambiguous. It was not uncommon for men to style themselves as 'gentlemen' in their wills, only to be described as 'yeomen' by the neighbours who drew up their probate inventories ... Contemporaries were very careful in the use of terminology to describe the social stratification within the landowning classes: nobles, knights, esquires and gentlemen. These distinctions were overshadowed by the divisions between those who were landed gentlemen and those who were not. In the late sixteenth century Sir Thomas Smith described gentlemen as those who could 'live without manual labour.' The borderline between Smith's gentlemen and non-gentlemen was the most important one in early seventeenth century society.

Walker's categories A and B are acknowledged by contemporaries but below that status seems more fluid with the deciding factor being wealth. I suggest that *Commoners*, defined in her table as those below Code C, are actually those below her Code B. Laslett terms Walker's *Non-Commoners* as *Gentry* and views this as the significant dividing line. In pre-industrial society 'the term gentleman marked the boundary at which the traditional social system divided up the population into two extremely unequal sections' (Laslett 2005:27). 'The primary characteristic of the gentleman was that he never worked with his hands on necessary, as opposed to leisurely, activities' (2005:27). For the purpose of the present study Laslett's categories of *Title* with *Mr* and *Mrs* above the *Gentry* boundary line and *Goodman* and *Goodwife* below and of *Form of Address* with *Name and Surname only* below the line are useful indications of contemporary usage. A 1694 Act of Parliament takes a pragmatic approach to status, imposing a tax 'upon burial of every Gentleman or reputed Gentleman, or owning or writing himself such' (Laslett 2005:42). Such a one may have been Tom, the Oxford Bargeman, who in a discussion with fellow boatmen in 1681 classifies London as, 'a Nest of unthankful Rogues that hate us Country Gentlemen' [4HOSAM]. The *Gentry* did not, however, comprise a coherent social group. Laslett cites Kerby's finding that distinctions defined by a *Gentry* boundary line exist more for historians than they did for contemporary society (Laslett 2005:301). In categorising social status I therefore rely where possible on considering 'the way a man is treated by his fellows' (Laslett 2005:300). A significant part of this treatment is how he is addressed.

In addition to the horizontal divide of wealth, there is also the vertical divide of town and country that seemed a preoccupation in CED texts. Speakers identified ‘the other’ in pejorative terms *bumpkin* and *cit*:

Sparkish [town fop]: Why, d'ye think I'll seem to be jealous, like a *Country Bumpkin*?
Mr. Pinchwife [country gentleman]: No, rather be a Cuckold, like a credulous *Cit*.³³
[1675 3CWYCHE]

Make a noise Tom: I tell *thee* Old Souldier;
that he or *thou*, or any body that wears a head,
God bless the king, should have call'd,
or shall call me by the contemptible name of
Cit (though I be but free of the Porters Company) I
would and will, if ever it be any mans ill luck so to do,
all to be pudding pie his Calves head: What *Cit*.
[1680 4HOEP]

Tom, the Cheshire Piper: ... but heark *you*, Captain, *you* may be a man of sense for all that, do *you* not think it a very flagitious³⁴ thing for a little unknown Fellow, to comprehend all the States, Orders, and Divisions of men, both Lords, Citizens, and Commons of England under the opprobrious names of *Cit* and *Bumpkin*? Names so reproachful, that the meanest Spirit in England would make a repartee with a Cudgel in Answer to either of them.
[1680 4HOEP]

Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick (1625-1678), said of her father-in-law, the Earl of Warwick's, second wife, Susan Halliday, who was the widow of a rich London alderman, ‘Because she was a citizen, she was not so much respected in the family as in my opinion she deserved to be’ (Fell Smith in Fraser A. 2002:104).

Gentry is a term that signifies status as a component of a social status paradigm. Walker's classification system for rank, based mainly on the work of the historian, Laslett (Walker 2007:25), shows *gentry* in the upper part of the table. Earls, such as Warwick, would be classified as Nobility, Walker's group A, whereas Susan Halliday, as the widow of a rich London alderman, would be classified as group C2, ‘essentially, but not exclusively, an urban group’ that ‘does not fit into the traditional social hierarchy based on land ownership’ (2007:26). Walker also includes ‘those referred to as “citizens” in comedy in this group.’

³³ OED Short for citizen; usually applied, more or less contemptuously, to a townsman or ‘cockney’ as distinguished from a countryman, or to a tradesman or shopkeeper as distinguished from a gentleman. For both the countryman and the gentleman *cit* = ‘other’.

³⁴ OED Extremely wicked or criminal: heinous, villainous.

According to Hopkins and Steggle, ‘unlike the gentry, citizens generally had their homes in London and derived their wealth (which could be very great) from trade of some sort rather than owning land’, and ““citizen comedies” of the London stage, record the aspirations, fears and values of this social group, the forerunners of today’s middle classes’ (2006:45). Conversely ‘buoyed by their sense of moral superiority, courtiers tended to deride citizens as unfashionable and vulgar. From the citizens’ point of view, the stereotype of the courtier was of an extravagant spendthrift, likely to be a bad payer of his debts’ (2006:46).

Since (2006:42) ‘[R]enaissance society ... existed in a constant state of competition, renegotiation and reorganization,’ a speaker’s construction of an addressee would be motivated to some extent on a subjective awareness of their relative social status and on a perception either of ‘otherness’ which may involve this ‘sense of moral superiority’, or of solidarity. The significant term here is *gentleman*, as these comments show:

Doon: "for although *ye* be a *gent.*, and I a poore man,
my honestye shalbe as good as *yours*."
Mr Ratcliffe [armigerum] "What saith *thou*?" said Mr. Ratcliff then,
"liknes *thou thy* honestye to myn?"
[1560 1WDURHA]

Conicatcher: For he may best be termed a *Gentleman*,
That when all fayles, can liue vpon his wit.
[1594 1CKNAVE]

Captain Mullinex, a Sea Captain: What are *you* sir?
Gregory Dwindle, a Country Gentleman: Why, -- I am -- a *Gentleman*. --
Captain Mullinex, a Sea Captain: Will *your* Armes beare you out in the Title?
[1647 3CTB]

Captain Mullinex, a Sea Captain: *you* have a great many Bags,
and a great many buildings to sir. -- But, dare *you* for all that,
presume in the way of Matrimonie, to looke so high as a *Lady*?

Master Rash, a Mercer: He that can purchase a *Lordship* --
Captain Mullinex, a Sea Captain: Thinks, he may purchase a *Ladiship*:
[1647 3CTB]

‘We Merchants are a Species of *Gentry*, that have grown into the World this last Century and are as honourable and almost as useful as you landed Folks, that have always thought yourself so much above us.’ [1723 5CSTEEL] (*Conscious Lovers* not in CED extract)

Speakers in the CED identify Groups A and B as of high social status but below that reference is fluid. Town and country dwellers regard each other as ‘the other’, as do courtiers and citizens.

I therefore collocate address terms and epithets with *thou* usage in an attempt to address my third objective:³⁵

to investigate how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets and what this may imply about their changing significance in the Early Modern English period.

‘Terms of Address include titles, kinship terms, endearments and insults, first name, surname, title and last name’ (Wales 2001:7). I would add to these in Early Modern English ‘name of occupation’. In my classification, I separate the evaluative categories of endearments and insults and consider them as epithets. ‘Epithets can occur as an apostrophe (*Be quiet, wretch!*), appositive to a pronoun (*you wretch*) or as a predicate complement (*you are a wretch*)’ (Chapman 2008:3).

For five of the text types (trials, depositions, didactic, language teaching and miscellaneous), I constructed a table of all instances of epithets used either in collocation with *thou* or *you* within single utterances in either direct address or reported usage. This ignores some epithets, but my objective is to assess the affective value of *thou* and *you* rather than the affect of the epithets themselves. Epithets functioning as addressing epithets e.g. *you wretch* are included, whereas referring epithets (*the wretch*) are excluded since they reveal nothing about the second person pronoun.

I categorised modified address terms as epithets; thus *Madam* as a vocative, although evaluative of social status, functions as an address term, since it may be used by several speakers to the same addressee, whereas *dearest Madam* is an epithet, since it is an evaluation specific to that speaker and that utterance. Similarly, evaluative terms such as *rogue* are classed as epithets. Address terms express relationships and are used in a more consistent form than affective epithets which may vary according

³⁵ Appendix 4.

to the speaker's change of topic, change of stance on the topic and change of their perception of the persona of the addressee.

Constructed texts, particularly drama texts, comprise almost all direct speech with very little indirect speech. Since the dialogues in drama are constructed to be overheard by a third party, they feature a high rate of address terms to direct the listener's attention to the intended addressee. Authentic texts with more indirect speech were not primarily intended to be heard by any other than the main interlocutors, so have fewer address terms. I have, therefore, included reported speech with address terms in the tables for authentic texts.

Table A3 (Appendix 4) depicts the use of *thou* and *you* with address terms and of *thou* and *you* with negative and positive epithets in drama texts. Drama is the text type Jucker (2007) defines as 'simulated spoken interaction'. As a constructed text it offers a model of potential contemporary usage but probably does not represent an accurate model of contemporary natural conversation. The language used is adapted to fit the constraints of the genre, including the need to develop the plot. There are, therefore, likely to be more pragmatic switches than in authentic language use because of the need to complicate action and relationships in service to the plot. As an analysis of the application of epithets in drama texts is given in the markedness and markedness switching sections in Chapter 5, I have not shown this in the table for drama texts.

Determination of Affect

Affect has been determined pragmatically, since a term that may be construed as semantically positive when used ironically connotes negative affect, for example in the didactic text concerning the churching of women [1601 2HOCHUR], a woman addresses her kinsman, a Chancellor:

my good kinsman this is a sinne amongst others that *you* must repent of
who replies with an equally positive-seeming term

Well gentle kinswoman, seeing *you* are so snappish & over-busyng
your self in other folkes matters that apperteine not vnto *you*,

but these are utterances with negative illocutionary force. Here *you* collocates with, but does not contribute to, negative affect, since it functions as unmarked usage throughout this text.

My objective in the stylistic analysis is to enable my reader to respond to usage as the participants in these texts might have been expected to do. These epithets provide some substantive evidence on interpretation but my analysis inevitably suffers from a modern interpretive framework. Sometimes there is explicit evidence in the text of how a contemporary listener assessed an utterance:

Robert Bye comminge into the Court,
The Bishop of London *spake kindly to him*, saying,
"Come, thou lookest like a good fellow, that wilt take *thy* oath."
[1631 2THIGHC]

And then spoke the said William Hudspeith to the said Tompson, and said,
"What reprooffe gyves you my frends?"
and with that gave the said Tompson a shut backe
with his hand upon the breste, *being in greiffe*;
[1573 1WDURHA]

Other examples may need clarification. The connotation of the usage *buss* [1647 3CTB] defined as 'to kiss (archaic and dialect)' [OED] is apparent from a supporting quotation:

1648 HERRICK *Hesper.* (1823) I. 266 Kissing and bussing differ both in this, We busse our wantons, but our wives we kisse.

OED usage labels help in assessing affect:

you paper kite = a term of reproach or detestation
[1640 3HOTJ]

a mother pugs art thou comming to Church? = term of endearment for a person
[c1582 1WDARCY Essex]

Semantic change can usually be explained by reference to the OED corpus of quotations but the most questionable aspect of diachronic pragmatics is the imposition of a 21st century interpretive framework on an Early Modern English mindset. Is a diachronic transposition of viewpoint tenable or even achievable? In his analysis of the themes of *The Old Wives Tale* [1595 1CPEELE], Ardolino (2005) claims that modern perceptions of it as light entertainment are false. Ardolino suggests that, given that the theme of all Peele's work is 'the praise of Protestant England under Elizabeth', this play is an allegorical retelling of the rise of Elizabeth

and Protestant England and that contemporary audiences ‘would have been aware of the cultural references, which would have influenced their interpretation.’ These cultural references are unlikely to be available to modern audiences. For lack of anything better, the terms used in my analysis assume universal responses as if the relevant concepts were operative in Early Modern English.

Chapter 4 Data Analysis of Authentic Texts

Depositions

Categories for use of single *thou/you*:

Usage as a reflection of social status

Having compiled my own mini corpora of all *thou* usage in the genres of depositions and trials, I first applied the Brown and Gilman power/distance semantic to see to what extent speakers appeared to distinguish social status in their use of the second-person pronoun by reciprocal and non-reciprocal usage. Where interlocutors consistently have the same usage to each other, I have given a single illustrative example. When the accused is addressed directly by a court official their relative status is usually apparent. Jone Waterhouse, accused of being a witch, is asked in court by the Queen's Attorney,

Howe vvylt *thou* do before god.

To her reply, 'O my lord, I trust god wyll haue mercy vpon mee,'

He responds '*thou* saiste vwell'.
[1566 1WCHENS]

This is not the formulaic, 'How wilt thou be tried?' of trial rhetoric³⁶ but an indication of her lowly status. Agnes Waterhouse, her mother, is named as *Mother Waterhouse*. The term *Mother* is defined in the OED as: 'a term of address for an elderly woman of the lower class. Also used (instead of Mrs.) as a prefix to the surname of such a person.'

The social status of interlocutors is not always apparent. Biographical data is useful here. In one of the earliest texts one of the participants, Anthony Ratcliffe, is classified as *armigerum*, that is 'arms bearing' or 'gentleman'. Unfortunately, we are told nothing about his opponent other than his name, Roger Doon. There is a further clue to their perceived status, however, in the way they are referred to in the account of their dispute, either as a faithful record of the testimony given by

³⁶ In the trial of Lord Audley [1631 2WMERVJ] Sir Thomas Fanshaw asks him 'How wilt *thou* be tried?' and the Lord High Steward directs Lord Audley, 'I advise *you* not to deny those things which are clearly proved.'

Christopher Egleston, or by the scribe's modification of this testimony to what he considered more appropriate usage.

And then *Mr. Ratcliff*, being then in the church yard after servic,
liftyd up his hand at *Doon*, which gave back; but to this examinat's
knowledge the said *Mr. Anthony* dyd not then touch the said *Doon*,
neither with his hand nor with any kinde of wepon, nor no wepon
was then drawne, by virtue of his oath.
[c1560 1WDURHA Defamation, Courts of Durham]

Anthony Ratcliffe, the gentleman, is given the title *Mister*, whereas Roger Doon becomes *Doon*. They seem to share this estimation of their comparative social status. In asking Doon to keep his promise to reveal who had stolen the sheep, Ratcliffe addresses Doon as *thou* and receives *you*. Doon is not intimidated though. He responds, 'I neid not unless I woll ...' nor, he claims, would Ratcliffe be able to prove him a thief, 'for although ye be a gent., and I a poore man, my honestye shalbe as good as yours.' Ratcliffe appears to find this suggestion outrageous: 'What saith thou?' said Mr. Ratcliff then, 'liknes thou thy honestye to myn?' They maintain their use of *thou/you* throughout, suggesting that it relates to the unchanging feature of their relative social status.

In the case of a disputed will in the Durham Ecclesiastical Courts, William Wilde, a bowyer, aged sixty, visits Elizabeth Blithman, a butcher's widow, as she is dying. They would seem to be of similar social standing. We are not given Elizabeth's age only that she was 'of great aidg, and hath had 4 husbands'. William considers that the pair 'talked familiarly to gither.' They addressed each other as *you*, as did Elizabeth and William's wife Janet. Husband and wife both wanted to know how Elizabeth proposed to dispose of her goods. Janet addressed Elizabeth as *Commothe* (friend). This suggests that the use of *you* denoted equal social status. This is particularly so when compared with Elizabeth's usage to Isabell Jackson, her poor neighbour and some-time servant, 'Ysabell, I know thy tounge.' This could be an affectionate *thou* but Elizabeth leaves her goods to her husband's daughters, not to Isabell, and Isabell refers to Elizabeth as her *Dame* (Mistress), which suggests that these usages denote relative status. [c1562 1WDURHA Sample 2 Defamation, Courts of Durham]

A further example of the use of *thou* by a dame to her servant appears in the case of defamation brought by Katherine Reid against Isabel Hynde for saying that Katherine had had an illegitimate child [1569 1WDURHA]. Katherine's sister-in-law, Helinor, calls on Isabel to discuss the matter and Isabel's dame, Clibborn's wife, says to her,

"*Thou* hast brought thyself in troble with this good wife's suster,"
[pointing to this examinat then present, and said,]
"*Thy M=r=* will not be in troble therewith."

Helinor, a merchant's wife, addresses Isabel, a servant, as *you*,

"she will have *you* to answer the sklander that *ye* have maid upon hir, which was that she had borne a barne in Chirton."

This may express a desire on Helinor's part to remain formally polite in order to avoid provoking Isabel into an argument.

There is, however, an example from the Chester Court [1562 1WCHEST Sample 12] of Margaret Wirrall addressing Jana Wolfall's female servant as *thou*, 'then I will go with the myself'. It may just be Helinor's idiolect in the Durham case, since she also uses *you* in comforting her sister-in-law, when an affective *thou* would not have seemed inappropriate,

"Suster Kathren, be of good cheir, and cast not *your* self downe again for any such talk; And, for ease of *your* myend, I wyll myself goo and question hir of hir words."
[c1569 1WDURHA Sample 5 Defamation, Courts of Durham]

Henry Smith is rebuked by John Walles, the sumner, for 'looking down' after participating in a handfasting ceremony into which he and Elizabeth Frisell had been hustled by the Commissary Court 'to be corrected for their incontinent living.'

Walles, spiyng Henry Smith to loke down, said to him,
"Whi lokest *thou* down? If *thou* meane not to do it in dede, but does to avoid the penance, it is not well."
[c1567 1WDURHA Sample 6 Defamation, Courts of Durham]

To classify this *thou* as denoting relative social status is debatable but Smith is an apprentice and Walles, as a churchman, his social superior, which would license the use as socially appropriate. The speech act verb does not connote negative affect.

Walles does not seem furious, just mildly annoyed, so social status seems the most appropriate category for this usage.

Matthew Lithgo's use of *thou* to Mawde Holme appears to be friendly advice over the case of defamation she has brought against Elizabeth Tilston for calling her 'Robert Soundes Hoore.'

"Mawde, *thou* hast begonne a mad matter against Elizabeth Tilston, widowe, for *thou* hast reported as ill by her."

Mawde's response is to the proposition not to the address, which suggests that she finds this usage unmarked,

'Whie?' [quod she] 'one foule word askis an other.'
[1562 1WCHEST Sample 12]

Ursley Kempe reassures Grace Thurlowe that her sick child will recover with the words,

'I warrant *thee* I, *thy* Childe, shall doe well enough',

Grace had previously paid Ursley to assist with her lying-in. In the same records of witches' confessions John Wade in the parish of Little Okeley in Essex, who was in a position to pay someone to care for his flock of over a hundred sheep, therefore not poor, directs Annis Heard to the Registrar in Colchester when she appeals for his help in preparing her defence against the charge of witchcraft:

it must be hee that therein may pleasure *thee* (help you).

Ursley Kempe and Grace Thurlowe seem to have been of similar social standing. They exchange *thou*. John Wade seems more prosperous than Annis Heard. There is no record of the form of her speech to him but subsequent testimony suggests that she was poor. Andrew West, a parishioner,

hee knowing her neede, saith, hee caused
his wife to giue her a peece of a lofe.
[1582 1WDARCY (Essex) Sample 1]

Bennet Lane demands repayment of a loan of two pence she had made to Annis,

you must needes helpe me with it now,
for this day I must paye the Lordes rent,

who has to borrow this to repay Bennet

then shee saide shee must goe borrowe it,
and so went and fetched it, saying, there is *your* money.

These two women, who seem to be equally poor and of similar low social standing exchange *you*. Bennet Lane does not feature in any other exchanges, so we do not know if this is her customary usage. There is no record of Annis addressing anyone with *thou*. She uses *you* to the nephew of Andrew West's wife, who is referred to as 'the Boy who brought the wool for her to spin,' saying, 'your Aunt might as well giue me one of her pigges.' Though we do not know his age, Annis was presumably of an older generation, which might have licensed the use of *thou*. It seems that Annis is conscious of her lowly status and addresses everyone with *you*. In her request to the parson for plums,

I pray *you* giue me som plummes sir

her use of *you* indicates her acknowledgement of his superior social status and the address term *sir* contributes to the politeness of her request.

She is addressed as *thou* by both Andrew West and his wife, who are more prosperous than Annis:

Andrew West: Annis, *thou* art ill thought of for witchcraft

Wife of Andrew West: *Thou* saidest the other day *thou* hadst no skill in witcherie, I will say *thou* hast an vnhappie tongue.

[1582 1WDARCY (Essex) Sample 10]

The problematic usage is that of the parson Richard Harrison's address to Annis whom he describes as, 'a light woma~, and a common harlot.' In his response to Annis' request for plums, Harrison rails against her and accuses her of having bewitched his wife. His address pronoun changes during the course of his speech, as he becomes more emotional. This is later examined as an instance of markedness reversal but it is difficult to account for his initial use of *you* when he terms her 'you

vield strumpet.’ Given her low social status and his use of a pejorative epithet, *thou* would seem more likely usage to a woman addressed this way by everyone except the lowly Bennet Lane.

Thou was apparently still being used by the lower orders to those of equal social status in north-eastern England in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1660, Robert Philip of Newcastle, a labourer, reported that Margaret Cotherwood, whose status is not recorded but who was ‘accompanied by the wife of a labourer’ told him to

"Wype off that on *thy* forehead, for it burns me to death,"

and in 1662 William Moulthorpe, a labourer, addressed Nicholas Myas, a labourer of Pontefract,

Thou shalt see that before the moneth
end as many will arise in England and Scotland as will cutt
the throats of all those that were for the Kinge.

At a hearing on 13 July in 1685, William Robinson, a husbandman, attested that, as was going to work with John Howden, he asked him

"Did *you* drinke the King's health, for *you* weare an Oliver souldier?"

Since they were going to work together, they were presumably of similar social status, yet Robinson's *you* may be socially distancing, as Howden replies with *thou*. This can probably be explained by as consideration of the political context. Robinson's question implies doubt that Howden would have drunk the health of the Catholic King James II, since he had fought for the Protestant Oliver Cromwell in the recent Civil War. Monmouth, the Protestant illegitimate son of the recently deceased Charles II, who was the brother of James II, landed with an invasion force on 11th June 1685 and proclaimed himself king. He was captured on 8th July after his defeat at the Battle of Sedgemoor and executed on 15th July. In his reply Howden addresses Robinson with the *thou* of their equal status but is charged with uttering seditious words for the sentiment he expressed,

"If *thy* father had left *the* an estate, and *thy* unckle should seek to wrong the of it, *thou* would fight for it, wouldst *thou* not?"
[1655-1664 3WYORK]

Robinson, giving evidence in a hearing against Howden for seditious words, may have felt it advisable not to appear sympathetic to him.

In addressing Grace Thomas, spinster, as *you*, Temperance Lloyd, widow, not only collocates this with the address term *Mistress*, but also falls on her knees in Bideford High Street weeping with joy to see her well again:

Mrs. Grace, I am glad to see *you* so strong again.
 Upon which this Informant said,
 Why dost *thou* weep for me?
 Unto which the said Temperance replied,
 I weep for Joy to see *you* so well again,
 [1682 4WDEVON]

That her use of *you* is an expression of her perceived lower social status is emphasised by Grace Thomas's use of *thou* to her.

Unequal Exchange Older to Younger Generation

One category in which address terms frequently indicate status is that of parent or adult to offspring or child. Most of these usages seem to connote superior social status rather than affection, though this may be because they feature in deposition texts relating to conflict. Parent-to-child usage is recorded in Durham c1569 by Isabell Hynde to her young son,

"*Thow* shall not caule Katherine Reid mother, for she caul me hoor."
 [c1569 1WDURHA Sample 5]

In Chester 1562 Rafe Golburne deposed that Widow Tilston had called Maude Holme 'an arrant hoore, and Roberte Soundeses hore, and like vnto Mawde Scottabout, who was a most notorious hoore.' Randle Roland deposed that as he was talking with Widow Tilston in the street, Maude Holme came up the street and Widow Tilston instructed a boy, her grandson, who was with her,

"call her *thy* fathers Scattabout,"
 [1562[1WCHEST Sample 6]

Henry Sellys, aged nine, on telling his mother that he was afraid of a black sprite that had attacked him and his younger brother in the night receives the response,

Thou lvest, *thou* lvest whoresonne
 [c1582 1WDARCY Sample 6 Essex]

Given the collocation with the pejorative epithet *whoresonne*, this usage may connote negative affect rather than social status. The testimony, which appears to have been recorded in March, relates to an incident occurring the previous Candlemas (2nd February). It is a matter of debate how reliable the recollection of the brothers aged six and nine can be, given that at least a month had passed since the incident, but they testify mutual *you* exchange between parents and between parents and children, except for Henry's report of his mother's outburst and that of his father to his mother, why *thou* whore.

Henry's awareness of *thou* usage suggests that in this family *you* was used in unmarked address.

Addresses to children that do seem to imply affection are those of Ursley Kempe who took Davye Thurlowe by the hand saying,

A good childe howe art *thou* loden?
[1582 1WDARCY Sample 1Essex]

and of Joan Smith's mother taking her grandchild by the hand and saying,

a mother pugs art *thou* comming to Church?
[1582 1WDARCY Sample 6 Essex]

In an example in the Forest of Pendle in the County of Lancaster reported in 1612 father and son have *thou/you* usage that seems to relate to their comparative social statuses. The incident related happened nineteen years previously but, unlike the previous examples, the son in this case, Robert Nutter, does not seem to have been a small child at the time of the hearing, as at the time of the incident he was ready to leave to go to his master.

Father, I am sure I am bewitched by the Chattox, Anne Chattox,
and Anne Redferne her daughter, I pray *you* cause them to bee
layed in Lancaster Castle :
Whereunto this Examinate Father answered,
Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is *thy* miscarriage.
[1612 2WPENDL Sample 7 in the Forest of Pendle in the County of Lancaster]

Use of *thou* to a younger addressee other than the speaker's own children is reported in Bennet Lane's request to Annis Herd's daughter for the return of a dish lent to Annis three weeks previously,

though I gaue *thy* mother milk to make her a
posset I gaue her not my dish,
[c1582 1WDARCY Sample 10 LITTLE OKELEY Essex]

Though this has the force of a rebuke, it is probably motivated by their relative ages.

The remaining examples in this category of the use of *thou* to indicate the superior social status of age also illustrate the pragmatic feature of affect. Abraham Cosin is charged with murder of James Stancliffe, aged about 14, whom he has tied on horseback and driven from one constable to another whilst demanding a fee to carry him to the next parish. When James asks to be taken off the horse, Abraham tells him,

"Hold *thy* tongue, for *thou* shalt not be taken of, for *thow*
has wanted for nothings, and it is but a myle *thou* hast to goe."

Joshua Eastwood hears Cosin tell one constable,

"If *yow* and I can agree, *yow* shall not be troubled with the childe,
I'll cary him to the constable of Huddersfeild myselff."
[1689 4WYORK Sample 5]

but he gave the boy 'hard words.'

The final example of the use of *thou* by a parent occurs at the very end of the period. Here Susannah Gunnell, a chambermaid, recounts the melodramatic scene she witnesses between Francis Blandy and his daughter Mary, who is charged with poisoning him;

Oh Sir! *your* Kindness to me strikes Daggers to my Soul;
Sir, I must down on my Knees and pray that *you* will not curse me;
[he reply'd,] I curse *thee*! no Child I bless *thee*, and hope God will bless *thee*,
and I pray *thou* may'st live to repent and amend. --
[1752 5WBLAND Oxfordshire]

The address terms *Sir* and *Child* add to the pathos. It is doubtful that the chambermaid testifying in March 1752 could have remembered such detail from a conversation she witnessed the previous August. This was either a faithful account of *thou/you* usage or it illustrated what the chambermaid considered to be appropriate usage. In either case, it suggests that she was aware of a pragmatic implication.

Young Speaker to Older Addressee

As well as Mary Blandy's exchange of *thou/you* with her father in 1752 and that of Robert Nutter with his father in the Pendle Witch Trials of 1613, in a discussion of indictments brought by Ralph Walker and his brothers against Thomas and John Allanson (aged 33), his nephews, Walker

did fall to sweareinge and takeinge God's name in vaine, uttering manie detestable oathes. Allanson said, "Fie, mann, doe *yow* not feare God?"

Walker had previously told Thomas Allanson,

Thou art but a sillie fellowe.
[c1630 2WDIOCE Durham Sample 7]

This exchange also connotes affect. The interlocutors are involved in a continuing dispute. John Allanson's testimony that his brother rebuked Walker's 'cursinge and sweareinge' but 'spooke merilie unto him' implies that Thomas Allanson was mitigating his criticism of his uncle. Though it is always difficult to assess the illocutionary force of an interjection at any point in its history, *fie* seems relatively mild and *mann* a Northumbrian dialect address term. Allanson's use of *you* to address his uncle and his receipt of *thou* from his uncle seems to reflect their relative social status rather than affect, though *sillie fellowe* does express Walker's disparagement of his nephew.

An exchange in which child and adult are not related occurs in the trial as witches of Agnes Waterhouse and her daughter Jone. Agnes Brown, a child of about twelve years, tells Agnes Waterhouse that Satan, in the form of a dog, when asked who was his dame (mistress),

nodded & wagged his head
to *your* house mother waterhouse.
[1566 1WCHENS]

To Agnes Brown's assertion that Satan came at her with Agnes Waterhouse's dagger, the latter retorts,
there *thou* liest

claiming that she did not possess a dagger. This, like the accusation made by his mother to Henry Sellys,

Thou lvest, thou lvest whoresonne
[c1582 1WDARCY Sample 6 Essex]

has the negative force of a face-threatening act. The fact that *thou* may also collocate with terms of affection when used to younger addressees in these texts suggests that the *thou/you* variant when use inter-generationally seems to denote comparative social status rather than affect.

Discrepancy in Reporting

A potentially significant feature in deposition texts in identifying the process of diachronic change is discrepancy in reporting. This is where informants apparently differ in their reporting of *thou/you* usage in a particular exchange. As already noted such discrepancy may derive from the insensitivity of subsequent editors to the connotation of the *thou/you* variants but in cases where the informants themselves obviously differ this suggests that they have different interpretations of the implications of the exchange.

In 1562 in Chester in the case over a contracted marriage agreement brought by Morgan Edmund, gentleman, against Elizabeth Bird, deponents gave different accounts of the wording of the agreement. It was unclear in the sixteenth century what constituted a valid contract of marriage. It was not necessary to involve the Church. According to Picard (2003:226) ‘a valid marriage ... required only a declaration *in the present tense* by each of the parties that he or she took the other in wedlock ... if the declarations were in the future tense, it was not a valid marriage until it was consummated’ [original emphasis].

A breach of contract case between Elizabeth and Edmund heard in Chester in 1562 concerned Elizabeth’s subsequent marriage to someone else because she claimed she had heard that Edmund had died. Edmund brought the case for breach of contract in order to claim Elizabeth’s property from her husband. Edward Griffiths and John David, who were present at the betrothal testified that the participants exchanged *you*. Reporting in the witnesses’ testimony varied, with Edward Griffiths testifying that Elizabeth said to Morgan,

"I take *you* for my husband; and I will marry *you* when *you* comme back againes.

He deposed that

'he thinkes that handes trouthe, with such wordes as he hard spoken,
shuld make them man & wief before god.

John David's testimony implies *intention to marry* with vows exchanged in the future tense (and with mutual *you*) [added emphasis]

and then they kist ... and pointed a day to marry

Elizabeth's sister, Margaret Fradsam, asked what words were used to make the contract, deposed,

'by the wordes of Wedlock -- as nere as they cold hit those wordes,
-- that ar spoken at the church dore:
"I take *the* for my weddid husband," & "I take *the* for my weddid wief, for
better & for worse, &c."

Technically these commitments differ. A promise to marry in the future, such as that reported by Griffiths, constitutes a handfasting or betrothal, that is a legal commitment, so that the parties could not contract another marriage (Pickard 2003:195). According to Margaret Fradsam's testimony the couple's exchange constituted marriage and they were

taken and reputid as man & wief afore god, by this deponent, and of all other that were present by, & of the neighbours thereabout that knowe of it

Elizabeth also considered herself to be married to Edmund and that they

did make a contract of mariage, speakeinge the wordes of mariage (as nere as this Respondent cold remember the same), saynge:
"I take *the*, Morgan, to my husband, from this day forward; and therto I plight *the* my trouthe": and held hym by the hand, sayeng these wordes aforesaid, with other, in full mynd to have hym for her husband duringe her lief: and likewise Morgan toke this Respondent by the hand, and said:
"I take *the*, Elizabeth, for my wief from hensforth; and therto I plight *the* my trouthe".

Both Elizabeth and her sister claim that they could not remember the exact words spoken but both depose that it was the words conventionally constituting the marriage ceremony, which they perceive as resulting in a valid marriage, that is: a declaration in the present tense using the address pronoun *thee*. This formulaic usage persists to the end of the period and in some versions of the Prayer Book to the present day. Griffiths interpreted their exchange to constitute an intention to marry

in the future but considered that they were married in the sight of God. David sees their exchange as a betrothal and an intention to marry. For Edmund the dispute concerned his claim of a pre-contract with Elizabeth, which would enable him to claim her property from the man she had subsequently married. He did not intend to marry Elizabeth, as he considered that in marrying someone else she had committed adultery. Elizabeth's claim was that the vows she had exchanged with Edmund constituted marriage. This would allow her to claim the land that had been settled on her by Edmund as her marriage portion in consequence of their contract made, as her sister deposed,

'by the wordes of Wedlock -- as nere as they cold hit those wordes,
-- that ar spoken at the church dore:
"I take *the* for my weddid husband," & "I take *the* for my weddid wief, for
better & for worse, &c." [1562 1WCHEST Chester sample 9]

In a case heard in Durham in 1573 William Hudspeth testifies that he called Tomson, the vicar's servant, *lymber* (*limmer* - rogue, scoundrel *Sc. and north dial.* OED) whilst Tompson called him *knave* in a dispute over Hudspeth's claim that Tompson had insulted his friends. The testimony of two other informants both of whom are local labourers in their mid-twenties differs. Thomas Gofton deposes that Hudspeth addresses Tompson with *thou* and calls him *loowne* (rogue, *Sc. and north dial.* OED). Henry Tromble deposes that Hudspeth addresses Tompson with *you*,

"What reprooffe gyves *you* my frends?"

The pair did not come to blows but 'chiding words' were exchanged. William Hudspeth's status is not recorded but from the fact that Tompson spent the afternoon in the stocks, it seems that Hudspeth may have been of higher social status than Tompson. Some witnesses observed the altercation but did not hear what was said. It is possible that the deponents do not report the same utterance. It is possible that Hudspeth addressed Tompson initially with the unmarked *thou* of superior social status and then switched to *you* as he pushed Tompson in anger as deposed by Tromble. Hudspeth is disparaging of Tompson, saying that he is *but a cryetour*. Such an analysis would accord with the model of *thou* as an address term of negative affect,

What, loowne, what saith *thou*
[1573 1WDURHA Durham Sample 15]

being followed by the *you* of social deixis as Hudspeth pushes Tompson away.

In the case of the Sellys children already noted, there is a discrepancy in the children's reporting of their father's utterance to their mother, with nine-year-old Henry reporting,

why *thou* whore cannot *you* keepe your impes from my childre~?

and his six-year-old brother John reporting,

ye stinking whore what meane *yee*?
can *yee* not keepe youe impes from my children?
[1582 1WDARCY Essex Sample 6]

This example is included here for the sake of consistency but I do not consider it significant. The reports do appear to relate to the same utterance but young children may not have been concerned over the precise wording.

John Richardson, who created a disturbance by collecting the names of communicants during a church service, is reported by Jane Bell to have addressed her as *you*, whereas Marie Trotter, who was sitting next to Jane, reported that he said,

"What! is *thy* name Jaine Barcroft?"

According to the different deponents Richardson's usage varied. He addressed the vicar who was administering communion as *you*, as he did Elizabeth Dobson and Anne Softley, according to Elizabeth Dobson. Elizabeth Tindale and Margaret Bawde deposed that he addresssed them as *thou*. Richardson joked with the young women, pretending to Jane Bell that he thought she was George Barcroft's daughter rather than his servant. To Elizabeth Dobson he said,

"Yow are a taverene wench, I maie come to be acquainted with *yow*."

and to Anne Softely,

"Yow are indeede a good soft wench,"
in jeastinge and smileinge manner.

Elizabeth Tindale deposed that he replied,

"Is *thie* name Tindale? Had we then a Ridsdell, yee would be well mett,"
in a laughing and jeasting manner.

Richardson urged Margaret Bawde to speak up, saying,

"*Thou* canst speake at home, I'll warrant *the*,"
[c1633 2WDIOCE Durham Sample 6]

These young women were all servants ranging in age from 20 to 24 years except for Jane Bell, who was 17. There seems to be nothing in the text to account for his different usage to them. He is recorded as laughing and jesting whether using *thou* or *you*.

Variation in this last example does not seem to be significant. The only example in this category where variation in use does seem to be significant to the deponents is in the case between Morgan Edmund and Elizabeth Bird in which Elizabeth and her sister claim that the contract was made 'by the wordes of Wedlock', that is the parties addressed each other as *thou* in the formula 'spoken at the church dore.'

Formulaic use of *thou*

From the beginning of the period, parties in matrimonial cases were questioned on the precise wording of the promises they had made, since a declaration made in the presence of witnesses and using the correct formula constituted a legal contract of marriage. This is why deponents were often concerned to deny the words it was claimed they had uttered. The couple were legally married if they had made the vows in the present tense. The *thou/you* distinction had no legal significance.

Thomas Snelson deposed that although there had been talk of marriage between him and Ellen Ricroft, there had never been any contract of intended marriage as had been claimed, nor did he ever say anything,

'on this sort "I will take *the* for my wief,"'
[1563 1WCHEST Sample 1]

with the intention of marrying her.

As the Edmund v Bird case suggests (1562) the promise of intention to marry does not seem to have depended on formulaic usage. According to the testimony of Margaret Gravenour, in the case brought by her sister, Sybil Blakhurst, against Randle Ramshae, the pair had promised in the presence of witnesses to marry. Sybil had borne Randle a child but they had not married. Margaret Gravenour deposes that Randle said, '*or the like in effect.*' [added emphasis]

"I will marry *the*, if euer I marry any."

to which Sybil responded,

"I will marry *you*, if euer I marry any."
[1565 1WCHEST Sample 3]

In a case heard in Chester relating to events that had happened twenty years previously, George Holland deposed that he was present when Alexander Winstanley challenged Ellen Sonkie's right to marry another since she was betrothed to him. Ellen responded,

"I will neuer marrie non but *you*."

and Alexander replied,

"yf *you* be so determynd, let vs make the matter sure,
before this man and theis ij=0= women".

then the said Alexander toke the said Eleine bie the hand,
afore the said witnes, and said:

"I, Alexander, take *the*, Eleine, to my weddid wief, to have and
to hold, for better & worse, for richer and poorer, in sicknes & in health,
till death vs departe; and therto I plight *you* my trouthe."
and so, vnlosing hand, the said Eleine toke the said Alexander bie the hand
likewise, and *spake the like wordes in effect to hym*. [added emphasis]
[1564 1WCHEST Sample 11]

The deposition of Margaret Waite, one of the witnesses, reports the conversation of the couple before the exchange of vows in which they addressed each other as *you* throughout. She deposed the same wording for the vows with 'take the' and 'I plight you my trouthe' but omitting 'for richer and poorer, in sicknes and in health.' According to her testimony, however, Ellen said 'I plight the my trouthe.' Elizabeth Winstanley gave very similar testimony with the couple addressing each other as *you* in conversation and *take thee* in their vows, though both she and Margaret Waite

deposed that the couple also repeated all the other words the priest used to say. Margaret Waite added however, that ‘ altho nowe she hath forgotten them: then she had them in memory.’

In the case of Elizabeth Frissell and Henry Smith compelled by the Commissary Court to marry, they repeat their vows after the vicar. It is not thought necessary to give these in full in the deposition, which merely states,

"Here I, Henry Smith, take *you*, Elizabeth Frisell, to my wedded wyfe, &c. and thereto I plight *the* my trowth," [c1567 1WDURHA Sample 6]

Elizabeth repeats similar words.

The format is not uniform. There is uncertainty over the wording with combinations of ‘take thee’ and ‘plight you my troth’ but most exchanges seem to have *thee* somewhere in the vows. Since *thee* is the form used in the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* as the direct translation of the singular Latin usage, this probably reflects a perception that it somehow gave gravitas or perhaps legitimacy to the proceedings. In fact ‘there needs no stipulation or curious form of contract in wedlock making’ according to *The Lawe’s Resolution of Women’s Rights* (anon 1632 in Picard 2003:226). Prior to 1754 the only requirement to make a marriage valid was for the parties to declare that they took each other as man and wife (Picard 2000:68).

Formulaic use of *thou* in trial proceedings is more standardised and seems to act as a discourse marker to indicate the opening and closing of the proceedings. The prisoner is asked, ‘how wilt thou be tried’ and is addressed as *thou* when the sentence is pronounced but may be addressed as *you* during the course of the trial.

Mervin, Lord Audley, is asked by Sir Thomas Fanshaw, ‘how wilt thou be tried?’ The Lord High Steward then addresses Audley as *you* when putting the evidence to him and in summing up, switching to *thou* in pronouncing sentence,

Mervin Lord Audley, *you* have beene indicted, and have pleaded not guilty, and put *your* selfe on God and *your* Peers, who have found *you* guilty of both ...

... Forasmuch as *thou* Mervin Lord Audley hast been indicted of divers felonies, for which *thou* desiredst to be tryed by

God and *thy* Peeres, which tryall *thou* hast had, and they have found *thee* guilty of them, *thy* sentence therefore is, that *thou* returne to the place from whence *thou* camest, and from thence to the place of execution, there to bee hanged by the necke till *thou* be dead.

And the Lord have mercy upon *thee*. [1631 2WMERVI Westminster]

Dialogue with Spirits

One of the most consistent usages throughout the deposition texts is the exchange of *thou* with familiars or spirit beings. There seems to be a dual motivation for the use of the familiar form: the familiar is a being with whom the speaker has a unique and private relationship and which frequently has the form of a domestic animal.

Though sentient, the familiar presumably does not have a soul, since it is addressed as *what* rather than *who*. Agnes Brown, aged about twelve years, exchanges *thou* with Joan Waterhouse's familiar, Satan in the form of a dog, though she addresses Mother Waterhouse with *you* [1566 1WCHENS Essex sample X].

Elizabeth Bennet's familiar was a spirit called Suckin that had the form of a black dog.

In the name of God, what art *thou*:
thou wilt not hurt mee,

Sample 5

This Examine saith, that she neuer vsed any of those speaches, which Ales Hunte hath enformed against her, As yea art *thou* so sawsie? art *thou* so bould? *Thou* were not best to bee so bould, for if *thou* beist, *thou* shalt haue Simonds sauce [1582 1WDARCY Essex sample 4]

Joan Prentice converses with the Devil in the shape of a ferret. She also asks,

In the name of god what art *thou*. [1589 1WNOTOR Chelmsford, Essex]

Defendants in the Lancaster Witch Trials were accused of conversing with spirits and testified that:

Sample 1 - Elizabeth Sowtherns exchanged *thou* with a spirit or devil in the shape of a boy whose name was Tibb.

Sample 2 - Anne Whittle was addressed by a spirit or a devil in the shape of a man called Fancie:

Thou shalt want nothing; and be reuenged of whom *thou* list.

Sample 5 – James Device was addressed by a thing like a black dog called Dandy that said to him:

Thou didst touch the said Duckworth ... *thou* didst touch him, and therefore I haue power of him.

Sample 8 Alizon Device was addressed by a thing like a black dog, which spoke to her *in English saying* [added emphasis]:

What wouldst *thou* haue me to do vnto yonder man?
to whom this Examinee said: What canst *thou* do at him?
[1612 2WPENDL Lancaster]

In other cases:

Anne Baker saw a hand appear and heard a voice in the air:

Anne Baker save *thyself*
[1618 2WFLOWE Bever Castle]

Ann Barker – there came to her a little dun dog and syde to he:
if *you* will cleave to me *thou* shalt want nothinge
[1645 3WSUFFO Suffolk]

Jane Milburne - something in the perfect similitude and shape of a catt told her it had come for her life, to which she replied - "I defy *the*, the devill and all his works."

On another occasion it leaped at her throat saying:

"Theafe, I'll not overcome *ye* as yett."
[1663-4 3WYORK York sample 4]

This usage by the cat may be motivated by the fact that it is not Jane Milburne's familiar.

Nine months later on being re-examined, Jane deposed that a grey cat appeared and transformed itself into the shape of Dorothy Stranger with whom she had had a continuing feud, and which addressed her as *thou*. In several encounters, both opprobrious and conciliatory, Dorothy Stranger only ever addressed Jane Milburne as *thou*. In the form of a cat Dorothy addressed Jane as *you*. It is difficult to account for this, as it is marked in the context of address from non-human speakers.

Dorothy Stranger also used *thou* to address her adult niece, who after encountering her aunt ‘imediately she fell sick and lanwished above 1/2 a yeare and dyed.’ This niece referred to her aunt as *witch-theafe*. Only in the persona of the cat did Dorothy Stranger ever use *you* to address Jane Milburne. It would be useful, space permitting, to analyse usage when spirits take human form. Kytö & Walker (2003:235) note an instance of the form *y^u* (*thou*) transcribed variably as *you* and *thou* in the 1845 Edition of Depositions from which data was taken for the CED. It is possible that *y^e* in these 17th century depositions was similarly variably transcribed as *thee/ye* in the 1861 published version.

Subversion of Social Order

Although abusive words may be exchanged between speakers of different rank, there is rarely subversive use of pronouns with a speaker of lower rank addressing a social superior as *thou*. Mr Ratcliffe, a gentleman, is incensed when Roger Doon, whom he has summoned into his presence, suggests,

"for although ye be a gent., and I a poore man,
my honestye shalbe as good as *yours*"
[c1560 1WDURHA]

but they maintain the upward *you* of deference and the downward condescension of *thou* in their exchanges. John Rosse, labourer, calls Raif Ogle, gentleman, *coustran*³⁷ of all *coustrans* and Ogle addresses Rosse as *slave* but they also retain the *thou/you* of rank [c1560 1WDURHA].

Elizabeth Sowthern, a blind beggar, accompanied her daughter to Richard Baldwyn's house to ask him to pay her daughter for work done at Baldwyn's mill. To Baldwyn's response,

get out my ground Whores and Witches, I will burne the one of you, and hang the other,
unusually, Elizabeth replied,

I care not for *thee*, hang thy selfe [1612 2WPENDL sample 1].

Elizabeth presumably felt that she had little to gain by deference and very little to lose by insolence.

³⁷ OED term of reproach or contempt: knave, base fellow, low varlet.

In the case of a quarrel in a churchyard [1575 1WDURHA], although James Walton first addresses the curate, Sir Richard, with the *you* appropriate to his status, he questions the curate's authority to intervene in a local quarrel,

"What have *ye* adoo with that?"
but switches to the *thou* of abuse at the curate's claim that he would have to be concerned if he were asked by one of his parishioners:

"Wawd [would] *thou*, *thou* droucken horemonger preist?"

Surprisingly, Sir Richard does not take offence but acknowledges the validity of Walton's abuse and tries to placate him,

"James, I have bein punished for my hordom, and the part I dyd;
saing yee ar my neighbours, a good fellow and nowe an honest man,
I pray yow to leave such talke." And still the said James contynewed
in his raidge, bragging and swerynge, and said that he wold "whapp his coott,"

Finally the curate also loses his temper and switches to addressing Walton with *thou*,

"Goo *thy* way, *thou* art an evill man."

Frustratingly, the deponent claims to know no more of 'any matter betwixt them' but the curate's apparent feeling of guilt over his *hordom* seems to cause him to accept not only Walton's abuse over his behaviour but also the implied threat to his social status in being addressed as *thou*.

In two of the cases where church ministers are addressed as *thou* textual clues reveal the motivation. Christopher Bramley, charged with brawling in church, called out to the Minister [1655 WYORK],

"*Thou* art going into the throne of pride;"

and afterwards caused a disturbance in the church by haranguing the minister and refusing to remove his hat. Thomas Taylor [1657 3WYORK] called out to the minister as he preached,

"Come down, lyar, for *thou* speakes contrary to the
doctrin of Christ, for Christ hath said, sweare not att all."

The refusal to show deference by the removal of one's hat and the refusal to swear oaths mark these speakers as Quakers, who had 'an intense aversion to any kind of formal ecclesiastical authority or institutional discipline ... considered Scripture to be no more than an historical document ... and attended church specifically to make an ungodly noise' (Schama 2003:159).

Terms of Negative Affect

Speakers in authentic texts do not appear to be particularly inventive of terms of abuse, the most frequent being *whore* and *thief*, which may be applied merely as general terms of opprobrium. Various witnesses deposed that a dispute over money between Henry Fazakerley and Margaret Wirrall led to their calling each other: *hard strong thief, gryninge thief, provid hore* [1561 & 1562 1WCHEST]. The only examples of direct address cited include: *thou hoore, thou thief, thou art a false thief* and, curiously these epithets in, *thou art as like a hoore as I a thief*, which, since Fazakerley had denied owing Margaret Wirrall money, seems to imply that he was suggesting that she was not a whore.

In a dispute over property [c1569 1WDURHA] George Browell says to his opponent, "Such maynsworn³⁸ harlotts as *thou* art kepes me from it."

Both the epithet and the modifier are opprobrious giving *thou* negative affect. OED has as possible definitions of *harlot*: *vagabond, beggar, rogue, rascal, villain, low fellow, knave* but summarises: 'often a mere term of opprobrium or insult.' *Maynsworn* is a dialect term and the more opprobrious, since it is actionable. It appears to be used with literal reference.

Agnes Wheitley deposed hearing Margaret Bulman call Janet Steilling *noughtie pak*³⁹ [c1567 1DURHA]. Given the apparent highly offensive nature of this remark, Janet's response seems mild:

³⁸ OED 1650 HOBART *Rep.* 126 Slater brought an action of the case against Franks for saying, Thou art a main-sworne Lad, and a bankrupt Lad ... It stood upon the word Maine-sworne: against which it was said, that it was an unknowne word in these parts, and of an uncertaine sense, though in the North parts it was understood to be as much as perjured, as forsworne with his hand upon the book.

³⁹ OED A promiscuous or licentious woman; a prostitute.

"What nowtynes⁴⁰ know *you* by me? I am neyther goossteler nor steg steiler, I would *you* knew ytt."

She addresses Margaret Bulman with a polite *you*. The implicature of her second remark is that Margaret interprets it as an accusation of theft. She addresses Janet as *noughty hoore*, probably as a term of abuse, rather than a literal accusation, and collocates this with *thou*.

"What, noughty hoore, caull *thou* me goose steiler?"

This seems the more impolite since Janet had addressed her as *you*. Janet remains calm and her next remark has a conciliatory *thee* but she reverts to *you* in admonishing Margaret to restrain her language while they discuss the matter:

"Nay, mayry, I know *thee* for no such"

"but I thank *you* for *your* good reporte, whills *you* and I talk further."

In a dispute between Thomas Robson and Ralph Wilson in which Robson has been accused of stealing two mares, Wilson overhears Robson's daughter, Isabell, deny that he is any longer her suitor. Utterances are differently attributed but the consensus is that Ralph hears Isabell's further remark to the effect that unlike Ralph's wealth her family's wealth is honestly gained. Ralph's response is,

"*Thou* giglott,⁴¹ *thou* knowest best whither your goods be well woon or noo."
[c1567 1WDURHA sample 9]

The use of the epithet *thief* in the case of libel against Robert and John Waugh is intended literally. The Waughs physically attack Horsfall, who, they claim, has,

done our kinswoman Isabell Hinde a displeasure

To Horsfall's claim to have no money, Robert Waugh replies,

"Yes, that hast *thou*, theffe, and let me se it."
[c1569 1WDURHA sample 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20]

They then compelled him to make a bill of £3 debt, which suggests that this was not just a case of libel but that they believed he had stolen from Isabell Hinde.

⁴⁰ Naughtiness i.e. wickedness.

⁴¹ OED a lewd, wanton woman.

The seriousness of the epithet *whore* is seen by the fact that it was actionable. Helen Johnson brought a case of defamation against George Allenson for having called her *whore*. There is no instance of *thou whore* in this deposition but it illustrates Helen's concern at being so labelled that she sat down in the church porch after the service and asked him to justify his claim. [c1570 1WDURHA sample 13, 14, 15, 16, 20]

In the case of Quarrelling and Fighting in the Church and Churchyard of Stannington (1573) the protagonists employ the epithet *slave*, defined in the OED as 'a term of contempt', in collocation with *thou*. A similar case of quarreling in the same location in the same year has *thou* in collocation with *loon*, which the OED has as 'chiefly Scottish or Northern dialect' and 'a worthless person, a rogue, a scamp.' [1573 1WDURHA sample 16, 20]

James Walton, accused of laying violent hands on the curate of Lanchester in the churchyard, addresses him as,

"*Thou droucken [drunken] horemonger preist*" and "*Thou drouken villan.*"

The curate, Sir Richard, does not reject the accusation, saying he has been punished for his whoredom but, as Walton 'contynued in his raidge,' Sir Richard loses patience and tells him,

"*Goo thy way, thou art an evill man.*"

[1573 1WDURHA sample 16, 20]

In the case of defamation brought in 1587 by Isabell Rothwell against George Smith the significant epithet is again *whore*. Isabell appears to have initiated the abuse, saying to Smith,

"I may as tite [soon] be a ladye as *thou* a lord,
as *thou*, pricklouse⁴² that *thou* arte."

but George's riposte seems more opprobrious,

"*Thou art a tantarband and a tantarbawde*⁴³ *whore.*"

[1587 1WDURHA sample 20]

⁴² OED a derisive name for a tailor.

⁴³ OED *bawd* a procuress, *tant* ?a1534 haughty,
Anglo-Norman 1292 *tant amunter* to amount to as much, *tant* Fr as much, so much
tantarbawde ? I can find no convincing explanation but it is obviously pejorative.

Henry Sellys, aged nine, deposed [1582 1WDARCY Essex] that his father had addressed his mother,

why *thou* whore cannot *you* keepe *your* impes from my childre~?

When Henry told his mother that he was afraid of the imp, she told him,

Thou lvest, *thou* lvest whoresonne.

These do not seem to be literal references, *whoreson* being ‘commonly used as a coarse term of reprobation’ (OED) and *whore* ‘in early use often as a coarse term of abuse’ (OED).

Joan Prentice, on being told by ‘the Devil in the shape of a ferret’ that he has bitten a child at her instruction and that the child would die, said to him

thou villaine⁴⁴ what hast *thou* doon, I bid *thee* to nip it but a little
and not to hurt it, and hast *thou* killed the childe?
[1589 1WNOTOR]

Robert Lunsden, charged with resisting arrest, said to the arresting officer,

"Hange *the*, rogue,⁴⁵ art thou comen with a fase warrant to
arrest me againe? I will not stirr my foote for *the*."

That he also addressed him as *thief* demonstrates that these epithets are not literally applied but used as terms of abuse.

"In faith, theife, if ever *thou* come the waie *thou* haist comen,
I will cutte *thy* journey short once within a twelvemoneth."
[c1630 2WDIOCE sample 3, 7]

Walker involved in a legal dispute with his nephew, tells him,

"*Thou* art a sillie fellowe; wee will destroye *the*."
[c1630 2WDIOCE sample 7, Durham]

This is problematic, since the proposition has the force of a threat but the address term does not appear to denote opprobrium. The OED defines *fellow* as ‘a familiar synonym for man, male person’. It connotes familiarity but whether or not that is opprobrious depends on its modifier. *Silly* [OED: ‘lacking in judgement or common sense, foolish, senseless, empty-headed’] also seems to depend on its collocate to

⁴⁴ OED used as a term of opprobrious address.

⁴⁵ OED a dishonest, unprincipled person; a rascal.

determine its semantic colouring. Taken in its entirety the utterance seems to have negative affect but it is the proposition that effects this.

In the trial of Janet and George Benton for witchcraft, during Susanna Maude's deposition it is unclear if she or George Benton, Janet's son, told how a 'thing' had come into Susanna's house and struck the iron range with iron tongs. Janet's response,

"Villaine, did it ever doe *the* any hurt?
it will doe soe at the noone time"
[1656 3WYORK sample 1, 4]

implies that she is speaking to George. *Villain*⁴⁶ seems to be gender-specific to men and applied to women only in jocular use. From the evidence of these texts, the most likely term of opprobrious address to Susanna would have been *whore*.

Joane Jones deposed [1682 4WDEVON] at the trial for witchcraft of Mary Trembles and Susanna Edwards that she had heard Mary say to Susanna

O *thou* Rogue, I will now confess all: For 'tis *thou* that hast
made me to be a Witch, and *thou* art one *thy* self, and
my Conscience must swear it.

Susanna replied,

I did not think that *thou* wouldest have been such a Rogue to discover it.

Anthony Jones deposed that, observing Susanna fluttering her hands over her body, he said to her,

"*Thou* Devil, *thou* art now tormenting some person or other"

It is not clear if he was addressing Susanna or the spirit who possessed her but the usage certainly demonstrates negative affect.

⁴⁶ OED originally, a low-born base-minded rustic; a man of ignoble ideas or instincts; in later use, an unprincipled or depraved scoundrel; a man naturally disposed to base or criminal actions, or deeply involved in the commission of disgraceful crimes. Used as a term of opprobrious address.

Terms of Positive Affect

There are fewer terms of positive than negative affect in the depositions as might be expected, since many of them concern cases of defamation, quarrelling and fighting.

As Robert Ripley lay dying [1586 1WDURHA], his wife Agnes showed more concern for his feelings than that demonstrated by William and Janet Wylde towards the dying Elizabeth Blithman [1582 1WDURHA above], telling him affectionately,

"Bullie,⁴⁷ *thow* hast geven *thy* silver whistle and chaine unto Leonard Harle, but I trust *thou* shalt lyve to weare yt *thy* self."

Two examples from an Essex witchcraft hearing of 1582 that appear to have been heard about the same time [1582 1WDARCY] have almost identical speeches attributed to the accused. According to the deposition given 19 February, Ursley Kempe took Grace Thurlowe's child by the hand and said,

A good childe howe art *thou* loden?⁴⁸

On 24 February William Bonner deposed that his wife's 'familiar friend', Elizabeth Bennet, said to his wife, who was 'sickely and sore troubled,'

a good woman how *thou* art loden,
then clasped her in her armes, and kissed her.

These utterances both express sympathy, but it is the accompanying actions together with the use of *thou* and the modifier *good* that establish positive affect in this context. Elsewhere in these texts *woman* and *good woman* connote the condescension of social status [1632 2THIGHC].

Joan Smith deposes [c1582 1WDARCY] that her mother addressed Joan's child as,
a mother pugs art *thou* comming to Church?

The OED defines *mother pugs* as 'a term of endearment for a person (rarely an animal); also applied to a bauble or doll,' which suggests that size and infantile appearance are significant in motivating positive affect.

⁴⁷ OED a term of endearment and familiarity, orig. applied to either sex: sweetheart, darling.

⁴⁸ OED burdened.

John Nutter's testimony [1612 WPENDL] of an exchange that occurred between his father and brother 'some eighteen or nineteen years ago' concerning his brother Robert's conviction that he had been bewitched relates his father's response as,

Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is *thy* miscarriage.

This seems to echo the measure of affect implied in the *sillie fellow* epithet given by an uncle to his nephew in Durham Depositions of 1630. Robert's reaction to his father's response is to weep, which implies frustration at his father's apparent refusal to take his son's fears seriously. The OED suggests that *lad* may be 'applied familiarly or endearingly to a male person of any age.' Robert's father appears to be appealing to their close family relationship to reassure his son.

Francis Bland, whilst dying from poison administered by his daughter, demonstrates almost saintly forgiveness [1752 5WBLAND],

I curse *thee*! no Child I bless *thee*,
and hope God will bless *thee*, and I pray *thou*
may'st live to repent and amend.
-- Leave me least *thou* shouldst say something to *thy*
Prejudice;

As a whole the utterance displays positive affect but, such is its pathos, that it would be similarly affective were Bland to have addressed his daughter as *you*. It is, therefore, not feasible to find that the term *child* in collocation with *thou* denotes positive affect.

The Connotation of Titles in Collocation with *thou/you*

The use of titles in the depositions generally collocates with *you*, suggesting that *you* is the more formal socially-distancing usage.

Katherine Reid, bringing a case of defamation against Isabell Hynde, is reassured by her sister-in-law, Helinor, who addresses her as *sister* [c15691WDURHA],

"Suster Kathren, be of good cheir, and cast not *your* self downe again for any such talk;

It may seem socially-distancing for Helinor to address Katherine as *you* when trying to reassure her, but there is no record of Helinor using *thou*, so this may just be part of her idiolect and evidence of the change in progress.

Annis Herd, a poor widow, addresses the parson deferentially,

I pray *you* giue me som plummes sir
[1575 1WDARCY Essex sample 10]

Temperance Lloyd, another widow apparently aware of her low social status, fell on her knees and wept in the street before Grace Thomas, spinster, saying,

Mrs. [Mistress] Grace, I am glad to see *you* so strong again.
[1682 4WDEVON]

It is difficult to accept as authentic dialogue the example from the trial of Mary Bland, since it is so melodramatic. The chambermaid deposed that Mary fell on her knees before her father saying,

Oh! Sir, forgive me, send me where *you* will, and I'll
never see or hear from, or write to Cranston more;
so *you* do but forgive me I shall be happy.
[1752 5WBLAND]

In Temperance Lloyd's case the self-abasement could be attributed to religious fervour rather than deference to Grace Thomas, which is incidental though denoted by the address terms. Mary Bland is kneeling in supplication to her father. Her appeal is to his authority rather than to their mutual affection.

Lack of title in conjunction with a family name where one might be considered appropriate generally denotes negative affect. John Rawe in the company of Robert Waugh threatens with his staff a man he refers to simply as *Horsfall*,

"Nowe, we are glade, Horsfall, that we have got *the* hear: *thou* hast
done our kinswoman Isabell Hinde a displeasure, and we will
make *thi* skinne make her amendes; and, by God's woundes,
rather then *thou* use her thus *thou* shall beare me *thy* backfull
of strockes;"
[c1569 1WDURHA]

Brian Darcy, Justice of the Peace, describes the proceedings relating to Elizabeth Bennet,

it was said to her, if it be proued to *your* face,
 what will *you* say to al the other matters *you*
 haue bin charged with, are they true:
 [c1582 1WDARCY]

the implication being that this is said in open court. Then the dynamic changes as Darcy addresses Elizabeth privately. His role changes from the formality of Court official to the informality of friendly advisor and the address changes accordingly,

the~ I calling her vnto mee, saide,
 Elizabeth as *thou* wilt haue fauour confesse the truth.

A related change occurs in the case of assault against James Walton, in which he addresses the curate as *Sir* collocating with *you*,

"What maks *you* so hye, S=r= Richerd?"

but switches to *thou* when he drops the title,

"*Thou* droucken horemonger preist?"
 [c1569 1WDURHA]

In the affair of doctrinal dispute between Alvey, the preacher, and John Blakeston, in which Blakeston claims that Alvey has made seven errors, Alvey calmly asks Blakeston,

"Mr. Blaikston, *yow* will justifie this."

When Blakestone subsequently interrupts his wife in a doctrinal discussion with Alvey, the latter exclaims 'in verie angry manner,'

"What, man? is *thou* comen to out-faice me?"
 [c1638 2WDIOCE Durham]

implying that unmarked formal usage is *you*, but that this can switch to *thou* under the influence of negative affect.

The trial of Mervin Lord Audley [1631 2WMERVI] illustrates the use of *you* as an indicator of social status. Audley is addressed by his title and *you* throughout his

trial but *you* gives way to *thou* when his sentence is delivered. He continues to be addressed by his full title, however, which implies that he retains his social status despite being ‘found guilty for committing rapine and sodomy.’

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

There is little *thou/you* switching in the deposition texts. The case of the arraignment and conviction of Mervin Lord Audley [1631 2WMERVI] discussed above illustrates the Court’s construction of his persona. As an Earl he is addressed as *you* and accorded his title. As a prisoner, he is addressed as *thou* in the formulaic opening and closing discourse of the trial. Formulaic marriage vows already discussed also include switches between *thou* and *you* but this seems to be a matter of the deponents’ ignorance of the usual formula rather than a case of markedness or markedness reversal.

In the case of a disputed marriage contract between Thomas Snelson and Ellen Ricroft, Ellen, who had borne his child, rejects Thomas’s offer to release him from their agreement. To which Thomas replies,

"yf *thou* will not release me, I have gone so far with my frendes
in talk with an other woman, that it is best for *you* to get out
a Citacion, and call me before the Ordinary."
[1563 1WCHEST]

The switch from *thou* to *you* here suggests the switch from Thomas’s construction of Ellen’s identity as the mother of his child to the formal persona of a litigant.

In the dispute between Janet Steiling and Margaret Bulman in which Margaret has addressed Janet with the opprobrious terms *noughtie pak* and *noughty hoore*, Janet seems to have been the more distant and restrained of the pair. She has not called Margaret opprobrious names, though Margaret interprets Janet’s claim not to be a goose-stealer as an implication that she, Margaret, may be:

"What, noughty hoore, caull *thou* me goose steiler?"

Janet denies this with a reassuring *thee* of solidarity. Then the pragmatic marker **but** signals a topic turn and her switch to the address term *you* a change in social deixis

as she distances herself from Margaret in admonishing her to modify her language while they discuss the matter:

"Nay, mayry, I know *thee* for no such"

"**but** I thank *you* for *your* good reporte, whills *you* and I talk further."

[c1567 1WDURHA]

In the exchanges between Sir Richard, the curate, and James Walton both begin by addressing each other as *you* but it is apparent that James is not well-disposed towards the curate asking him (still addressed as *you*) why he is interfering in a quarrel between parishioners. Sir Richard replied that, if appealed to, he would have the authority to act as peacemaker. To which James reacts,

"Wawd *thou*, *thou* droucken horemonger preist?"

Sir Richard attempts to pacify James,

"James, I have bein punished for my hordom, and the part I dyd;
saing yee ar my neighbours, a good fellow and nowe an honest man,
I pray yow to leave such talke."

And still the said James contynewed in his raidge, bragging
and swerynge, and said that he wold "whapp his coott,"

Finally Sir Richard loses his temper,

"Goo *thy* way, *thou* art an evill man."

[c1575 1WDURHA]

These two cases show *you* as the unmarked form. *Thou* is used with negative affect in collocation with abusive epithets when tempers are lost. Janet Steilling's switch to a marked *thou* denotes the positive affect of a conciliatory gesture. In both cases marked usage is pragmatically significant in illustrating the speaker's attitude to their interlocutor.

In the case of witchcraft against Cysley Sellys there is a discrepancy in the wording of the depositions. As the informants are young brothers aged nine and six, it could be argued that their evidence is not reliable but they vary no more than some adult deponents, so this case is included. According to Henry, aged nine, there is a switch in their father's address to their mother, when the children are attacked in the night by a black sprite. Their father says,

why *thou* whore cannot *you* keepe *your* impes from my childre~?

His younger brother, John, aged six, does not report such a switch, deposing that their father said,

ye stinking whore what meane *yee*?
can yee not keepe *your* imps from my children?

A possible explanation for a switch in Henry's report can be deduced from his report of his mother's utterances to him,

Thou lvest, *thou* lvest whoresonne.

and subsequently,

take heed ye say nothing.
[c1582 1WDARCY]

Here again *thou* collocates with abusive epithets.

The deposition of Richard Harrison, a parson, in the case of witchcraft against Annis Herd, shows that in conversation with his wife his unmarked usage is *you*. His wife fears that she has been bewitched by Annis, so, when Annis asks him to give her some plums, Harrison calls down to her from his plum tree,

I am glad *you* are here *you* yeld strumpet,
saying, I do think *you* haue bewitched my wife,
and as truly as God doth liue, **if** I can perceiue y=t=
she be troubled any more as she hath been,
I will not leaue a whole bone about *thee*,
& besides I will seeke to haue *thee* hanged:
and saith, he saide vnto her that his
wife would make her father priue vnto it, and that
then /I warrant *thee*/ he will haue *you*
hanged, for he will make good friends, & is a stout
man of himselfe.
[c1582 1WDARCY]

This example of switching involves topic reorientation. Initially Harrison collocates an abusive epithet with *you*. His reported exchanges with his wife show that for him *you* is the unmarked form. His switch to *thou* is introduced by the pragmatic marker **if**. The current state of affairs is denoted by the unmarked form. He perceives Annis as the wanton strumpet who has bewitched his wife. Should *thou*, Annis in a future hypothetical persona continue this behaviour, **then** (pragmatic marker) this will be the consequence; her father will have *you*, the actual Annis, hanged.

Francis Bland, whose daughter was charged with poisoning him, addresses his contrite daughter, to whom he has referred as ‘my poor love-sick Girl,’

I do forgive *thee*, **but** /*thou* shoulst'st have remembred/
 I am *your* Father, but for that Villain Cranston,
if *thou* had'st loved me, *thou* would'st curse him
 and the Ground he walks upon.
 [1752 5WBLAND]

This is the *thou* of positive affect denoting his identity as a loving father contrasted with the switch to the *you* of his status as the pater familias.

Trials

Three of the trial texts relate to plots to kill the Queen and feature the same two main participants, the Clerk of the Crown, Miles Sands Esquire and Vice-Chamberlain, Christopher Hatton. These are the treason trials of William Parry [1584 1TPARRY] and the two Babington Plot trials [1586 1TABING] and [1586 1TBABIN]. Usage is fairly consistent through all three texts. The clerk opens the proceedings by first instructing the accused to raise their hand and then putting the charge to them and asking them to plead. This is performed with a formulaic *thou*:

What sayest *thou* William Parry, art *thou* guilty of these
 treasons whereof *thou* standest here indicted, or not guiltie?
 [1584 1TPARRY]

How sayst *thou*, Anthony Babington, art *thou*
 Guilty of the Treasons contained in the Indictment?
 [1586 1TBABIN]

How sayest *thou* Edward Abington, art *thou* guilty of
 these Treasons whereof *thou* standest indicted, or not Guilty?
 [1586 1TABING]

At the conclusion of the trial, the clerk's function is to invite the accused to speak in mitigation, again in a formulaic speech:

John Ballard, *thou* hast been indicted
 of High-Treason, and thereupon arraigned, and
 hast pleaded Guilty; what hast *thou* to say for
thy self, wherefore Judgment and Execution of
 Death should not be given against *thee*?
 [1586 1TBABIN]

the formulaic nature of which is indicated by the fact that this is sometimes merely referenced,

John Savage, *thou* hast been indicted of High-Treason, &c.
[1586 1TBABIN]

During the course of the proceedings, the clerk's function is to ensure that the correct formula is followed. Where the accused does not conform, on occasion by making a speech, Sands advises them,

Parry, *Thou* must answer directly to the indictment,
whether *thou* be guiltie or not.
[1584 1TPARRY]

When this fails, Sands abandons the required script and directs the speaker,

If *you* confesse it, *you* must confesse it in maner and
fourme as it is comprised in the Indictment
[1584 1TPARRY]

You must either answer Guilty, or not Guilty.
[1586 1TBABIN]

Much of the variable usage can be explained if the proceedings are considered as drama. Sands delivers his prescribed written lines to the character of the accused and utters natural language when prompting the person playing that role. The Vice Chamberlain has similar variation. In addressing Parry, the accused, in Court, he switches usage in the same utterance,

But I will tell *thee*, what we saide. I spake these words,
[sayd Master Uicechamberlayne,]
If *you* will willingly vtter the truth of *your* selfe, it may do *you* good,
and I wish *you* to doe so: If *you* will not, wee must then
proceede in ordinary course to take *your* examination.
Whereunto *you* answered, that *you* would tell the trueth
of *your* selfe. Was not this true?
[1584 1TPARRY]

That is: in speaking to the accused before the trial Hatton addressed Parry as *you*. Now, when Parry stands accused before the Court, Hatton addresses him in the persona of the prisoner as *thou*. Hatton seems to reserve *you* for directives (except those relating to the format of the prisoner's responses) and permissives,

If *you* will say any thing for the better opening to the worlde
of those *your* foule & horrible facts, speake on:
[1584 1TPARRY>Parry]

When *you* hear any thing *you* are desirous
to answer, *you* shall speak an answer at full,
[1586 1TABING>Abington]

Then *you* may plead not Guilty.
[1586 1TBABIN>Tichborne]

Say what *you* will.
[1586 1TBABIN>Titchborne]

Nay, Ballard, *you* must say more, and
shall say more, for *you* must not commit
High-Treasons and then huddle them up;
[1586 1TBABIN>Ballard]

When referring to prisoners' past deeds or confessions, Hatton addresses them as
thou:

Parry then doe *thy* duetie according to conscience,
and vtter all that *thou* canst say concerning those *thy*
most wicked facts.
[1584 1TPARRY]

Thou hast not onely confessed generally, that *thou* wert
guilty according to the inditement, which summarily, and
yet in expresse woordes doeth conteyne that *thou* haddest
trayterously compassed & intended the death and
destruction of her Maiestie
[1584 1TPARRY]

Savage confronted *thee* to *thy* face,
and avouched these things to *thy* face ...
To perform *thy* Friendship, *thou* didst
break *thy* Allegiance to *thy* Sovereign.
[1586 1TABING > Charnock]

Ballard, under *thine* own Hand are all things confessed;
[1586 1TBABIN]

Then it was thus, that they said the
Queen should be killed, and *thou* saidst,
God's Will be done ... O Wretch, Wretch!
thy Conscience and own Confession shew
that *thou* art Guilty.
[1586 1TBABIN >Donne]

O Ballard, Ballard, what hast *thou* done?
A sort of brave Youths otherwise endued
with good Gifts, by *thy* inducement hast *thou*
brought to their utter Destruction and Confusion.
[1586 1TBABIN 1586]

It is as though for Hatton also the accused has two personae: the confessed traitor addressed as *thou* and the man charged but not yet found guilty. For the Clerk of the Crown the form of address is determined by the role of the accused as performer and for Hatton, the Vice Chamberlain, by their likely guilt or innocence.

This concept of a dual persona continues through the trial texts. In 1649 John Lilburne's trial is conducted in both a formal and an informal register with Lilburne, the prisoner, addressed with formulaic legal *thou*, which is first repeated without comment when he makes the wrong response. Then it is explained to Lilburne, the man, what is the required format:

Mr. Broughton: By whom wilt *thou* be tried?

L. Col. Lilb: By the known lawes of England, and a legall jury of my equals, constituted according to law.

Mr. Broughton: By whom wilt *thou* be tried?

L. Col. Lilb: By the known laws of England, I meane by the liberties and priviledges of the laws of England ...

One of the Clerks: *You* must say by God and *your* countrey, that's the forme of the law?

L. Col. Lilb: Why must I say so?

Another Judge: This is the form and law of the Land.
[1649 3TLILBU]

Where the formal wording is given in trials later than this, it is not consistent. The accused, as accused, is addressed with formulaic *thou* in the bigamy trial of Mary Moders [1663 3TMODER], but this usage is not recorded in these texts later than this.

Address Forms & Epithets

In the sixteenth century Sands/Hatton trials, address terms are motivated by the role of the speaker. Sands, the clerk, addresses the accused by their full name for the purpose of identification. Hatton, the vice chamberlain, in his role of authority addresses and refers to the accused simply by their surnames. He also collocates the expression of negative affect with *thou*, referring to Henry Donne, who confesses to agreeing to the killing of the Queen,

O Wretch, Wretch! *thy* Conscience and own Confession
shew that *thou* art Guilty

and in his exasperation over the treachery of the accused,

O Ballard, Ballard, what hast *thou* done?

O Barnewell, Barnewell, didst not *thou* come to Richmond
... then wouldst *thou* have killed the Queen for Conscience.
Fie on such a devilish Conscience.
[1586 1TBABIN]

The trials of Lady Frances, Countess of Somerset, and her husband Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury took place on consecutive days in 1616. Both feature the formulaic opening and closing pronouncements with the accused addressed by the Clerk as *thou* collocating with their full title. The trial of Robert Carr includes preliminary details of the convening of the proceedings in which the clerk summons the Sergeant at Arms and the Lieutenant of the Tower:

O yes,⁴⁹ Lieutenant of the Tower,
return *thy* Precept,⁵⁰

Throughout the rest of the trial Carr is addressed as *you* and either with his title or as *My Lord*. The Lord High Steward in pronouncing sentence switches mid-speech from the impersonal formulaic address of *thou* denoting the generic *guilty party* to the specific *you*, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset,

Robert Earl of Somerset,
Whereas *thou* hast been indicted, arraign'd, and
found guilty, as Accessary before the Fact, of the
wilful Poisoning and Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury;

you are therefore to be carried from hence
to the Tower, and from thence to the Place of
Execution, where *you* are to be hang'd till *you* be
dead: And the Lord have Mercy upon *you*.

Frances, Countess of Somerset, is similarly addressed by the Lord High Steward but the motivation for the switch in the Lord High Steward's final address to her is made

⁴⁹ OED = Oyez 'Hear, hear ye'; a call by the public crier or by a court officer to command silence and attention when a proclamation etc., is about to be made.

⁵⁰ OED warrant.

more explicit than that to her husband. In the introduction to the pronouncement of sentence she is addressed with formulaic *thou*.

Frances Countess of Somerset, whereas *thou*
 hast been indicted, arraigned, pleaded guilty,
 and that *thou* hast nothing to say for *thy* self, it is
 now my part to pronounce Judgment;

Then follows the pragmatic marker: (**only thus much before,**) **since** to indicate her specific circumstances in which she is addressed as *you*:

only thus much before,
Since my Lords have heard with what Humility
 and Grief *you* have confessed the Fact,
 I do not doubt they will signify so much to
 the King, and mediate for his Grace towards *you*:

The switch back to the sentence that applies to all found guilty of murder is introduced by the pragmatic marker **but** (in the mean time)

but in the mean time, according to the Law, the
 Sentence must be this, That *thou* shalt be carried
 from hence to the Tower of London, and from
 thence to the place of Execution,

where *you* are to be hang'd by the Neck till *you*
 be dead; and the Lord have Mercy upon *your* Soul.

In addressing Lady Frances, though not her husband, as *thou*, at this point, the Lord High Steward is departing from the formulaic script because he does not think that in her case the sentence will be applied, explaining that in general:

according to the Law, the Sentence must be this, That *thou* shalt be carried
 from hence to the Tower of London, and from
 thence to the place of Execution.
 [1616 2TCARR]

In formal court rubric the accused in the role of accused is addressed impersonally as *thou*. The Lord High Steward explains that in the normal course of events 'thou the guilty party' would be 'carried from hence ...' but, because of her expression of 'Humility and Grief,' he does not doubt that the Lords will 'mediate for his Grace towards you'. Then, as in the case of her husband, the sentence concludes with the specific reference term *you*.

Effect of semantic change on interpretation of affect

The effect of semantic change on the interpretation of affect in historical texts is illustrated in two reports of cases in the Star Chamber: ‘divers persons ... taken ... at a Conventicle’⁵¹ [1632 2HIGHC] and ‘the censure of ...’ three Puritans, Bastwicke, Burton and Prynne, for seditious writings [1637 2TBAST]. The common theme is sedition. The Lord Keeper, Thomas Coventry, although complaining that Prynne is ‘somewhat sawcy’⁵² (a term that has now become semantically bleached), addresses him and his fellow-accused as *you* throughout and accords them their titles *Mr Prynne, Mr Doctor, Dr Bastwicke, Mr Burton*. This is the same Thomas Coventry who presided at the trial of Lord Audley [1631 2WMERVI], who was convicted of the capital crime of sodomy and to whom he also accorded his full title and the respectful address term *you*.

The other Star Chamber cases concern people of lower social status than those accused of seditious writings. Barnett, a brewer’s clerk, said that he was at his parish church when the conventicle was discovered in his house but that his wife refused to attend that church. At which the Archbishop of York asks him,

"Will *you* suffer that in *your* wife?"

The implication is that a wife is (or should be) subordinate to her husband. How the social status of women is expressed in this text and how this correlates with address terms is considered by an analysis of the use of the term *woman*.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring Sara Jones to take the oath in Court asks her,

"What say *you*, woman?"⁵³
[1632 2HIGHC]

An OED usage note has this as ‘a mode of address, now used chiefly derogatorily.’

It is unsafe, however, to apply modern perceptions to historical text. When did *woman* become derogatory as a term of address? During the British General

⁵¹ OED a meeting of (Protestant) Nonconformists or Dissenters from the Church of England for religious worship, during the period when such meetings were prohibited by the law.

⁵² OED insolent towards superiors, presumptuous.

⁵³ OED as a mode of address. Now used chiefly derogatorily or jocularly.

Election campaign in 2010 the Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, was involved in controversy when he was overheard referring to one voter with whom he had been involved in a discussion of immigration, “they should never have put me with that woman ... she was just a bigoted woman.” Commenting on the incident, the woman in question was reported to have said, “It wasn’t the bigot, it was that he said ‘that woman’. I thought, ‘What does he mean, that woman?’ It’s no way to talk of someone, that, is it? As if I’m to be brushed away. Why couldn’t he have said ‘that lady’?” (*Times Online* 02/05/2010)

The term *woman* may be perceived as a pejorative term of reference in the twenty-first century but was this the case in the seventeenth century? Quotations given in the OED for the address term *man* show that it may be used ‘emphatically to indicate contempt, impatience, exhortation’:

1530 J. PALSGRAVE *Lesclarcissement* 661/2 Plucke up thy herte, man, for Goddes sake.
 a1616 SHAKESPEARE *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1623) II. iii. 41 Tut, man.
 1714 R. A. HUNTER *Monoropolis* Ded. p. i, What's the matter Man? Have ye got the Gripes?

Contemporary quotations for *woman* as a vocative, however, do not make this apparent. It is not until the eighteenth century that usage illustrates derogation:

1607 SHAKES. *Cor.* IV. i. 12 *Virg.* Oh heuens! O heuens! *Corio.* Nay, I prythee woman.
 1667 MILTON *P.L.* IX. 343 O Woman, best are all things as the will Of God ordaind them.
 1726 R. WEST *Hecuba* IV. 24 Oh Woman! thy Calamities are great.
 1842 S. LOVER *Handy Andy* ix, Arrah, woman, don't be talkin' your balderdash to me.
 1860 SALA *Badd. Peer.* I. iii. 63 ‘Will you hold your tongue, woman?’ her husband..cried out..‘Woman! hold my tongue! This language to me!’

Is *woman* derogatory in the Star Chamber texts and what does this connote about the address pronoun with which it correlates? Much of the trial discourse concerns the requirement to ‘take the oath’. As Conventiclors the accused would be reluctant to take any oath. In one hearing Abigail Delamar asks if it is the Oath of Allegiance they are being pressured to take. This oath acknowledged the monarch as the rightful ruler and denied the right of the Roman Catholic Church to depose him or to incite his subjects to do so. Throughout the proceedings various members of the

clergy and court officials try to persuade the accused to take the oath. The King's Advocate explains that it is a requirement to swear to tell the truth.

The Bishop of London, identifying Abigail as 'a deepe Familist and Brownist, and one of the Conventiclors taken at Black Fryars' and her husband as 'a stiffe Romane Catholique', refers to her as 'this woman'. The Archbishop of Canterbury in a very offensive, though etymologically correct utterance, concerning Roman Catholicism addresses her as 'woman' in collocation with *you*:

"*Your* husband, they say, is a Roman Catholique,
this is a most absurd thing to professe to be a
Romane Catholique, the words imply a contradiction.
Rome is a particular Church, Catholicke is universall,
then this is as much as to say of a particuler universall Church;
Nonsense! But, woman, where dwell *you*, in what parish?"

Abigail Delamar: Att Giles where Manwairing dwelleth.

Canterbury: How often have *you* heard him within
this 12 moneth? Is that *your* manners? Why not Doctor
Manwaring? is he not a doctor?

For the Archbishop of Canterbury Abigail Delamar is doubly suspect. She is of dubious religion and does not appear to acknowledge her low social status. This may motivate his switch to *thou* when he next addresses her,

Wilt *thou* goe heare him the next Sunday?

but he reverts to addressing her as *you*

I see *you* are an obstinate woman

The King's Advocate in exasperation tells her,

"Woman, take *your* oath."

The Bishop of London tries flattery in trying to persuade the accused to take the oath, saying to William Granger,

Granger! *You* look like a man of fashion: will *you* take *your* oath to answere
to the articles according to *your* knowledg, and as farre as *you* are bound by law?

and then, according to the scribe, when Robert Bye came into court, ‘spake kindly to him, saying’,

"Come, *thou* lookest like a good fellow, that wilt take *thy* oath."

The Bishop of London’s utterance is assessed as positive by the scribe.

Other users of *woman* in this text are the Earl of Dorset who collocates *thou* with *woman* in addressing Sara Jones, one of the conventiclers, in an utterance conveying disapproval,

"What, doest *thou* thinke woman of these grave Fathers of the church, that these heere be not lawfull Magistrates?"

and the King’s Advocate who asks a conventicler, Sara Barbon,

"What, will *you* take *your* oath, good woman?

though the modifier *good*⁵⁴ mitigates any potential negative affect connoted by the low social status of the term *woman*.

Other trial texts featuring *woman* as an address term are the trial of John Giles for attempted murder [1681 4TGILES] and the trial of three men for writing and publishing scandalous letters in relation to the death of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey [1682 4TTFP]. In the first of these, before she has spoken, the Court Recorder advises Ann Beron,

Speak as loud as *thou* would'st do if *thou* wer't at home

This seems like an aside as he moves on to the main discourse,

Good Woman, did *you* go with him to Whetstones Park?

He abandons the positive modifier, however, when she does not give him the desired response,

Woman *you* must be mistaken.

In the Scandalous Letters trial [1682 4TTFP] some of the male witnesses including the accused are addressed as *Mister* by the Lord Chief Justice. One of the witnesses is addressed only by his surname *Rawson*. His apparent lowly social status may motivate this address to his wife by the Lord Chief Justice. John Farewell, one of the accused is apparently of higher social status, since he is accorded a title.

⁵⁴ OED an epithet of courteous address or respectful reference.

Woman, Mr. Farewell desires to know if there were Fly-blows in the Eyes of Sir E. B. Godfrey.

These examples suggest that *you* was the unmarked address term in seventeenth century public discourse. The term *woman* collocates with either *you* or *thou* but does not seem to be pejorative, rather it is an indication of low social status; a general address term to females of lower orders.

Utterances addressed to Frances, Lady Somerset, in the sample of text relating to her trial for murder [1616 2TLADYF] relate to the rubric of the proceedings, so that she is addressed as *thou* (except for the text of the sentence, previously discussed). At one point, she murmurs a request for mercy, which she ‘spake humbly, fearfully, and so low, the Lord Steward could not hear it’. Her attorney obligingly repeats this to the Court, saying,

The Lady is so touch’d with Remorse and Sense of her Fault, that Grief surprizes her from expressing of her self.

He might more conventionally have referred to her as *Lady Frances*. His reference to her as *the Lady* emphasises her social status. She is not a *woman*. She is a *lady* and, therefore, presumably deserving of deference, despite the scandal occasioned by her divorce case in which she, or possibly a paid substitute, was physically examined, whilst masked and behind a screen, to prove her virginity (Schama 2003:43).

Expression of Affect

In the trial of Stephen College for High Treason in conspiring the death of the king [1681 4TCOLLE], Serjeant Jeffreys cross-examines the witness Mowbray over discrepancies in his testimony of when he and another witness, Bolron, had left York. He directs twenty five questions to him with the address term *you* until Mowbray finally concedes,

Mr. Mowbray: I am mistaken, I find.

Mr. Ser. Jeff: Ay, that *you* are, one of *you* most grosly.

Mr. Mowbray: See, Sir, here is my Almanack, whereby I find that it is my mistake; but pray see, Sir, here it is set down, the day we came out was the 24. the day we came to London was the 27.

Jeffrey's response connotes exasperation:

Mr. S. Jeff. How didst *thou* set out the 3 of August from that place, and yet come to London the 27th. of July?

Mr. Mowbray: I will refer my self to Mr. Smith, as to the time we came up, & here is my Almanack.

Mr. S. Jeff. I will believe *thy* Almanack to speak truth, though it have never so many Errors about the Changes of the Weather, sooner than I will believe *thee*.

His final remark in this exchange has the force of an aside. The unmarked address term in public discourse being *you*, Jeffrey uses *thou* to connote negative affect with reference to Mowbray. Jeffrey then twice silences Stephens whose unsolicited comments on the evidence suggest that he is possibly a co-accused. Jeffrey's first response suggests annoyance, then he switches to *you* in collocation with the pragmatic marker **well**, as a concluding comment,

Stephens: This was the Maid that hid her Masters papers when they were searched for.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies.: Be quiet; art *thou* got into Dialogues with the Maid now?

Stephens: Three parts of what she hath said is false.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies: **Well**, hold *you your* tongue.

The other occurrence of *thou* in this text is in the exchange reported by Colledge's maid, Elizabeth Hunt, between herself and the prosecution witness, Stephen Dugdale, who had been steward to Lord Aston and as such of higher social status than Elizabeth. In this *thou/you* usage connotes their relative status with Elizabeth addressing him as *Mr Dugdale* and *you* and Dugdale addressing Elizabeth as *thou* and calling her *Sweetheart* and taking her by the hand.

In the trial of Colonel James Turner for housebreaking [1663 3TTURNE], his wife, Mary, denies being an accessory,

I did not, it's false, what did --

at which Turner admonishes her,

Prethee be patient dear Mal, come sit *thee* down.

The term of endearment and the diminutive form of her name collocate with the form *thee* in an address of positive affect.

Having admonished Katherine Lee, a witness in a murder trial [1678 3TGBH], to

Have a care what *you* say, and mind the Question I ask *you*,

Mr Justice Wild's remark,

Ile say that for *thee*, *thou* hast spoke
with more care then any of them all,

also reads as an aside, as he switches from the *you* of public discourse to a concessive personal opinion expressing positive affect to Katherine.

During the hearing over an election riot [1682 4TPILKI] the Common Serjeant recounts the case of a previous election riot during which he was asked by Sir Robert Clayton to calm the situation,

Prethee, do *thou* speak to them, they will hear *thee* if they will hear any body;
for the Hall was in a great uproar, and they call'd to throw me off the Hustings,
and then I made Answer to Sir Robert Clayton; Sir, It is not the duty of my Office,
and when I do any thing that is not my Office, I shall expect particular Directions.
Then, saith he, *You* must tell them, I must Adjourn them till Munday, because I go to the
Old Baily to try the Assassins of Arnold.

This is again the *thou* of private discourse and the *you* of public discourse. Sir Robert uses *thou* in appealing to the man, not the office. The mob knows the individual performing the function of common serjeant and will listen to him but he replies that what is requested of him is not the duty of his office. Then Robert Clayton addresses the official: *you*.

Discussion of Results for Deposition & Trial Texts

The text types defined by Jucker (2007) as 'retrospective' are depositions and trials. These are purportedly accounts of natural language in use. Much of the discourse of trial texts is formulaic. When the charge is stated, the accused may be addressed as *thou* whatever his social status. This accounts for *thou* usage in the trial texts from 1571, 1584, 1644, 1649, 1658, 1660 and 1663. Other use of *thou* in trial texts has negative affect either from a Court Official to a witness perceived as of lower status: [1632 2THIGHC], [1680 4TGILES], [1681 4TCOLLE], from a male witness to a female

witness (his wife) [1663 3TTURNE] or in indirect speech from a witness to a female servant [1681 4TCOLLE]. The *Trial of Mary Blandy* text [1752 5WBLAND] is notable for the use of affective *thou* long after it seems to have been discontinued in other non-drama texts. This may be a melodramatic touch by the maid describing the poisoned father's speech of forgiveness to his guilty daughter.

Deposition texts constitute 18% of the total word count in the texts studied and 24% of the total word count in non-drama texts. In an attempt to identify any potential significant period in the change from *thou* to *you*, I have categorised the texts into 20-year periods. This proved a particular problem in dating extracts from deposition texts, as the CED texts are grouped in 40-year periods. This meant that data from [1680 4WYORK] had to be classified in the next sector, since the extract in question is dated 1681. Much of the data in depositions is indirect speech. There are only two samples of direct speech with pronoun and address in the period 1661-1680, so there is little available data.

It is mainly the lower orders who feature in deposition texts. Table 4:1, showing the use of unmarked address pronouns, shows *thou* used to others of equal status in Chester in 1562 and a hundred years later in York. *You* was used in this way in Durham in 1569 and reciprocally in this social group in Essex in 1582. There was also use of *you* to social equals among the lower orders in York in 1685.

There are fewer representatives of the middling sort in deposition texts. There is reciprocal use of *you* in this group in Durham in 1562 and both *thou* and *you* down the social scale in 1568. In Durham in 1573 there is discrepancy in informants' reporting of usage to a servant by a deponent from the middling sort. These are both accounts of abusive usage. It is not possible to determine whether the reported utterance had collocated with *thou* or with *you* but the deposition of alternative usages seem to imply that either *thou* or *you* was perceived as appropriate in this context or that either the deponent or the clerk recording the proceedings was aware of prescriptive usage and accommodated his usage to the formal context. There is also use of *thou* down the social scale in Devon in 1682. After this date, speakers of all categories no longer allude to addressees' social status by the use of the address term *thou*.

Table 4:1 Unmarked Address of *thou* and *you* in Depositions

Indicating status of speaker and addressee

- ◄ reciprocal use
- use to a social equal
- ▼ use down the social scale
- ▲ use up the social scale

Does not indicate frequency

Denoting Social Status												
	Lower Orders				Middling Sort				Higher Orders			
	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲
1560-1575 Durham		y		y	y	y	t y				t	
1562 Chester	t						t					
1582 Essex	y	t		y			t y					
1612 Lancaster				t								
1660-1689 York		t y										
1682 Devon				y			t					
Denoting Comparative Age												
1562 Chester			t									
1569 Durham			t									
1582 Essex			t	y								
1612 Pendle			t	y								
1630 Durham			t	y								
1689 York		y	t									
1752 Oxfordshire											t	y

Thou/you use denotes comparative age among the lower orders from 1569 in Durham to 1689 in York, after which *thou* is not used in this way. The one aberration is the reported use of possibly affective *thou* in the Mary Blandy deposition in Oxfordshire in 1752.

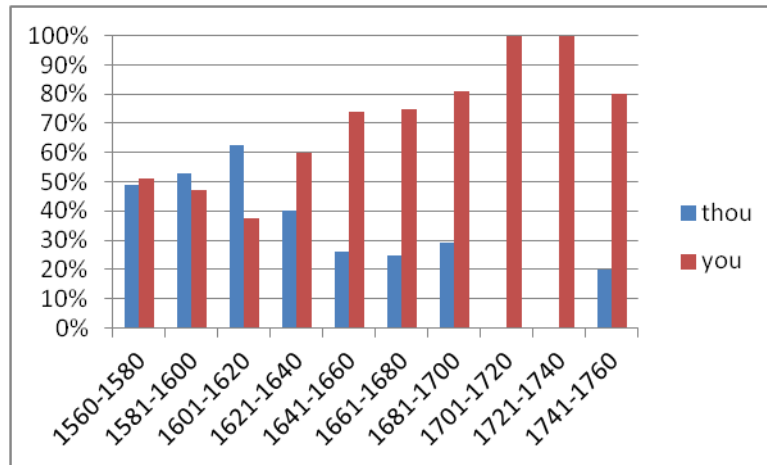


Figure 4:1 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Address Terms in Deposition Texts
 Depositions: Mean 30.45% STDEV 21.05% Other: Mean 70.55% STDEV 21.36%

Figure 4:1 compares the percentage of speakers using *thou* and *you* in collocation with an address term in deposition texts. There is a statistically significant high use of *thou* with address terms in 1601-1620 when compared with the use of *you* with address terms (figure 4:1). This is attributable to the fact that most of the utterances were either opprobrious address to accused who were charged with witchcraft or comprised their reported speech with their familiars.

Thou in collocation with an address term begins to fall in deposition texts after 1620. Its continued relatively high use in depositions in 1621-1640 may be influenced by regional variation, as most of the samples are from the High Commission Court of Durham. There is a fall in use of *thou* with address terms in deposition texts from 40% to 26% in 1641-1660.

Figure 4:2 shows the percentage of speakers using *thou* and *you* with affective epithets. Affective *thou* is significantly high in depositions from Durham and Chester in 1560-1580 (figure 4:2). This may relate to the adversarial nature of the discourse as participants abuse each other. Where there is less reported speech and where a witness is questioned by an official, there are fewer epithets. There is a switch in 1601-1620 to give a high significance for affective *you*. Thereafter usage varies.

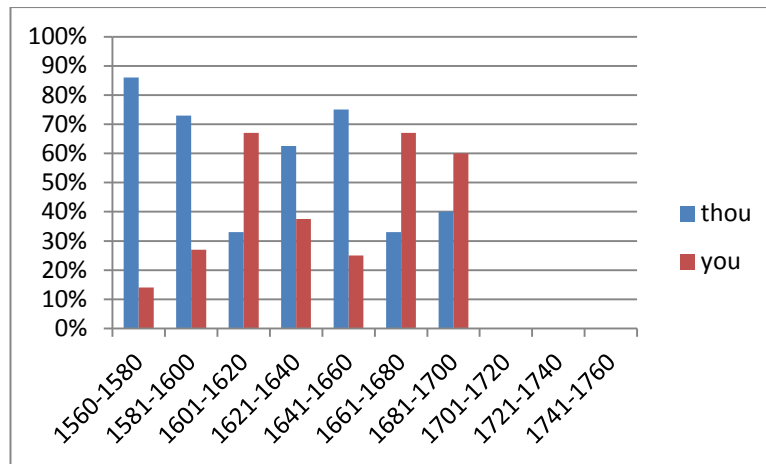


Figure 4.2 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Affective Epithets in Deposition Texts

thou: Mean 40.25% STDEV 33.05% *you*: Mean 29.75% STDEV 27.25%

As may be expected, there is very little use of positive epithets in deposition texts. *Thou* is more frequently used to categorise an addressee than to denote their status relative to the speaker in deposition texts (figure 4:3) but this function switches to *you* after 1660 (figure 4:2).

In trial texts there is a formulaic use of *thou* in the trial rubric when the accused is instructed to plead and in the format of the sentence. Participants are otherwise addressed as *you* with a few exceptions when *thou* may indicate negative affect. Low social status is connoted by *thou* in a trial of Conventiclers [1632 2THIGHC] and in an instruction to a female witness [1681 4TGILES]. Reported speech in the Trial texts reveals that as late as 1725 collusive *thou* is found with positive affect in private discourse [1725 5TMACCL]. Mr Elde testified that he applied to Lord Macclesfield for the vacancy of Master in Chancery telling him that he ‘would make him a Present of 4 or 5000 l.’ To which he reported,

Mr Elde: My Lord said, *thee* and I, or *You* and I,
my Lord was pleased to treat me as a Friend,
must not make Bargains.

That is: the *thou* form is considered to connote positive affect, though the use of *thee* as the subject of the verb suggests that this usage is marked. With this exception, *thou* does not feature in trial texts after 1681, though texts after this date do not include the trial rubric.

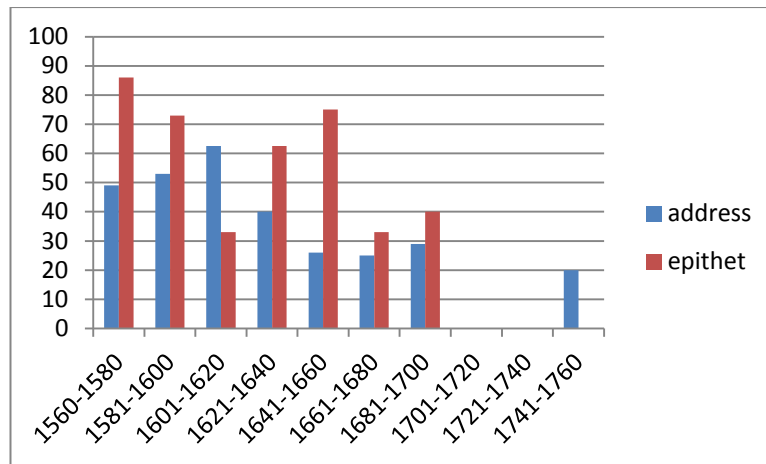


Figure 4:3 Collocation of *thou* with Address Terms & Affective Epithets in Deposition Texts
thou: Mean 40.25% STDEV 33.05% *you*: Mean 29.75% STDEV 27.25%

The next text type to investigate is drama, which potentially shares with deposition and trial texts the feature of direct or indirect confrontation.

Chapter 5 Data Analysis of Drama Comedies

Unlike authentic texts drama texts were constructed to be heard. They were intended to be performed and to entertain. Features of dialect may be exaggerated to locate a particular character socially. Captain Whit in *Bartholomew Fair* [1614] is a stage Irishman with marked pronunciation *ty* and *tee*. Similarly, Tegue O Dively, an Irish priest in *The Lancashire Witches* [1682], described as ‘an equal mixture of fool and knave’, uses variations of *thou* (*dou, dee, ty, dy*). Master Plush in *The COUNTRY GIRLE* [1647] is described as a ‘notable humorous Coxcomb’, which alerts the audience to the possibility of deviant linguistic usage. Dialogues in drama texts are therefore unlike the authentic exchanges reported in deposition texts and the more formulaic exchanges recorded in trial texts.

In his study of *thou/you* in *Richard III* Barber suggests (1987:177) ‘it would be perfectly possible for *thou* to play a relatively small role in real life, while in drama, because of its concentration of emotional tension and its tendency to present scenes of confrontation, *thou* appeared much more frequently.’ One potential indicator of confrontation is the shifting of *thou/you* address as the speaker’s construction of the addressee changes.

I have therefore undertaken a close reading in chronological order of those drama texts in which *thou* occurs in order to identify the speakers’ unmarked usage to other characters. I have identified *thou/you* shifts and, rather than assessing them as deviations from an anticipated social norm, attempted to identify the motivation for such usage from the context. I found that the shift frequently followed a pragmatic marker. Fraser (1996:168) proposes that pragmatic markers are ‘the linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker’s potential communicative intentions.’ In his later study on topic orientation markers (2008:892) he incorporates parallel markers, which may denote the addressee, into the category of commentary markers ‘by which the speaker can convey an attitude towards either the action or state represented in the segment or [towards] an individual.’ He does not elaborate these but in his ‘Pragmatic Markers’ paper (1996:168) gave a sentence adverb as a commentary marker and a given name as a parallel marker.

When investigating *thou/you* switching, I found that not only was the switch frequently introduced by an explicit pragmatic marker but also that the pronoun switch functioned as a comment, as the 2nd person pronoun denoted the addressee and the switch commented on the speaker's changed attitude towards the addressee. Switching *per se* functioned to connote the speaker's reorientation⁵⁵ of viewpoint with regard to the proposition. This re-orientation may include: the speaker's stance towards the persona of the addressee (e.g. public/private), their stance towards the topic of the exchange or a change of topic. I use *stance* here with Biber & Finegan's definition (1989: 93): 'the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message.' Thus, a switch in the address pronoun functions as an implicit pragmatic marker. In the following analyses explicit pragmatic markers are emboldened.

1584 [1CLYLY] A most excellent Comedie of Alexander [the Great], Campaspe [his captive, a gentlewoman, with whom he falls in love], and Diogenes [philosopher]

Unmarked Usage

Of the three eponymous characters Alexander and Diogenes are the protagonists in the CED extract. In general Diogenes and his fellow philosophers exchange *thou*, as do the servants and ordinary soldiers. Since the philosophers are dependent on rich patrons, this may be seen as reciprocal *thou* among the lower orders. Characters of higher social status, such as Alexander, his General, Hephestion, Campaspe, a gentlewoman, and the artist, Apelles, exchange *you*. Manes addresses his master, Diogenes, as *you*, but the other servants and those characters who know him address him as *thou*, possibly because he is a figure of fun. Diogenes has a reputation for eccentricity. Plato, a fellow philosopher, says to him,

Thou takest as great pride to be peeish, as others do glory to be vertuous.

Anaxarchus, another fellow philosopher, also says of Diogenes,

⁵⁵ After Fraser (2008) *Topic Orientation Markers*, which 'signal a meta-comment on the structure of the emerging discourse.' Topic orientation markers include 'return to a prior topic, continuation with the present topic, digression from the present topic and introduction of a new topic' (2008:892). I discount topic continuation in my analyses, since *thou/you* switching connotes some aspect of change. Where the topic is unchanged, the switch connotes a change in some other aspect of the exchange. e.g. perception of the persona of the addressee.

Let vs goe: for in co~temning him, we shal
better please him, then in wondring at him.

And Diogenes lives in a tub. Alexander, who has resolved to turn his court into a school of philosophy, calls on Diogenes and unusually addresses him as *you*, which seems to demonstrate greater respect than that exhibited to Diogenes by most speakers.

Markedness and Markedness Reversal

Alexander, whose customary unmarked usage is to address everyone as *you*, has fallen in love with the beautiful Theban captive, Campaspe, and asks his General,

Alexander: Hephestion, how doe *yee* like the sweete face of Campaspe?

When Hephestion tries to turn the discussion to the noble Theban lady Timoclea, their relationship changes. Alexander teases Hephestion with bantering *thou*, then switches to *you* as he suspects that his loyal General Hephestion has become a potential rival for Campaspe.

Alex.: Timoclea stil in *thy* mouth, art *thou* not in loue?

Hephe.: Not I.

Alex.: Not with Timoclea *you* meane, wherein *you* resemble the Lapwing, who crieth most where her neast is not. And so *you* lead me from espying *your* loue with Campaspe, *you* cry Timoclea.

Then Alexander confides in Hephestion in an expression of positive affect, connoting solidarity as he switches to *thou* with the pragmatic marker **well** introducing an address to his friend rather than to his loyal General.

Alex.: **Well**, nowe shalt *thou* see what small difference I make betweene Alexander and Hephestion.

But Hephestion does not offer support when Alexander reveals that he loves Campaspe:

Alexander: Whye hangest *thou* downe *thy* head Hephestion?
blushing to hear that which I am not ashamed to tell.

and his address term shifts as his construction of Alexander's persona shifts from that of conqueror and god to that of lover and mortal man,

Hephestion: Wil *you* handle the spindle with Hercules, when *you* should shake the speare with Achilles?

... Remember Alexander *thou* haste a campe to gouerne,
not a chamber, fall not from the armour of Mars to the
armes of Venus ... *You* Alexander that would be a God, shewe *your self*
in this worse then a man

This is not what Alexander wants to hear and he retreats to his former formality.

What can Hephestion know of the emotions of a great prince?

Alex: Little do *you* know, and therefore sleightly doe *you* regard the dead
embers in a priuate perso~, or liue coles in a great prince,

Since this is the case, 'cease then'.

Alex: ... Cease **then** Hephestion with argumentes to seeke to refel
that, which with their deitie the Gods cannot resist, and
let this suffice to aunswere *thee*, that it is a king that loueth

The pragmatic marker **then** indicates a switch as Alexander tries to conclude the discussion. The collocation with *thee* is a sign of rapprochement. Hephestion tries to continue:

Hephest.: *You* say that in loue there is no reason, and
therefore there can be no likelihood.

but Alexander has the last word with a conciliatory *thou*:

Alex.: No more Hephestion: in this case I wil vse
mine owne counsell, and in all other *thine* aduice,
thou mayst be a good soldier, but neuer good louer.

A common context for switching between *you* and *thou* as address terms is wooing scenes where the participants, unsure of their interlocutors' potential reaction, make tentative declarations. Apelles, the painter, has been instructed by Alexander to paint Campaspe's portrait. He tells Campaspe that he has almost finished the painting and that his love for her will be eternal. They have so far exchanged *you*.

Camp.: What will *you* saye, if Alexander perceiue *your* loue?

Apel.: I will say, it is no treason to loue.

Apelles' declaration licenses Campaspe to address him as *thou*. This usage also collocates with a pragmatic marker, denoting a switch of topic:

Camp.: **But** how if he will not suffer *thee* to see my person?
 Apel: **Then** will I gaze continually on *thy* picture.

Her switches in the next utterance denote Apelles' dual persona. Campaspe's assertion, 'I had rather be in thy shop,' is addressed to Apelles, as the man she loves, whilst she addresses Apelles, the painter, as *you*:

Camp.: Wel, I must be gon: **but** this assure *your* self,
 that I had rather be in *thy* shop grinding colours, then in
 Alexanders court, following higher fortunes.

A sequence of exchanges involving Diogenes and Sylvius, a citizen, illustrates their changing relationship. Sylvius brings his sons to Diogenes in the hope that he will agree to instruct them. He opens the proceedings by using the customary address of *thou* to Diogenes:

Sylvius: I haue brought my sons Diogenes, to bee taught of *thee*.

Sylvius then tells his sons to perform for Diogenes. He becomes a supplicant and switches to *you* connoting deference:

Sylui.: Now shall *you* see the other: tumble sirha.
 How like *you* this? why do *you* laugh?

Perim, the dancer, is offended that Diogenes laughs and addresses him as *thou*:

Perim: I meruaile what dog *thou* art, if *thou* be a dog.

Their father is also displeased:

Sylui.: Doest *thou* beleue that there are any gods, that *thou* art so dogged?

but, still having hopes for his third son, switches back to deferential *you*:

Sylvius: Now shall *you* heare the third, who signes like a Nightingall.

He cannot sustain this, however, and admits defeat as his sons and Diogenes fall into mutual abuse:

Sylvius: **Well** Diogenes, I perceiue my sonnes brook not *thy* manners.

The switches in Alexander's exchange with Hephestion denote topic change in Alexander's questions introduced by the pragmatic marker **but**:

Alex.: if all the trauailes of conquering the
world will set either *thy* body or mine in tune, wee will
vndertake them. **But** what think *you* of Apelles?
Hephe.: I pittie the poore painter, if he be in loue.

Alex.: Pittie him not, I pray *thee*, that seuere grauity set aside,
what do *you* think of loue?

He asks Apelles formally,

Alex: Doe *you* loue Campaspe?

then, conceding that, though he can conquer countries, he cannot control people's emotions, switches to more informal usage in an apparent attempt to save face indicated by the pragmatic marker **well**:

Alex: **Well**, enioy one an other, I giue her *thee* fra~ckly Apelles.
Thou shalt see that Alexander maketh but a toye of loue.

Apelles is then formally dismissed and Alexander switches to informal usage again with yet another face-saving pronouncement that he had tired of Campaspe:

Alex: Go Apelles, take with *you your* Campaspe, Alexander is cloied
with looking on that, which *thou* wondredst at.

1594 [1CKNAVE] A Knack to Know a Knave

Unmarked Usage

The theme of this play is the uncovering of dishonesty. The device of assumed identities enables characters to speak in the role of their own identity or in that of their adopted persona. The king's unmarked usage is *thou*, indicative of his high social status, but when he colludes with Honesty in a plot to entrap Coneycatcher into making a false statement, he addresses Coneycatcher as one of equal social status.

King [in disguise]: Now sir, I would haue *you* as witnesse,
That at my house *you* saw me pay three hundred pound,
And for *your* paines I will giue *you* a hundred pound:

Bishop Dunston in his lower social status as the farmer victim addresses Coneycatcher as *thou*:

Bishop Dunstan [as Farmer]: *Thou* man of worth, or citizen, what ere *thou* be,

which does not support the theory that *you* was used to avoid giving offence in cases where the status of the addressee was unknown. This appears to be the *thou* of supplication as the farmer (bishop) pleads his case,

Bishop Dunstan [as Farmer]: Weigh but my charge, and then *thou* wilt not swear
I haue fiue sonnes, al pretie tender babes,
That liue vpon the farme that he would haue,

having previously addressed Perin, the supposed judge, in formal terms connoting his higher status,

Bishop Dunstan [as Farmer]: If it please *your* Worship,⁵⁶ this is the man,
That wrongfully would haue my farme from me.

Perin, a courtier, plays the role of judge in this scene and in this role has the highest social status of all the participants. As a sign of his status he addresses Coneycatcher as *thou*,

Judge: Wel, if *thou* be wel aduised, take *thy* oath,
But yet remember before whome *thou* swearest.

In a later scene a knight, a squire and a farmer all exchange *you*. Two old men being defrauded by Walter, the farmer, and the bailiff acting on his behalf all exchange *you*. Only the knight uses *thou* to the bailiff, indicating the difference in their rank,

Knight: But I wil: sirra Bailie, I will answeere the poore
mens debts, and come home to me for *thy* fee anon.

Perin, the courtier, maintains social distinctions when soliciting loans on behalf of the king. He addresses the knight and the squire as *you* but does not address the farmer directly, speaking of him in the third person, a usage that is even more distancing than *thou*,

⁵⁶ This honorific substitutes for and connotes greater social distance than 'you'. It is interesting that 'your worship' and 'your honour' are attested at a similar time. They seem to connote uncertainty of the precise social status of the addressee and a wish to imply deference. OED 1548 E. Gest *Treat. againste Masse* Ded. 5, I · · doo offe y^e same · · to your worshipful mastership, not that I adiudge it a present, worthy your worship, but that [etc.]. 1553 Gresham in *Burgon Life* (1839) I. 98, I received your honnor's letter of the 24th of this present.

Per.: Very wel, but what saith the Farmer?
What can he spare the King?

In a scene involving a priest and a beggar address pronouns seem to be motivated by social status. The priest gives *thou* and receives *you*. The two deviations are motivated:

Beggar: Alas sir, *you* see I am old.

Priest: But thats no reason *you* [probably: generic *you*=one] should beg.

The beggar's switch to *thee* in the phrase 'fie upon thee' from his unmarked usage to the priest of *you*,

Beggar: **Now** fie vpon *thee*, is this the purenes of *your* religion?

probably with the stress on *thee*, seems to be an echo of the Priest's earlier usage to him,

Priest: Fy vpon *thee* lazy fellow, art *thou* not ashamed to beg?

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

The changing relationship between Perin, the courtier, and the farmer is illustrated by Perin's changing usage towards the farmer as he solicits loans for the king. Initially he speaks of the farmer in the third person,

what saith the Farmer?

This changes to *thou* when the farmer offers a loan of 'a hundred or two of pounds' and a bribe to Perin for promoting his cause with the king

Perin: **Why** thats well said, and I commend *thy* honest mind,
Would all men wer of *thy* mind:

I warrant *thee*, *thou* art an honest man, & one that loues the king
But tel me, what wouldst *thou* haue me doe?

This loan could be increased to a gift of five or six hundred pounds were Perin to secure for him a licence to export corn. Perin would also be rewarded. Hearing this Perin switches his address to the farmer to *you* and *Sir*, as the farmer's persona changes from that of yokel deserving of condescension to that of potential business partner,

Perin: Sir, feare not, I wil do it for *you*, I warrant *you*,
For I tel *you* I can do much with the King.

The farmer inviting Perin to dinner is anxious to know the status of his companion:

Farmer: Wel sir, wil it please *you* to come and dine with me.

Perin: I thanke *you* sir hartily.

Farmer: But whats he there in *your* company.

Perin: A plaine fellow, and his name is Honesty.

Honesty's name betrays his character. Both know that he will not be useful in their schemes and express this in their address to him. It is not necessary to accord him respect:

Perin: Trulie Honesty, if I were furnisht with money,
I would not stick to giue *thee thy* dinner,
But now *thou* seest I am but a guest my selfe.

Farmer: Truly honest fellow, if I were certaine of my
cheere, I wold bid *thee* to dinner, but know not my prouisio~
I promise *thee*

The knight and Perin, the courtier, however, exchange *you* indicative of their status,

Knight: Heare *you* sir, will it please *you* to take part of
a peece of beefe with me, *you* shal be welcome.

Perin: I thank *you* sir, but I must dine with my honest
friend here, els I would not refuse *your* gentle offer.

A subplot involves Earl Osrick, his daughter Alfrida and Earl Ethenwald sent to investigate the suitability of Alfrida as a wife for the king. In their initial exchanges, Alfrida addresses both as *you*. Osrick addresses his daughter in accordance with her private and public personae. As Osrick's daughter she receives the address term *thou* but as the daughter of an earl she receives the address *you*,

Osr.: Daughter, see that *you* entertaine the Earle,
As best beseemes his state and *thy* degree

This is said as the earl enters and is presumably directed at him as well as Alfrida. It may be that the switch is from Alfrida's public to her private persona. When Osrick includes the earl in his utterances to his daughter, he addresses her formally, as in a subsequent occurrence:

Osrick: Daughter, if *you* haue any skil at all,
I pray *you* vse *your* cunning with the Earle,
And see if *you* can ease him of his paine

Similarly Ethenwald constructs two identities for Alfrida: that of the lady he woos and that of the daughter of an earl,

Ethenwald: Briefly, I loue *thee*, seeme I neere so bold,
 So rude and rashlie to prefer my sute,
And if *your* father giue but his consent,
 Eased be that paine that troubles Ethenwald.

These clearly motivated cases of switching depend on the role played by Alfrida. In a later scene Ethenwald also gives Alfrida two personae: her formal status as his wife is accorded the term *you*, whereas the woman he suspects of planning to cuckold him is addressed as *thou*.

Zwouns, they are both agreed to cuckold me,
 But heare *you* wyfe, while I am master of the Bark,
 I meane to keepe the helmster in my hand:
 My meaning is, *you* shall be rulde by me,
 In being disguised till the King be gone,
 And thus it shall be, for I will haue it so.
 The King hath neuer seene *thee* I am sure,
 Nor shall he see *thee* now, if I can chuse

The switches into and out of her formal status do not have the same connotation with each occurrence. Osrick's usage connotes paternal affection. Ethenwald's usage connotes desire/love, which then becomes jealousy and suspicion. Ethenwald's deception has two consequences: Edgar, the king, vows revenge on him but does not make Ethenwald give up Alfrida, telling her to return to her husband. Alfrida's reaction is two-fold. She expresses her overwhelming gratitude for his generosity to her by addressing his office of king with the *thou* of exalted register then with the pragmatic marker **nor** switches to the unmarked royal address term *you* as she switches to the topic of her appeal to the king as man to pardon Ethenwald.

Alfrida: Thanks, gracious King, myrrour of curtesie,
 Whose vertuous thoughts bewray *thy* princely mind
 And makes *thee* famous mongst *thy* enemies:
 For what is he that heares of Edgars name,
 And will not yeeld him praise as he deserues.
Nor hath *your* Grace euer bene praised more,
 Or tearm'd more iust in any action,
 Than *you* shall be in conquering *your* desires,
 And yeelding pardon to Earle Ethenwald.

The priest accosted by the beggar (above) dismisses him,

Care not *thou* for that

then carefully distinguishes between the two personae of the neighbour who wants to rent his house. As a Christian the neighbour is accorded the intimacy of fellowship,

if *thou* wilt haue my house, friend, and brother in Christ

but the pragmatic marker **well** introduces the switch to their business relationship, defining the neighbour as a prospective tenant,

wel neighbor ... it wil cost *you* fourtie shillings.

A final example of switching is illustrated by Honesty. Given the task of sentencing the miscreants, he addresses them as *you* and delivers their sentences with *thou*. This is possibly an attempt to replicate contemporary formulaic legal usage:

Now to *you* Cutbert Cutpurse the Conicatcher,
Thy iudgment is to stand at the Market crosse,
 And haue *thy* cursed tongue pind to *thy* breast

1595 [1CPEELE] **The Old Wives Tale**

A problem with the comedy drama texts is lack of textual and social context making it difficult to account for particular usage. Many samples are extracts from longer texts and start mid-discourse. They may lack a list of characters, so it is difficult to appreciate the characters' relationships with each other. Names of characters may be variously spelled and abbreviated or even changed during the text. In *The Old Wives Tale*, a character who exits as *Booby* appears to re-enter as *Corobus* (sometimes *Corebus*). A further complication is that this text has a play within a play, thus giving an extra layer of discourse.

Unmarked Usage

The opening scene involves three characters who use the familiar *thou* form to each other. The morphology of their names: *Anticke*, *Frolicke* and *Fantasticke* implies that they form a group and *Fantasticke*'s use of the term 'our yong master' that they are servants or followers of an overlord. A smith enters and is addressed as *thou* by *Frolicke*. This could be a sign of *Frolicke*'s perception of their relative social status

but his use of the term *what* implies that he thinks the approaching figure may not be human, which would license the address *thou*:

Frolicke: be *thou* Oxe or Alfe⁵⁷ that appearest,
tell vs what *thou* art.

Anticke's use of the familiar *thou* in reply to the smith's demand to know what they are doing in his woods in the middle of the night does imply a difference in their social status, since the neutral address form *you* might be anticipated to an unknown addressee:

Anticke: What doe we make dost *thou* aske?
why we make faces for feare: such as if *thy* mortall eyes could behold,
would make *thee* water the long seames of *thy* side slops, Smith.

Frolicke takes a more diplomatic approach, using the polite form *you* and the address term *Sir* in contrast to Anticke's use of *Smith*.

Frolicke: And in faith Sir vnlesse *your* hospitalitie doe releue vs,
wee are like to wander with a sorrowfull hey ho,
among the owlets, & Hobgoblins of the Forrest:

Frolicke then switches to the familiar form and the courteous epithet *good* in an apparent conciliatory gesture, as he asks the smith for help:

Frolicke: good Vulcan, for Cupids sake that hath cousned vs all:
befriend vs as *thou* maiest.

The trio generally address the smith's wife as *you*. There is one instance when Frolicke addresses her as *thou*:

Frolicke: Gammer⁵⁸ *thou* and *thy* good man sit louingly together,
we come to chat and not to eate.

Since *Gammer* is also used here in correlation with *you*, *thou* in this case may connote friendliness rather than address from one of superior social status.

⁵⁷ OED elf.

⁵⁸ OED 'A rustic title for an old woman, corresponding to *Gaffer* for a man. The spelling *gandmer* in 1589 shows that the word was then regarded as a corruption of *grandmother*.' No usage label is given. *Gaffer* is defined as 'A term applied originally by country people to an elderly man or one whose position entitled him to respect' and 'Used simply as a title of address, often with no intimation of respect.' The general connotation of *Gaffer* is thus unclear and it is anyway unsafe to assume that male and female versions of the same term have the same connotation.

Gammer's story is acted out in the play within a play. She introduces the characters as:

a King ... that had a faire daughter ... a Coniurer [who]
 ... turned himselfe into a great Dragon,
 and carried the Kinges Daughter away ...
 hir two Brothers [who] went to seeke hir.
 [The Conjurer] turned a proper yong man
 to a Beare in the night, and a man in the day, and
 keeps by a crosse that parts three seuerall waies,
 & he made this Lady run mad.

Their discourse forms her story. The two brothers, being princes, address each other as *you*. They initially address as *you* in deference to his age an old man they encounter at the crossroads but this changes to *thou* when they discover that he is foraging for food and they offer him alms. The old man encounters his neighbour, Lampriscus, and they exchange *you*. Huanebango, a knight, and Booby, the clown, are both pursuing the same fair lady. Huanebango warns Booby to forget her, since he does not possess the requisite knightly skills to win her. He uses the familiar *thou* form to Booby and the ambiguous address term *my friend*, which can only connote the OED's usage 'kindly condescension', when considered in context:

Huanebango: Alas my friend what fortune calles *thee* foorth to seeke
thy fortune among brasen gates, enchanted towers, fire and
 Brimstone, thunder and lightning.

The implication is clear: this *friend* is a *silly fellowe*. Booby addresses Huanebango as *Sir* and uses the formal *you* form to him. Their usage seems to reflect their comparative social status.

Encountering the old man Booby hails him as *Gaffer*. Both Booby and Huanebango address him with the formal *you* and after their initial approach both subsequently address him with the more prestigious term *father*. This seems to be another reflection of relative social status.

The old man appears to make an astute assessment of Huanebango, alluding to the fair maid in question as being:

Old man: Faire inough, and farre inough from *thy* fingering sonne.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ OED term of familiar address without implication of affection.

The two brothers re-enter and glimpse Delya, their lost sister, exiting. Brother 2 calls after her, using the familiar *thou*:

Brother 2: Sister, where art *thou*? Delya come again
He calles, that of *thy* absence doth complaine

Huanebango has been rendered deaf. On his entrance, he has addressed Zantippa, who has gone to the well in search of a husband, as *you*:

Let me faire Ladie if *you* be at leisure, reuell with *your* sweetnes

and takes her response as encouragement. On being called a *flouting knave*, he adopts the familiar *thou* form in an attempt to woo Zantippa.

The next scene involves Eumenides, the wandering knight and Jack, a ghost. Their usage is according to their ages and unmarked. Jack refers to Eumenides as *you* and *Master*. Eumenides calls Jack *thou* and *Lad*. Although he does say:

Eumenides: I thinke this boy be a spirit,
How knowst *thou* all this?

it is not apparent if this is intended to be understood literally.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

It is difficult to link the incidents in the play into a coherent whole. It transpires that Jack was Wiggen's brother. An argument between a churchwarden and a sexton with Wiggen over their refusal to bury Jack until they are paid begins with an exchange of *you*. When Wiggen threatens violence, the churchwarden responds with a derogatory *thou*:

Churchwarden: VViggen I hope *thou* wilt do no more then *thou* darst aunswer

Eumenides, the wandering knight, who intervenes, addresses Wiggen with a conciliatory *thou* apparent from his use of the term *good fellow*:

Eumenides: Hould *thy* hands good fellow.

Corebus (Booby), the clown (that is: a rustic or peasant), who has previously addressed the others as *you* tells Sacrapant, the conjurer, who has struck him blind:

Corebus: Heer hast *thou* slain Hua~ a slashing knight
And robbed poore Corebus of his sight.

The nature of the accusation and the modifier *poore* connote negative affect here.

When the two princely brothers switch from their unmarked mutual formal *you* address, this seems to imply a change in affect. Formal usage gives way to emotive usage as Brother 2 urges his brother forward in the search for their sister and Brother 1 reacts as his brother falls, apparently as a consequence of lightning and thunder created by Sacrapant:

Brother 2: **Then** brother draw *thy* sword & follow me.
(Enter the Coniurer; it lightens & thunders, the 2. Brother falles downe.)

Brother 1: What brother doost *thou* fall?

Zantippa and Celanta are sisters who have been sent to the well by their father to find husbands. As sisters they may be expected to exchange familial and intra-generational *thou*. Zantippa overhears Celanta speak of their father's plan. There is no doubt of the negative affect here, first her exclamation, then her invective, finally her action in breaking her sister's pitcher:

Zantippa: Marrie gup with a murren,⁶⁰
I knowe wherefore *thou* speakest that,
but goe *thy* waies home as wife as *thou* camst,
or Ile set *thee* home with a wanion.⁶¹

Next a head rises from the well and speaks to Zantippa:

Zantippa: What is this,

she repeats his dialogue:

Zantippa: faire maiden white & red,
Combe me smooth, and stroke my head:
And *thou* shalt haue some cockell bread⁶²

⁶⁰ OED exclamation of derision, remonstrance, or surprise.

⁶¹ OED plague, vengeance.

⁶² OED a1687 AUBREY in Thoms *Anecd. & Tradit.* 94 Young wenches have a wanton sport which They call moulding of cockle-bread, viz. they get upon a table-board, and then gather up their knees and their coates with their hands as high as they can, and then they wabble to and fro, as if they were kneading of dowgh, and say these words, viz. My dame is sick and gonne to bed, And I'll go mould my Cockle-bread.

She reacts angrily and strikes it with her pitcher:

Zantippa: Cockell callest *thou* it boy, **faith** ile giue *you*
cockell bread. (Shee breakes hir Pitcher vppon his heade,)

There is a change of address from *thou* to *you*, which is puzzling, since Zantippa seems to be indignant at what she perceives as the speaker's presumption as shown by her ironic comment: 'ile giue you'⁶³ cockell bread.' It may be that this is a change of emphasis from her repetition of and comments on the head's utterances to her own intended reaction.

She repeats some of his recitation with negative affect of her address term and an apparent expression of contempt:

Zantippa: By gogs bones *thou* art a flouting knaue,
Hir Corall lippes, hir crimson chinne: ka Wilshaw.⁶⁴

Sacrapant, the conjurer, who has kidnapped Delya, refers in to her in a soliloquy as 'Faire Delya, the Mistres of my heart'. On her entrance, he addresses her with the formal *you*:

Sacrapant: How now faire Delya where haue *you* bin?

He changes to a seductive tone:

Sacrapant: **Ah** Delya , fairer art *thou* than the running water,
... I Delya, sit & aske me what *thou* wilt,
thou shalt haue it brought into *thy* lappe

while she maintains the formal *you* form to him.

On the entrance of a Friar bearing provisions for Delya, Sacrapant addresses Delya's public persona *yee*:

Sacrapant: Heere Delya, will *yee* fall to.

The changing use within his remark before the friar's entrance introduces a change of topic with the pragmatic marker **well** and a directive :

⁶³ idiomatic approximately *How dare you say ...?*

⁶⁴ pshaw? OED *int.* An exclamation expressing contempt, impatience, or disgust.

Sacrapant: Delya I am glad to see *you* so pleasant, **well** sit *thee* downe.

Sacrapant controls Delya ‘with a potion’. He functions almost as her familiar and addresses her private persona as *thou Delia*. In her post-kidnap state Delya is known as Berecynthia whose public persona is addressed as *you*:

Sacrapant: She hath forgotten to be Delya,
But not forgot the same she should forget:
But I will change hir name
Faire Berecynthia so this Country calls *you*.

1595 [1CWARN] Menaecmi

This concerns the search for a missing twin, Menechmus, who was lost in Epidanum as a child. When this happened, the remaining twin was given the name of the missing twin. The lost twin is referred to as Menechmus the Citizen, and the twin who has travelled from his home in Syracuse to search for him in Epidanum is Menechmus the Traveller. The CED text does not always distinguish between them, citing both characters as *Men*, so the twins have to be identified from context.

Unmarked Usage

Unmarked usage for Menechmus the Traveller, is to address his servant, Messenio, as *thou*, who addresses him as *you*. Menechmus the Citizen, addresses Peniculus, his parasite, as *thou*. This possibly reflects the status of a parasite, defined in the OED as: ‘one who eats at the table of another, one who lives at another’s expense and repays him with flattery’. Such is the social distance between the parasite and his patron that Peniculus addresses him as *you*, even in an abusive outburst delivered to Menechmus the Traveller, in a case of mistaken identity.

Peniculus: O well met fickle-braine, false and treacherous dealer,
craftie and vniust promise breaker. How haue I deserued, *you*
should so giue me the slip, come before and dispatch the dinner,
deale so badly with him that hath reuerenst *ye* like a sonne.

In another case of mistaken identity, social status distinction is observed. Cylindrus, a cook, mistaking Menechmus the Traveller, whom he does not know, for Menechmus the Citizen, addresses him as *you*. Menechmus the Traveller, does not know Cylindrus but recognises his status,

Menechmus, the Traveller: God a mercy my good friend, doest *thou* know mee?
... Whom meanest *thou* good fellow?

Menechmus the Citizen, initially addresses his wife as *you*, speaking abusively over his shoulder to her, as he leaves the house,

Menechmus, the Citizen: If ye were not such a brabbling foole and mad-braine scold as yee are, yee would neuer thus crosse *your* husbände in all actions.

His courtesan, Erotium, also receives *you*, as he gives her instructions to arrange their dinner but this changes to *thou* in collocation with terms of endearment: *sweete mouse* and *sweete hearte*. Erotium addressing Menechmus the Traveller (in error) as *sweetheart* collocates this with *you*, however, and he tells her,

Menechmus, the Traveller: Gentlewoman ye are a straunger to me, and I maruell at *your* speeches.

Erotium instructs the cook using *you*, which is indicative of their comparable social status and contrasts with the use of *thou* to the cook by Menechmus the Traveller.

Mulier, the wife to Menechmus the Citizen, has *you* as unmarked usage to him and to his twin in mistake for him. This switches to *thou* during her argument with Menechmus, the Traveller in Act V. There is an isolated example of *thou* to her husband in Act IV,

Mulier: Aske yee mee whats the matter? Fye vppon *thee*.

This usage indicates that *fie upon thee* may be a fixed expression. I have not found it identified as such but this phrase occurs elsewhere in this corpus in collocation with *you* as an address term: *fie vpon thee, is this the purenes of your religion?* [1594 1CKNAVE]

When Messenio tries to persuade his master of the futility of their search for the missing twin, Menechmus's response is to rebuke him as *sirrah* with (what is for them) distancing *you*:

Menechmus, the traveller: Sirra,⁶⁵ no more of these sawcie speeches,
I perceiue I much teach ye how to serue me, not to rule me.

⁶⁵ OED A term of address used to men or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker.

Menechmus's other expressions of negative affect to Messenio collocate with *thou* and relate to Messenio's lesser misdemeanour of his mistaken identity of the Menechmus twins.

Menechmus, the traveller: Impudent knave, wilt *thou* say that I euer saw *thee* since I sent *thee* away to day, and bad *thee* come for mee after dinner?

Menechmus, the traveller: Why doating patch,⁶⁶ didst *thou* not come with me this morning from the ship?

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Menechmus switches from his unmarked use of address to his servant Messenio in an outburst of anger when the latter expresses the opinion that their continued search for the missing twin is folly,

Menechmus, the traveller: Sirra, no more of these sawcie speeches, I perceiue I much teach *ye* how to serue me, not to rule me.

This subsides somewhat in his response to Messenio's warnings of the dangers to his purse in Epidanum but only to express his lack of faith in Messenio, after which he reverts to addressing Messanio as *thou*,

Menechmus, the traveller: Because I feare *you* wil be busie among the Curtizans, & so be cosened of it: then should I take great paines in belabouring *your* shoulders,

with both positive affect:

Menechmus, the traveller: I mislike not *thy* counsaile Messenio.

and negative affect:

Menechmus, the traveller: Peace foolish knave, seest *thou* not what a sot she is, I shall coozen her I warrant *thee*.

As may be expected, most switches occur in encounters involving mistaken identity. Mulier, the wife to Menechmus the Citizen, whose unmarked usage to her husband is *you*, seems incensed not because he gave her cloak to his courtesan but that he is prepared to deny this. She addresses the Traveller, mistaking him for her husband:

⁶⁶ OED crazy fool.

Mulier: Impudent beast, stand *ye* to question about it? For shame hold *thy* peace, who asks in bemusement,

Menechmus, the traveller: What offence haue I done woman, that I should not speake to *you*?

and, still addressing her as *you*, compares Mulier to Hocuba, whom the Greeks termed *a bitch* because she railed at strangers just as Mulier was doing. Finally, as the argument continues, he switches to *thou*:

Mulier: These foule abuses and contumelies, I can neuer endure, nay rather will I liue a widowes life to my dying day.

Menechmus, the traveller: What care I whether *thou* liuest as a widow or as a wife. ... Prethee for my part, liue a widow till the worldes end, if *thou* wilt.

He then reverts to *you* as he switches from the topic of Mulier's reaction to his abuse to that of her accusation

Menechmus, the traveller: Woman, *you* are greatly to blame to charge mee with stealing of this cloake, which this day an other gaue me to carry to be trimde.

Mulier also switches topic and introduces this with the pragmatic marker **well**:

Mul: **Well**, I will first complaine to my father.
... Ile tell him first of *your* pranks, I hope he will not see me thus handled.

As Mulier's father, Senex, approaches and she asks if Menechmus knows him, Menechmus reverts to *thou*,

Menechmus, the traveller: As much as I knew Calcas of Troy. Euen him and *thee* I know both alike.

This usage reflects his perception of the two propositions. The first is Mulier's claim that they are acquainted, though Menechmus knows that they are not and is unconcerned as his jocular response demonstrates,

Mulier: Doest know neither of vs both, me nor my father?
Menechmus, the traveller: Faith nor *thy* grandfather neither.

He takes the accusation of theft more seriously and reacts by addressing Mulier as *you*. It is this accusation he first denies rather than acquaintance with Mulier when Senex asks in what way his wife has offended him.

When Mulier complains about Menechmus to her father, they exchange *you* and Senex sides with her (presumed) husband against his daughter. Initially Menechmus and Senex exchange *you*, then Senex switches to *thou* with the implication that Menechmus must be mad to deny that he has ever entered ‘this woman’s’ house,

Senex: Why fond man, art *thou* mad to deny that *thou* euer setst foote within *thine* owne house where *thou* dwellest?

His perception of Menechmus as a rational being and his social equal changes to a perception of him as a madman and social outcast. Since he finds this so difficult to believe, Senex then interprets the whole incident as a joke that has been taken too far and switches back to *you* to chide his foolish but sane (presumed) son-in-law,

Senex: Menechmus, I pray leaue this fondnesse, *ye* iest too peruersly with *your* friends.

Taken for mad Menechmus decides that the only way to rid himself of Senex and his daughter is to seem to be mad. Alarmed, Senex abandons his previous formal address to his daughter and instructs her,

Senex: Get *thee* into *thy* house daughter, away quickly.

Subsequently encountering Menechmus the Citizen (his actual son-in-law), Senex relates the details of his madness to the Doctor, addressing the (perceived) mad Menechmus as *thou*,

Senex: *Thou* didst, mad fellow ... This *thou* didst, I know what I say

When the long-lost brothers finally meet, Menechmus the Traveller greets his brother emotionally but they subsequently exchange *you* despite expressing joy and addressing each other as *brother*,

Menechmus, the Traveller: It is he, what need farther prooffe?
O Brother, Brother, let me embrace *thee*.

Menechmus, the Traveller: I ioy, and ten thousand ioyes the more, hauing taken so long trouaile and huge paines to seeke *you*.

Menechmus, the Citizen: Brother I will intreate you to performe *your* promise to Messenio

Menechmus, the Traveller: Brother, will *ye* now go with me to Syracusis?

1599 [1CCHAPM] Humorous Dayes Mirth

This text illustrates some of the problems of undertaking a pragmatic analysis of part of a complete work, where the data is assessed as utterances in a discourse rather than as sentences in a text, which would be the case for a morphological or syntactic assessment. The extract appears as a continuous discourse with no indication of scenes and the CED text opens about half way through the complete play. There is no character list and speakers' names are abbreviated. One character, *La Besha* may be indicated as: *Labe* or *Be*. Care must be taken to distinguish this character from *Count Labervele*, whose name may be abbreviated to *Lab*. A speaker labelled *Be* may be either *La Besha* or *Berger*. The characters *Lord Moren* and *Martia* may be written *Mor* and *Mar* and their speeches are sometimes wrongly attributed. It is not clear if *Jaquena* is the same character as *Sateena*, nor does it become apparent until the end of the play that this character is the maid. An automatic text search will therefore not reveal valid data on personal relationships. A close reading is essential.

Parrott claims 'the text...is so corrupt, and the stage directions are so infrequent and confusing, that it is extremely difficult to follow the story.' The play was probably 'altered and published without the author's supervision' (1907:xx). As it is hypothesised in this study that *thou/you* variation reflects characters' relationships, a close reading of the entire text of the play (EEBO) was undertaken in order to determine these. The character Lemot for example is referred to in the first part of the play before the beginning of the CED extract as 'the witty minion of our king,' which guides the potential interpretation of his utterances as banter.

Unmarked Usage

Unmarked usage in this text follows the pattern of exchange of *you* among social equals. This applies in the upper social rank of the titled characters and among the lower orders where the host of the ordinary (inn), his man and the maid usually exchange *you* even when being abusive to each other. Generational distinction tends to be maintained with older characters addressing younger characters over whom they have social control as *thou*, for example Count Labervele to Lord Dowsecer, his son, and the host to the boy, his son. The superior social status of the husband is

indicated by Lord Moren's address to his wife, the countess, as *thou* and her address to him as *you*.

An exception to this is the king's unmarked address to everyone as *you*. He deviates from this usage once, expressing positive affect, when commiserating with La Besha, who was on the point of hanging himself thinking Martia, the woman he loved, was dead:

King: Well sweete Besha let her marry Dowsecer,
Ile get *thee* a wife worth fiteene of her

As Lemot is identified as 'the witty minion of our king', the audience is predisposed to interpret his utterances as comedy. His address to Catalian, a gentleman, as *Sirrah* and *thou* is an invitation to collude in mischief:

Lemot: Sirrah, Catalian, while they are playing at cardes,
thou and I will haue some excellent sport:
sirrah, dost *thou* know that same Gentleman there?

Lemot claims to be able to predict the response of a group card players to his remarks. The exchange continues with Lemot addressing Catalian as *thou* but being addressed by Catalian in return as *you*. Catalian remains sceptical and does not reciprocate Lemot's light-hearted approach:

Catalian: I do not thinke so.
... This is excellent, forward sir I pray.
... Come let vs see *you*.
... Why but hearke *you* Lemot, I hope *you* cannot
make this lord answer so roundly.

Florilla is a Puritan, a category often mocked in Early Modern English drama. Her use of *thou*, however, seems to convey negative affect rather than perceived Puritan usage, as it is not consistent. She uses *you* to the king:

King: What Madam are *you* so pure now?
Florilla: Yea, would not *you* be pure?
King: No puritane.
Florilla: *You* must be then a diuell, I can tell *you*.

and to her husband, who addresses her as *thou*:

Labervele: O wife where hast *thou* beene?
Florilla: where did I tell *you* I would be I pray.
Labervele: In *thy* close walke *thou* saidst.

In part of the play preceding the CED extract Lemot in order ‘to have some sport’ proposes a test to Florilla to prove her constancy to her elderly husband. He woos her and she falls in love with him only to realise she has been tricked:

Florilla: O monstrous man, what, wouldst *thou* haue him take vs?
 ... Out on *thee* wretch, he hath bit me to the bone,
 ... O barbarous Canibal, now I perceiue *thou* wilt make me a
 mocking stocke to all the world.
 ... Vilain, *thou* didst it in contempt of me.

Lemot acknowledges her emotion:

Lemot: Come, come, leaue *your* passions, they cannot mooue mee.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Lemot’s advice to Florilla on how she may become reconciled with her husband constructs two personae for Florilla: in the first, Lemot addresses her with the formal *you* and the second is his projected conversation between Florilla and her husband in which they exchange the intimate address term *thou*:

Florilla: Vilain, *thou* didst it in contempt of me.

Lemot: Well, and *you* take it so, so be it: harke *you* Madam,
your wisest course is, euen to become puritane againe, put
 off this vaine attire, and say,

I haue despised all: thanks my God, good husband, I do loue *thee* in the Lord,

and he (good man) will thinke all this *you* haue done,

was but to shew *thou* couldest gouerne the world, and hide *thee* as a
 rainebow doth a storme:

my dainty wench, go go, what shall the flattering words
 of a vaine man make *you* forget *your* dutie to *your* husband?
 away, repent, amend *your* life, *you* haue discredited
your religion for euer.

A similar construction involving reported speech occurs between Count Labervele and his wife, Florilla,

Count Labervele: O wife where hast *thou* beene?

Florilla: where did I tell *you* I would be I pray.

Count Labervele: In *thy* close walke *thou* saidst.

Florilla: And was I not?

Count Labervele: Truly I know not, I neither looked nor knocked,
for Labesha told me that *you*, and faire Martia were at Verones ordinarie.

Labervele switches to addressing his wife as *you* when reflecting Labesha's presumed formal reference to Florilla. In her persona as his wife, he addresses her as *thou* and in the persona of the woman Labesha speaks of she becomes *you*.

The switch from Lemot's unmarked usage to Labesha marks a topic change indicated by the pragmatic markers **but** as his utterance switches between his assessment of the situation and his reaction to it:

Lemot: Come Labesha *thy* money.

Labesha: *You* must lend me some, for my boy is runne away with my purse.

Lemot: *thy* boy? I neuer knew any that *thou* hadst.

Labesha: Had not I a boy three or foure yeares ago, and he ran away.

Lemot: And neuer since he went *thou* hadst not a peny,
but stand by, Ile excuse *you*.

A switch to *thou* from previous unmarked use of *you* in the host's address to Catalan with reference to Labesha implies an invitation to collusion:

Host: O he is ashamed yfayth: but I will tell *thee* howe
thou shalt make him mad indeed, say his mistres for loue
of him hath drowned her selfe

as does Catalan's instruction to Berger, another gentleman,

Catalan: We haue yfaith, stop *thou* him there, and I wil meet him here.

1602 [2CHEYWO] How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad

The CED extract opens approximately half way through the play. The relationships of the characters are confusing. The editor of the 1824 edition (digitised by Google) suggests that the author confused the status of one of the characters naming him *Young Lusam*, which suggests that he is the son of *Old Lusam*, Mistress Arthur's father, which would make *Young Lusam* Mistress Arthur's brother. He then has Mistress Arthur address him as a stranger,

You are a stranger sir, but by your words
You do appeare an honest Gentleman:
If you professe to be my husbands friend,
Persist in these perswasions:

Thus, caution is needed in interpreting the significance of address terms.

Unmarked Usage

Speakers' unmarked usage does seem to reflect social and generational status with the father figures Old Master Arthur and Old Master Lusam using reciprocal *you* and addressing their sons as *thou* whilst receiving *you*. The young friends Master Anselm and Master Fuller generally exchange *thou* and *thou* is generally addressed to servants, from whom *you* is received. Unmarked usage for the servants Hugh and Pipkin is to exchange *you*.

The relationship between Mistress Mary, a Courtesan, and Mistress Splay is unclear with Mary addressing Mistress Splay as *good mother*⁶⁷ *Splay*. This may be a term of address or it may denote their family relationship, since Mistress Splay addresses Mary as *daughter*.⁶⁸ Initially they exchange *you*. Mary addresses her servant, Brabo, as *thou* and he addresses her as *you*. All of these exchanges, whether denoting difference of generation or rank, connote relative social status.

The imprecise application of family relationship terms is illustrated by the address of Mistress Arthur as *daughter* by both Old Arthur, her father in law and Old Lusam, her father. The distinction is apparent in their respective use of the formal and intimate address pronoun:

Old Arthur: Daughter me thinkes *you* are exceeding sad:

Old Lusam: Faith daughter so *thou* art exceeding sad:

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

In a prior conversation Mistress Mary and Mistress Splay have exchanged *you*.

Mary: But Mistris Splay, now to *your* lecture that *you* promist me.

Now Mistress Splay reorientates the topic within her speech. She opens with an affectionate address term; *daughter*, a reference to herself; 'what I myself have tried'

⁶⁷ OED a term of address for an elderly woman of the lower class. Also used (instead of *Mrs.*) as a Prefix to the surname of such a person.

⁶⁸ OED used as a term of affectionate address to a woman or girl by an older person or one in a superior relation. A girl, maiden, young woman (with no express reference to relationship).

and an invitation to collusion; 'Be rul'd by me.' These features connote a rapprochement in their relationship.

Splay: Daughter attend, for I will tell *thee* now
What in my yong daies I my selfe haue tried:
Be rul'd by me and I will make *thee* rich.

Then she switches to a general reference to Mary,

You God be praisde are faire, and as they say
Full of good parts, *you* haue bene often tried
To be a woman of good carriage,
VVhich in my mind is very commendable.
Mary: Forward good mother Splay.

... And as I told *you*, being faire, I wish
Sweet daughter *you* were as fortunate.

She concludes with advice for a specific situation indicated by the pragmatic marker **when**:

VVhen any sutor comes to aske *thy* loue,
Looke not into his words, but into his sleeue,
If *thou* canst learne what language his purse speakes,
Be rul'd by that, thats golden eloquence.

Mary now changes her address to *thou* possibly connoting their collusion in their approach to suitors, possibly under the influence of the rhyming couplet with its suggestion of poetic register

Mary: Soft who comes here? begone good Mistris Splay,
Of *thy* rules practise this is my first day.

In the first exchange between Young Master Arthur and Mistress Mary *you* is retained throughout, although they both invite familiar address suggesting to each other the use of their names without a title of address. Arthur is under the impression that he has poisoned his wife and that she is dying. He woos Mary who is aware that he has a wife:

Mary: Are *you* not Maister Arthur?

Young Arthur: Not M. Arthur, but Arthur,
and *your* seruante sweete Mistris Mary

Mary: Not Mistris Mary, but Mary and *your*
handmaid, sweet Maister Arthur.

Yong Arthur: That I loue *you*, let my face tell *you*:
that I loue *you* more then ordinarily, let this kisse testifie:
and that I loue *you* feruently and entierly, aske this gift, and
see what it will answeere *you*. My selfe, my purse, and all
being wholly at *your* seruice.

Mary: That I take *your* loue in good part, my thanks
shall speak for me: that I am pleasde with *your* kisse, this
interest of an other shall certifie *you*: and that I accept
your gift, my prostrate seruice and selfe shall witnes with
me. My loue, my lips, and sweet selfe, are at *your* seruice:
wilt please *you* to come neare sir?
... How doth *your* wife?

It seems that neither is willing to commit themselves. Generally a male declaration of love would use *thou* and a woman wishing to give a positive response may reciprocate after a further few utterances.

Mary is later described by Anselme, who is in love with the virtuous and wronged Mistress Arthur, as ‘a leaud lasciuious Curtezan’. She rejects a proposal of marriage from her servant, Brabo, who switches from his unmarked usage to her of *you*:

Brabo: I prithee Mistris, for all my long seruice,
For all the loue that I haue borne *thee* long,
Do me this fauour now to marry me.

Her surprise at his presumption gives rise to the marked address term *you*, then the pragmatic marker **what** indicates the return to her customary unmarked usage to him:

Mary: Marry come vp⁶⁹ *you* blockhead, *you* great asse,
What wouldst *thou* haue me marrie with a diuel,

The further pragmatic marker **but** moves the topic on, telling him that it is Young Arthur they have conspired to entrap,

Mary: **But** peace, no more, here comes the silly foole
That we so long haue set our lime-twigs for.

In their subsequent exchange Young Arthur addresses Mary as *thou* throughout, whereas she switches between *you* and *thou*, beginning with a formal address, *good maister Arthur*. His more intimate address to her connotes positive affect:

⁶⁹ OED *marry come up* used to express indignant or amused surprise or contempt.

Mary: O good maister Arthur, where haue *you* bene ...
 How should I thinke *you* loue me,
 That can indure to stay so long from me?

Yong Arthur: In faith sweet heart I saw *thee* yesternight.

Mary: I true, *you* did, but since *you* saw me not,
 at twelue a clocke *you* parted from my house,

Then she switches from the past to the present as indicated by the pragmatic marker and switches to *thou* in a rhyming couplet:

And now tis morning, and new stricken seuen.
 Seuen houres *thou* staidst fro~ me, why didst *thou* so?
 They are my seuen yeares Prentiship of woe.

Yong Arthur: I prithee be patient, I had some occasion
 That did inforce me from *thee* yesternight.

With her switch back to *you* Mary distances herself again from Arthur with self-deprecation implying his lack of respect for her introduced by the pragmatic marker

I (aye):

Mary: I *you* are soone inforc'd, foole that I am,
 To dote on one that nought respecteth me:
 Tis but my fortune, I am borne to beare it,
 And euerie one shall haue their destinie.

Yong Arthur: Nay weepe not wench, *thou* woundst mee with *thy* teares.

Mary: I am a foole, and so *you* make me too,
 These teares were better kept, then spent in waste,
 On one that neither tenders them nor me:

Then a pragmatic marker indicates her switch from apparent self-deprecation to apparent negative affect, as she addresses him as *thou*:

Mary: What remedie, **but** if I chance to die,
 Or to miscarrie with that I go withall,
 Ile take my death that *thou* art cause thereof.

But she draws back to formal usage in reminding him of his promise:

Mary: *You* told me, that when *your* wife was dead,
You would forsake all others, and take me.

Yong Arthur: I told *thee* so, & I will keep my word,
 And for that end I came thus early to *thee*:

I haue procur'd a licence, and this night
We will be married in a lawlesse Church.

Her objective achieved, marriage to a rich man, she resumes in a rhyming couplet the use of *thou*, the term of positive affect :

Mary: **Nay then** I see *thou* louest me, & I finde
By this last motio~, *thou* art growne more kinde.

Her insincerity is illustrated by her final remark, presumably an aside, in response to Arthur's declared intent. Both of these are expressed in rhyming couplets:

Yong Arthur: My loue and kindnesse like my age shal grow,
And with the time increase, and *thou* shalt see,
The older I grow, the kinder I will bee.

Mary: I so I hope it will, but as for mine,
That with my age shall day by day decline.

Initially Mistress Arthur asking her husband's servant, Pipkin, when he last saw his master, addresses him as *you*. His responses indicate that this is intended as a comic exchange:

Mistress Arthur: Sirra when saw *you your* Maister?

Pipkin: Faith Mistris when I last lookt vpon him.

Mistress Arthur: And when was that?

Pipkin: When I beheld him.

Mistress Arthur: And when was that?

Pipkin: Mary when he was in my sight,

This banter influences Mistress Arthur's response as she switches to the less formal address, *thou*:

Mistress Arthur: Didst *thou* not intreat him to come home?

Pipkin: How should I mistris, he came not there to day.

Mistress Arthur: Didst not *thou* say he was there?

Pipkin, however, retains the formal address appropriate to his station:

Pipkin: True mistris he was there, but I did not tel *ye* whe~,
He hath bin there diuers times, but not of late

and Mistress Arthur switches back to the formal style, as she concludes the exchange and dismisses Pipkin:

Mistress Arthur: About *your* busines,
... get *you* to schoole againe.

The motivation for Young Arthur's switch in his instructions to his servant, Pipkin, is not immediately apparent. Young Arthur addressing Pipkin as *you*, gives him a list of six formal instructions: 'take, bid, goe, invite, goe, take'. This is followed by a less formal abbreviated form (be/go) 'about it' taking the less formal address term *thou*. The modern variant of this might be 'off you go!' Possibly the switch connotes a similar informal ending.

Young Arthur: Here take my purse,
and bid my wife prouide ...
Sirra goe *you* to Iustice Reasons house,
Inuite him first with all solemnitie.
Goe to my Fathers, and my Father in lawes,
Here take this note.
The rest that come I will inuite my selfe,

About it with what quick dispatch *thou* canst.

When Pipkin speaks disparagingly of Mary, whom Arthur plans to marry:

Pipkin: Common to all men: she that is beholding to no
Trade, but liues of her selfe,

Arthur's mood changes and he switches back to the formal imperative and the formal *you*, connoting a distancing of affect from Pipkin:

Young Arthur: Sirra be gone, or I will send *you* hence.

Pipkin, crying that he is mad, rushes in with the news of his mistress's death and switches from his previous formal address to his social equal, Justice Reason's servant, Hugh,

Pipkin: O Mistris, o` Hugh, o` Hugh, o` Mistris, Hugh I must needs beate *thee*,
I am mad, I am lunatike, I must fall vpon *thee*, my Mistris is dead.

At first Hugh does not understand and retains the formal terms *you* and *Master Pipkin* (a title not employed to Pipkin by those of higher rank),

Hugh: O M. Pipkin, what do *you* meane, what do *you* meane M. Pipkin?
Pipkin: O Hue, o` Mistris, o` Mistris, o` Hue.

Then, as Hugh understands what has happened, he shares Pipkin's emotion and adopts a less formal tone addressing Pipkin by name with no title:

Hugh: O Pipkin, o` God, o` God, o` Pipkin.

1607 [2CWILKI] Miseries of Inforst Mariage

Unmarked Usage

Master Scarborrow, the central character of this text, and his friends, Sir Francis Ilford, Bartley and Wentloe exchange *thou* of social intimacy. His uncle, Sir William Scarborrow, and his guardian Lord Faulconbridge, who is a good friend of Sir William exchange *you*, which may indicate a greater formality in their relationship. Lord Faulconbridge initially addresses Master Scarborrow as *you* but switches to *thou*, as does Sir William, in reaction to Master Scarborrow's impoliteness. Scarborrow addresses the torch bearer as *thou*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Master Scarborrow has contracted to marry the daughter of Sir John Harcop, the neighbour of his Yorkshire estate. Because of his wealth, his guardian, Lord Faulconbridge, insists that he marry Katherine, Faulconbridge's niece. This is the basis of the plot. Despite being categorised as a comedy, the denouement of this play involves Master Scarborrow rejecting Katherine and their children, since he considers himself legally bound to Harcop's daughter. This explains his antipathy towards Lord Faulconbridge.

Lord Faulconbridge: Whose this, young Scarborrow?

Scarborrow: The man that the Mare⁷⁰ rid on.

Lord Faulconbridge: Is this the reuerence that *you* owe to me?

Faulconbridge interprets this remark as offensive and Scarborrow agrees:

Scarborrow: *You* should haue brought me vp better.

Lord Faulconbridge: That vice should thus transforme man to a beast.

That is: bad manners reduce man to the level of animals, but Scarborrow implies that, though Faulconbridge may be styled a Lord, he does not have the attributes of a Lord:

Scarborrow: Go to, *your* names Lorde, Ile talke with *you* when *your* out a debt and ha better cloaths.

⁷⁰ OED a kind of goblin supposed to produce nightmare by sitting on the chest of the sleeper; the nightmare itself i.e. Lord Faulconbridge is a nightmare.

Only at this point do the address terms switch, as Faulconbridge's usage suggests positive affect, though this could equally connote irony:

Lord Faulconbridge: I pitty *thee* euen with my very soule.

whereas Scarborrow's immediate response appears to be an offensive fixed expression followed by a return to formal *you*

Scarborrow: Pitty ith *thy* throat,⁷¹ I can drinke Muscadine and Egges,
and Muld-sack, do *you* heare: *you* put a peece of turnd stuffe
vpon me, **but** I wil –

Lord Faulconbridge interrupts him with a more socially distant formal address, then Scarborrow resumes his pragmatically marked switch collating *thou* with further abuse:

Lord Faulconbridge: What will *you* do Sir?
Scarborrow: Pisse in *thy* way, and thats no slander.

Faulconbridge concludes that such deviant usage implies that Scarborrow is drunk:

Lord Faulconbridge: *Your* sober blood wil teach *you* otherwise

Butler, servant to the Scarborrows, is discovered hiding in a tree by Sir John Harcop, who has been robbed. Sir John is convinced the thieves fled into the wood:

Sir John Harcop: Vp to this wood they tooke, search neare my friendes
... as sure as I was robd the theeues went this way.

He asks Butler:

Sir John Harcop: But tell me sir, why lurkt *you* in that tree?
Butler: that there I might see which way the knaues tooke,
then to tell *you* of it, and *you* right worshipfullie
to send hue to cry after em.

Sir John's switch to *thee* at this point seems intended to pre-empt Butler's advice, which he considers unnecessary, as the pragmatic marker **nay then** implies. Sir John's switch may indicate that Butler's address to him, 'you right worshipfully,'

⁷¹ Repudiation, don't bother?
cf 1594 Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* ii. i. 55 Till I haue..Thrust those reprochfull speeches downe
his throat, That he hath breathd in my dishonour here.

places Butler socially or this may be a corrective *thou*⁷² to remind Butler of his social status.

Sir John Harcop: **Nay then** I tell *thee* they tooke into this wood.

To contradict Sir John, Butler reproduces Sir John's usage, presumably with the stress on *thee*, but with the immediate caveat that he is aware that this address is inappropriate. Then he resumes his unmarked usage of *you*.

Butler: And I tell *thee* (setting *thy* worsh. knighthood aside)
he lyes in his throat that saies so:
Had not one of them a white Frocke?
Did they not bind *your* worships knighthoode by the thumbs?
then fagoted *you* and the fool *your* man, back to back.

Sir Francis Ilford is tricked into believing that the Scarborrows' sister possesses a fortune. He is, therefore, eager to marry her.

Sir Francis Ilford: Kind Mistres, as I protested, so againe I vow.
Ifaith I loue *you*.

This changes after their wedding (as the singular verb form indicates), though she maintains her address term of *you* to him:

Sir Francis Ilford: Ho Sirrha, who would ha thought it, I perceiue now a woman may be a maid, be married, and loose her maiden-head, and all in halfe and an hower, and how *doest* like me now wench.

Sister: As doth befit *your* seruant and *your* wife,
That owe *you* loue and duty al my life.

Sir Francis is effusive in his use of terms of endearment and familiar address as he tries to cajole his wife to reveal all her wealth but is uncertain how to react when she tells him:

Sister: The land I can endow *you* with, is my Loue,
The riches I possesse for *you* is loue.

⁷² There is a similar rebuke in a French text from 1605 [2HFERON The French Garden], when a Lady switches from *you* to *thou* and then back to *you* in addressing a shop assistant whom she perceives as being presumptuous.

He addresses her with *you*, marked usage in this context implying distance but so incredible to him is the suggestion that she has no wealth that he reverts immediately to the familiar *thou*:

Sir Francis Ilford: ... **why** my little frappet *you*,⁷³
I heard *thy* Vnckles talk of *thy* riches,
that *thou* hadst hundreds a yeare.

Thereafter his usage switches back and forth as he becomes progressively more abusive gradually realising that he has been duped into marrying a woman with no fortune.

Master Scarborrow's younger brother, Thomas, attacks him for having spent their inheritance, addressing him as *thou*:

Thomas: Turne, draw, and dye, I come to kill *thee*.

This may connote fraternal relationship but Scarborrow's response indicates that this interpretation is unlikely:

Scarborro: Whats he that speakes? Like sicknesse: Oh ist *you*,
Sleepe still, *you* cannot mooue me, fare *you* well.

As they fight, Scarborrow switches to negative affect *thou*:

Scarborrow: Would *thou* were not my Brother?

At this point Ilford, Wentloe and Bartley enter and begin to attack Scarborrow:

Here the Brothers ioyne, driue the rest out, and returne.

The brothers switch to an exchange of *you* but Scarborrow's reaction to having his life saved is not effusive: it seems to connote 'not impoliteness' rather than strong emotion:

Scarborrow: Brother I thanke *you*, for *you* now haue bin
A patron of my life
... If penitence *your* losses might repayre,
You should be rich in wealth, and I in care

⁷³ A curious structure: I have been unable to trace *frappet* but the various components of the phrase in a blend of jocular endearment and reproach nicely reflect Ilford's uncertainty over his wife's financial state: OED: *my* used vocatively, prefixed affectionately to terms of relationship or endearment; *little*: used to convey an implication of endearment or deprecation, or of tender feelings on the part of the speaker. *you*: as vocative, chiefly in apposition with a noun following; in reproach or contempt often repeated after the noun; though in this case *my ... you*.

and Thomas maintains his distance from his brother, addressing him as *Sir* in collocation with *you*:

Thomas: I do beleeeue *you* Sir, but I must tell *you*,
Euils the which are gainst an other done,
Repentance makes no satisfaction
To him that feeles the smart.

Scarborough's attempt at conciliation:

Scarborough: I prethee let vs be at peace together

is met with rejection and a switch back to a distancing *thou* of negative affect:

Thomas: At peace for what? For spending my inheritance,
By yonder sun that euery soule has life by,
As sure as *thou* hast life Ile fight with *thee*.

Scarborough's exchange with Katherine, his 'inforced' wife illustrates his perception of their relationship. Though she has borne him two children, he does not recognise their marriage, since he was previously betrothed to another. He greets her as a stranger with an address term implying high social status:

Scarborough: *You* are very welcome, peace: wele ha complement.
Who are *you* Gentlewoman.

but switches to *thou* in collocation with derogatory terms in denying their relationship:

Scarborough: *Thou* lvest? strumpet *thou* lvest?
... tell me woman,⁷⁴
Did ere my Loue with sighs intreat *thee* mine,

1611 [2CBARRE] Ram-Alley or Merrie Tricks

Unmarked Usage

Much of the plot in this text depends on disguise and subterfuge. William Smalshankes, an impoverished gentleman disowned by his father, conspires with his friend Thomas Boutcher and Frances, a whore, who purports to be heiress to the recently deceased Sir John Somerfield, to cheat Throte, who purports to be a lawyer. Constantia, the actual heiress to Sir John Somerfield disguises herself as a pageboy in order to enter the employ of Thomas Boutcher with whom she is in love.

⁷⁴ Not as pejorative term in itself at this time but marked usage here, as Katherine has been downgraded from 'gentlewoman'. See discussion in trials, chapter 4.

For most characters the unmarked usage is to exchange *you*. Boutcher first greets the pageboy (Constantia) as *thou* but does not sustain this usage, frequently addressing him simply as *boy*. This may connote the pageboy's youth rather than his status. The only other unmarked uses of *thou* are: from the widow, Tafata, to her Maid connoting their relative social status and from Sir Oliver Smalshankes to his son, Thomas. Sir Oliver addresses his son younger William as *you* when they meet and switches to *thou* connoting negative affect:

Sir Oliver: *Thou* varlet knaue,
... Ile giue her some-what, though I loue not *thee*.

This implies that Sir Oliver's address to his older son, Thomas, indicates positive affect rather than any distinction due to age:

Sir Oliver: I tell *thee* boy, I am right harty glad,
to heare *thy* brother Hath got so great an heire.

Captain Puffe, whose name denotes his comic status, addresses both Sir Oliver and Justice Tutchin as *thou*. His bravado provokes laughter from Sir Oliver:

Captain Puffe: Sir Oliuer Smal-shankes,
Know my name is Puffe, knight, *thee* haue I sought,
To fright *thee* from *thy* wits.

and derision from Justice Tutchin:

Justice Tutchin: Nay good Sir Puffe,
Wee haue too many mad men already

Captain Puffe: How? I tell *thee* Iustice Tutchine, not all
Thy Baylifes, Sergants, busie Constables,
Defesants, warrants, or *thy* Mitimusses,
Shall saue his throte from cutting, if he presume,
To woe the widdow eclipsed Taffata,

Their reactions after his exit, however, reveal that they perceived his usage as abusive:

Justice Tutchin: I wonder how my spirit did forbear,
To strike him on the face: had this beene spoke,
Within my Liberties, had dyed for it

Sir Oliver: I was about to draw.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

William Smalshankes laments the loss of social esteem that accompanied his loss of wealth and claims that only his whore would remain faithful.

William Smalshankes: noble Letchery
Sticks by a man, when all his friends forsake him.

Boutcher's switch from unmarked *you* to *thou* could be interpreted as a disparaging response,

Boutcher: The Poxe it will, art *thou* so sencelesse growne,
So much indeared to *thy* bestiall lust,

but Boutcher's reference to William's *worth* and his spirit *free and noble* implies that the switch to *thou* here connotes positive affect:

That *thy* originall worth should lye extinct
And buried in *thy* shame? farre be such thoughts
From spirits free and noble.

His subsequent agreement to lend Smalshankes forty shillings elicits an emotive expression of thanks in the present tense in which Smalshankes addresses him as *thee* and then switches back to *you* in reference to Boutcher's future persona.

William Smalshankes: VWill *you* lend me forty shillings.
Boutcher: I will.
William Smalshankes: VWhy God-amercy, there's some goodnesse in *thee*,
*You*le not repent. With that money I will ...

This same effect is achieved in William's exchange with Frances. His unmarked usage to her is *you*:

William Smaleshanke: now *you* pernicious Coccatrice,
You see how I must skelder for *your* good,

In the following utterance he addresses her as *thee* then switches back to *you*. *Thee* refers to her current persona. The pragmatic marker **and** introducing a series of imperatives refers to her future persona. The switch back to *thou* in the final two lines collocates with the pragmatic marker **but** and the conditional mood of the verb: *do but thou*. William's changing usage collocates with his changing stance in relation to his interlocutor and topic. The phrase that does not fit this pattern is *filch*

for thee and me in which an imperative collocates with *thee*. A possible explanation is that phonetics overrules pragmatics here: the rhyme *thee and me* precedes the concluding rhyming couplet that signals the characters' imminent exit.

William Smalshankes: Tut, I know *thee* a good rascall,
lets in, **And** on with all *your* neate and finest ragges.
On with *your* cloake and saue-guard, *you* arrant drab,
You must cheate without all conscience, filtch for *thee* & me.
Do **but** *thou* act what I shall well contriue,
Weele teach my Lawyer a new way to thriue.

Subsequently William commends Frances for their success in getting a gold chain from Sir Oliver. The pejorative epithets seem somewhat mitigated in collocation with *you: thou whore* being possibly more opprobrious than *you whore*, so that *thou* would function as an affect intensive.

William Smaleshanke: Why this came cleanly off,
Giue me the chaine, *you* little Cockatrice,⁷⁵
Why this was luck, foote foure hundred crownes,
Got at a clap, hold still *your* owne *you* whore,
And we shall thriue,

William Smaleshanke: Did I not bring *you* off, *you* arrant⁷⁶ drab,⁷⁷
Without a counterbuffe?

In her public persona as his betrothed William addresses Frances as *thou*.

William Smaleshanke: Come now to Ram-alley. There shalt *thou* lye,
Till I prouide a Priest,

... *Art* not weary.
... *Th'art* not merry loue,

This contrasts with his unmarked usage to her in the persona of his whore.

In the exchange between Constantia (as the pageboy) and Adriana, Mistress Tafata's maid, their address terms switch according to their perception of their interlocutor. Adriana initially uses the *thou* form of the verb to the pageboy. Since the pageboy is in fact a woman in disguise, she/he will not have the appearance of a mature male.

⁷⁵ OED a term of reproach for a woman: prostitute, whore.

⁷⁶ OED after 1575 widely used as an opprobrious intensive through the whole vocabulary of abuse.

⁷⁷ OED a harlot, prostitute, strumpet.

Adriana is apparently addressing a young boy, so her address connotes age difference:

Constantia: Now will I fall a boord the waiting maide,
Adriana: Fall a boord of me *doost* take me for a ship?

Her switch to *you* collocating with an exclamation of contempt is sarcastic, implying that the pageboy is not mature enough to pose any sexual threat to her:

Constantia: I, and will shoote *you* betwixt wind and water.

Adriana: **Blurt**⁷⁸ maister gunner, *your* linstocks too short.
Constantia is disconcerted but switches to *thou* and the discourse of wooing:

Constantia: Foote how did she know that, *dost* here sweet heart,
Should not the page be doing with the maid,
Whilst the maister is busie with the mistris,
Please *you*⁷⁹ prick forwards, *thou* art a wench
Likely to goe the way of all flesh shortly

Adriana acknowledges the banter with a switch to the familiar *thou*:

Adriana: Whose witty knaue art *thou*.
Constantia: At *your* seruice.⁸⁰
Adriana: At mine faith, I should breetch⁸¹ *thee*.
Constantia: How breetch me.
Adriana: I breech *thee*, I haue breech'd a taler man,
Then *you* in my time, come in and welcome.

Adriana's reversion to *you* seems to be an aside. The discourse of banter licenses *thou* but Adriana signals an end to the banter as she takes control of their exchange.

The exchange between Boutcher and Mistress Tafata is also based on a misunderstanding. They exchange *you*. As they enter, Boutcher has apparently told Mistress Tafata that he will not marry a widow. Mistress Tafata assumes that this is because he thinks to do so would be beneath him. Boutcher responds that she misinterprets his motive and expresses his admiration for her by switching to *thou* to reorientate the topic in a phrase introduced by the pragmatic marker **but** :

⁷⁸ OED an exclamation of contempt: 'pooh!' 'a fig for'.

⁷⁹ OED 'if it please you, if you like, if it is your will or pleasure: a courteous qualification to a request.' This seems to be a fixed expression. The collocation *please thee* is not attested.

⁸⁰ OED used *ellipt.* as a phrase of politeness.

⁸¹ OED flog.

Boutcher: *You* mistake my thoughts:
But know *thou* wonder of this continent,
 By one more skild in vnknowne fate, then was,
 The blind Achaian Prophet,
 It was foretold,
 A widdow should indanger both my life,
 My soule, my lands, and reputation.

Mistress Tafata dismisses the faith in fortune-tellers of a man of his social status whom she addresses as *you*, then concludes with a switch to *thou* in response to his tentative wooing:

Mistress Tafata: A triuiall Idle ieast,
 Tis for a man, of *your* repute and note,
 To credit fortune-tellers,
 ... **Then** giue *thy* loue free scope, imbrace and kisse,
 And to the distafe sisters leaue th'euent

Boutcher remains formal in his leave-taking and Mistress Tafata switches back in a curt dismissal, as he has not responded to her invitation to move their discourse to a less formal level:

Boutcher: I must intreate *you* licence my depart
 For some few houres.

Mistress Tafata: Choose what *you* will of time,
 There lyes *your* way

For Throte, the lawyer, his clerk, Dash, has two personae: that of his legal assistant whom he addresses as *you*:

Throte: Is that reioynder done.
 ... Haue *you* drawn't at length, haue *you* dasht it out,
 According to *your* name.

and that of his servant whom he addresses as *thou*:

Throte: Then trusse my points,
 And how thinkst *thou* of law?

Dash: It is the kingdomes eye, by which shee sees
 The acts and thoughts of men.

This develops into a connotation of disparagement when Throte disagrees with Dash's assessment:

Throte: The kingdome eye,
I tell *thee* foole, it is the kingdome nose,

As William Smalshanke colludes with Frances to defraud both his father and Throte,
he switches his address to *thou*:

William Smalshanke: Come wench of gold,
For *thou* shalt get me gold, besides odde ends
Of siluer: wee purchase house and land,
By *thy* bare gettings, wentch, by *thy* bare gettings
Lieutenant Beard: Exceeding well she carries it by loue,
And if she can forbear her Rampant trick,⁸²
And but hold close a while twill take by Mars.

Beard's status is uncertain. In the plot against his father, Sir Oliver, Smaleshanke introduces him as *my man*. In their plot against Throte he plays the part of servant to Frances. He probably has a similar social status to Frances. She exclaims indignantly at his abuse:

Frances: How now *you* slaue? my rampant tricks *you* rogue,

then switches to address him as *thou* with a switch of topic correlating with the pragmatic marker **nay**, which introduces a tirade of abuse against him:

Nay feare not me my onely feare is still,
Thy filthy face betrayes vs, for all men know,
Thy nose stands compasse like a bow,
VVhich is three quarters drawne, *thy* head
Which is with greasy haire ore-spred,
And being vncurl'd and black as cole,
Doth show some scullion in a hole
Begot *thee* on a Gipsie, or
Thy mother was some Colliers whore:

pausing for breath, she repeats her initial complaint:

My rampant tricks *you* rogue,

then switches back to her assessment of him. Delivered with stress on *My* and *thou't* these lines connote the contrast in her implication that it is not her behaviour that

⁸² I take this to be a reference to prostitution. Beard agrees with Smaleshanke that Frances looks the part of a young maid and suggests that their ruse in passing her off as a wealthy heiress and Smaleshanke's betrothed will work if she can refrain from prostitution for a while.

would expose their plot but his appearance. It is as if there were a pragmatic marker understood: **on the contrary**:

thou't be describe
Before our plot be ended.

Sir Oliver's address to his son William as *you* contrasts with the familiar *thou* form to his son Thomas:

Sir Oliver: *You* are well met, know *yee* me good sir,
... Y'haue stole sir Somerfields heire,

William Smaleshanke: who told *you* so did lye,

His switch to *thou* when William denies his accusation that he has stolen
Somerfield's heir connotes anger, as indicated by the address:

Sir Oliver: *Thou* varlet knaue,
T'hast stolne away Sir Iohn Somerfields heire,
But neuer looke for countenance from me,
Carry her whether *thou* wilt.

Sir Oliver switches back to the distancing *you* as he calms down, then in a further expression of negative affect tells William 'I love not thee' and resumes *you* to quiet William's suggestion that Sir Oliver should give Frances his gold chain. Though he addresses William as *knave*, in collocation with Sir Oliver's unmarked usage to William this does not connote the emotive force of the previous usage.

Sir Oliver: **Well**, where's *your* wife.
William Smaleshanke: Shees comming here behind,
Sir Oliver: Ile giue her some-what, though I loue not *thee*

Sir Oliver: Peace knaue, whats she *your* wife?

An example of a switch to *thou* connoting proposed collusion occurs in William Smaleshanke's request to Throte that he should mislead Sir Somerfield's heir (Frances) into believing that he is rich:

William Smaleshanke: now Maister Throte
It rests within *your* power to pleasure me,
Know that this same is sir Iohn Somerfields Heire,
Now if she chance to question what I am,
Say sonne vnto a Lord, I pray *thee* tell her

I haue a world of land, and stand in hope
 To bee created Barron
 ... Wilt *thou* do this?

A similar request for collusion is made by Boutcher to Tafata's maid Adriana, whom he has previously addressed as *you*

Boucher: Stand *thou* propitious, indeere me to my loue

Having announced that he is unable to marry Tafata, Boutcher changes his mind and switches from his previous formal *you* to woo Tafata and address her as *thou*:

Boucher: My fate compeld me but now farewell fond feare,
 My soule, my life, my lands, and reputation,
 Ile hazard all and prize them all beneath *thee*.

Tafata's response is an immediate switch to *thou* from her former usage to Boutcher but this is not accommodation to his wooing. It is an invitation to collusion.

Tafata: which I shall put to triall, lend me *thy* eare,

Having put her proposition to him, Tafata steps back metaphorically and linguistically to ask:

Tafata: Wil *you* performe so much.

Then switching to *thee* of positive affect she tells him:

Tafata: Make him subscribe it, and then I vow,
 By sacred Vestaes euer hallowed fire,
 To take *thee* to my bed

She subsequently explains to her Maid that Boutcher has agreed to rid her of Captain Face who persists in publicly proclaiming that Tafata is his lawful wife.

1614 [2CJONSO] Bartholemew Fayre

Unmarked Usage

There is a notable reduction in the social diversity of the use of *thou* in this text. The story concerns the encounters of characters from various levels of society in one day at Bartholemew Fair. Gentlemen, ladies, servants, traders and pickpockets generally

exchange unmarked *you*. Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a Puritan, addresses everyone as *you* and even the tapster, the character to whom the general usage *thou* survives longer than that for any other in the CED texts is addressed in this text as *you*.

Knockhum, a horse dealer, consistently addresses Ursula, a pig-woman, as *thou*. This seems to connote familiarity, as he also addresses her as *Urs* and, when she is injured, as *Ursa Major*, offering to look after her booth while:

Knockhum : *thou* shalt sit i' *thy* chaire,
and giue directions, and shine Vrsa maior.

Ursula addresses him and all of the other characters as *you*, even when this collocates with abuse to Moon-Calf, her tapster:

Ursula: Why, *you* thinne leane Polcat *you*,
... what did *you* know Vermine ... *you* Weasell?

and to Quarlous, the companion of Win-Wife, a gentleman:

Ursula: *you* Rascall, out *you* Rogue, *you* hedge
bird, *you* Pimpe, *you* pannier-mans bastard, *you*
... Doe *you* sneere, *you* dogs-head, *you* Trendle tayle!⁸³

There is some use of *thou* with negative affect. Captain Whit, a bawd, importuning Win-Wife:

Captain Whit: gi' me ty twelpence from *tee*,

is told:

Win-Wife: Why, there's twelpence, pray *thee* wilt *thou* be gone?

though Quarlous tells him:

Quarlous: Get *you* gone, Rascall.

Cokes' use of *thou* to Grace Welborn, his betrothed, seems to connote affection. Discovering his purse has been stolen, he tells her:

Cokes: I ha' gold left to gi' *thee* a fayring, yet, as hard as the world goes

⁸³ OED a dog with a curly tail; a low-bred dog, a cur. Applied contemptuously to a person.

When Coke has a second purse stolen by Edgworth, the cutpurse, working in collusion with Nightingale, the singer, who distracts their victim, they contrive to deflect suspicion with Edgworth's apparent disparagement of Nightingale's plea:

Nightingale: I hope *you* suspect not me, Sir.

Edgworth: *Thee?* that were a iest indeede!
Dost *thou* thinke the Gentleman is foolish?
where hadst *thou* hands, I pray *thee*?
Away Asse, away.

This is a fine example of dramatic irony.⁸⁴

Other characters who have *thou* as unmarked usage are Captain Whit, a bawd and Stage Irishman, and Justice Overdo who assumes the disguise of a preacher in order to uncover any wrong-doing at the fair. Since these are both comic characters, this suggests that *thou* was perceived as marked usage by this time.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Quarlous encourages his friend, Win-Wife, in pursuit of the widow, Dame Purecraft:

Quarlous: Now were a fine time for *thee*, Win-wife, to lay aboard *thy* widow,
thou'lt neuer be Master of a better season, or place;

Win-Wife expresses reluctance to act hastily. Quarlous replies that he would not hesitate and the pragmatic marker **but** introduces a distancing as he contrasts their approaches:

Quarlous: ... **But** *you* are a modest vndertaker, by circumstances, and degrees;

then the second pragmatic marker **come** introduces a rapprochement, as he offers advice,

come, 'tis Disease in *thee*, not ludgement, I should offer at all together.

Quarlous changes the address term according to his stance as he expresses advice, opinion then advice.

⁸⁴ Whereby the audience perceives the irony of the situation before the characters do.
(Wales 2001:225)

Cokes generally addresses Humphrey Wasp, his servant, with the diminutive Numpes, collocating with *thou*. He placates Numpes who makes a sarcastic remark over Cokes' concern that Numpes will lose some of the goods he has been set to guard:

Cokes: Good honest Numpes, keepe afore, I am so afraid *thou*'lt lose somewhat: my heart was at my mouth, when I mist *thee*.

Wasp: *You* were best buy a whip i' *your* hand to driue me.

Cokes: Nay, doe not mistake, Numps, *thou* art so apt to mistake: I would but watch the goods. Looke *you* now, the treble fiddle, was e'en⁸⁵ almost like to be lost.

His switch to *you* connotes a switch from a stative (*art*) to an imperative dynamic verb⁸⁶ (*looke*) and thus a change of stance.

Negotiating with Trash, the gingerbread woman and Leatherhead, the hobby horse seller, for provisions for his wedding, Cokes tells Trash:

Cokes: I'll buy vp his shop, and thy basket.

He is impressed to hear that Leatherhead 'makes all the Puppets i' the Fayre,' addressing him with an appreciative *thou* and taking his hand. He switches his previous usage to Trash, possibly indicating a reorientation away from Leatherhead:

Cokes: Do'st thou (in troth) old veluet larkin? giue mee thy hand.
 ... *Thy* shop shall furnish out the Masque, and hers the Banquet
 ... what's the price, at a word, o' *thy* whole shop?
 >Leatherhead
 ... **And** what comes *yours* too?
 >Trash

Quarlous has previously addressed Wasp as *you*. His switch to *thou* when assuring Wasp that he is believed is an expression of affinity.

Wasp: Is there a vexation like this, Gentlemen?
 will *you* beleue mee now, hereafter?
 shall I haue credit with *you*?

⁸⁵ OED 'just now'.

⁸⁶ I investigated the possibility of a relationship between stative and dynamic verbs and *thou/you* but did not find enough evidence to support this.

Quarulous: Yes faith, shalt *thou*, Numps, and *thou* art worthy on't,
for *thou* sweatest for't.

Cokes' unmarked usage to Humphrey Waspé, his man, is *thou*. A switch to *you* seems to connote the distancing of reproach in response to Waspé's warning that a public performance of ballad singing will lead to the audience's pockets being picked:

Waspé: Yet these will serue to picke the pictures out o' *your* pockets, *you* shall see
Cokes: **Good i' faith**, how say *you*, Numps? Is there any harme i' this?

Then Cokes becomes conciliatory:

Cokes: **yet**, o' *thy* conscience, Numps, speake, is there any harme i' this?

Waspé is concerned that Cokes' constant revealing and concealing of his purse is a provocation to potential pickpockets.

Cokes: Looke *you* Sister, heere, heere, where is't now?
which pocket is't in? for a wager?

Stop gambling with fate warns Waspé and let Nightingale finish singing his ballad:

Waspé: I beseech *you* leaue *your* wagers, and let him end his
matter, an't may be.

Cokes' switch back to *you* appears to be a sarcastic and distancing comment on Waspé's warning:

Cokes: **O**, are *you* aedified Numps?

On discovering his purse has gone Cokes' panic is calmed by the suspicion that Waspé may be safeguarding it:

Waspé: Come, doe not make a stirre, and cry *your* selfe an Asse,
thorow the Fayre afore *your* time.

Cokes: **Why**, hast *thou* it, Numpes?

A switch from unmarked *thou* to *you* connotes esteem in Coke's expression of relief:
good Numpes, how come *you* by it? I mar'le!

1602/1623 [2CSHAKE] Merry Wives of Windsor

Unmarked Usage

There are two social ranks in this text: the middling sort comprising gentlemen, gentlemen's wives and adult children, a country justice, a physician and a parson; and the lower orders of servants and the host of the inn. Unmarked usage for the higher social group is exchange of *you*. Most of the lower orders also use reciprocal *you*. An exception is Pistol, Bardolph and Nym, Falstaff's followers, who habitually address each other as *thou*. Most of the upper rank address the servants as *you*, the exception being Fenton, a young gentleman, who addresses Mistress Quickly, servant to Doctor Caius, as *thou*. This seems to be status-related, since it collocates with *good woman* in contrast to the term *gentlewoman* applied to Anne Page.

Fenton: How now good woman how dost *thou*?

Falstaff's page introduces Mistress Page to him in these terms:

Robin: Sir, here's a woman would speake with *you*.

and he greets her in a term appropriate to her status:

Falstaff: Good-morrow, good-wife
... ile vouchsafe *thee* the hearing.

Of the married pairs Mistress Page addresses her husband as *you*, whereas Mistress Ford's exchange with her husband seems first to connote positive affect and then negative as she responds to his rebuke:

Mistress Ford: How now sweet Frank why art *thou* melancholy?

Master Ford: I melancholy? I am not melancholy: Get *you* home: goe.

Mistress Ford: Faith, *thou* hast some crochets⁸⁷ in *thy* head,

The one speaker who defies social convention is the host of the inn who radiates bonhomie and addresses everyone as *thou* frequently in collocation with *bully*⁸⁸ or *bully-rooke*,⁸⁹ greeting Page thus:

⁸⁷ OED a whimsical fancy; a perverse conceit.

⁸⁸ OED a term of endearment and familiarity, implying friendly admiration: a good friend, fine fellow, 'gallant'.

⁸⁹ OED jolly comrade, boon companion.

Host: How now Bully-Rooke: *thou'*rt a Gentleman.

Sir John Falstaff addresses his followers as *thou*, not as an expression of superior social status, rather as a sign of camaraderie as they are partners in crime with Sir John sharing the proceeds of their thefts and protecting them when they are accused.

Falstaff: Goe, beare *thou* this Letter to Mistris Page;
and *thou* this to Mistris Ford: we will thriue Lads we
will thriue

Sir John's followers reciprocate this usage, which in their case seems to connote negative affect, as they complain to him:

Pistol: Didst not *thou* share? hadst *thou* not fifteene pence?

and about him:

Pistol: Let Vultures gripe *thy* guts:
... Base Phrygian Turke

Mistress Quickly, servant to Dr Caius, uses *pray thee* to John Rugby, her fellow servant, then in the same utterance addresses him as *you*.

Mistress Quickly: What, Iohn Rugby, I pray *thee* goe to the
Casement, and see if *you* can see my Master,
Master Docter Caius comming:

This raises the interesting question, which is beyond the scope of this investigation, of the correlation of *pray thee*, *pri'thee*, and *pray you* with *thou* and *you*. It may be that Mistress Quickly's unmarked usage is *you* both up and down the social scale, since she addresses an unknown servant as *you*:

Mistress Quickly: Peter Simple, *you* say *your* name is?
... And Master Slender's *your* Master?

and subsequently uses *pray you* to this servant:

Mistress Quickly: Peace, I pray *you*.

It may be that Peter Simple, unlike John Rugby, is unknown to her or that she does not distinguish between *pray thee* and *pray you*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Mistress Page and Mistress Ford exchange *you*. When Mistress Ford encounters an angry Mistress Page just after she has read a love-letter sent to her by Falstaff, she tells Mistress Page:

Mistress Ford: If I would but goe to hell, for an eternall moment, or so: I could be knighted.

To which Mistress Page replies:

Mistress Page: **What** *thou* liest? Sir Alice Ford?
these Knights will hacke,⁹⁰ and so *thou*
shouldst not alter the article of *thy* Gentry.

The OED does not offer a satisfactory explanation for the expression ‘these knights will hack’ but it certainly seems to be a pun: the *article* of Alice Ford’s *gentry* being *Mistress*, which should not be hacked off and replaced with *Sir*. Mistress Page is making a joke, which licenses the less formal *thou*. As a question, ‘thou liest’, is not an accusation but an expression of incredulity. Mistress Ford is still concerned and dismisses this levity:

Mistress Ford: Wee burne day-light: heere, read, read:

proffering the letter to Mistress Page in explanation:

Mistress Ford: Did *you* euer heare the like?

but Mistress Page consoles her using *thou* to express sympathy:

Mistress Page: to *thy* great comfort in this mystery of
ill opinions, heere's the twyn-brother of *thy* Letter.

When Pistol, having refused to deliver Falstaff’s letter, attempts to borrow money from him, Falstaff distances himself and switches from his unmarked use of *thou*, addressing his former *honest lad* with formal *you* and *Sir*:

Falstaff: I will not lend *thee* a penny.
... Not a penny: I haue beene content Sir, *you*
should lay my countenance to pawne: I haue grated

⁹⁰ OED The sense of *hack* in SHAKES. *Merry W.* II. i. 52, ‘These knights will hack’ is doubtful. The senses, To be common or vulgar; to turn prostitute; to have to do with prostitutes; and ‘to become vile and vulgar (Johnson and Nares), have been suggested; but the history and chronology of this verb, and of the n. whence it is derived, appear to make these impossible.

vpon my good friends for three Repreeues for *you*,
and *your* Coach-fellow Nim;

He switches back to *thou* marking a turn in the discourse to recount a specific instance:

... **And when** Mistresse Briget lost the handle of her Fan,
I took't vpon mine honour *thou* hadst it not.

To Pistol's protest that Falstaff also benefitted, he instructs him to think:

Falstaff: Reason, *you* roague, reason:

specifically:

thinkst *thou* Ile endanger my soule, gratis?

Then Falstaff reorientates the topic.

With reference to our relationship:

at a word, hang no more about mee,
I am no gibbet for *you*: goe, a short knife,
and a throng, to *your* Mannor of Pickt-hatch:
goe, *you*'ll not beare a Letter for mee *you* roague?
you stand vpon *your* honor:

this is how I must behave:

why, *thou* vnconfinable basenesse it is as much
as I can doe to keepe the termes of my hononor precise:

despite which, you will not deliver my letter:
and yet, *you* Rogue, will en-sconce *your* raggs; *your*
Cat-a-Mountaine-lookes, *your* red-lattice phrases, and *your*
bold-beating-oathes, vnder the shelter of *your* honor? *you*
will not doe it? *you*?

Thus his address terms switch according to the focus of his utterance.

When Falstaff hears the subject of Mistress Quickly's message, his address to her switches from the use of *thou* that he had considered appropriate to her status when she was introduced as *a woman* to the *you* appropriate to her status as a messenger from Mistress Ford:

Mistress Quickly: There is one Mistresse Ford,
Sir I pray come a little neerer this waies:

Falstaff: **Well**, on; Mistresse Ford, *you* say.

but he reverts to *thou* as he gains the impression that Mistress Quickly is prepared to collude with him in arranging secret meeting for him with Mistress Ford and Mistress Page:

Falstaff: Fare*thee*-well, commend mee to them both:
there's my purse, I am yet *thy* debter

There is a similar motivation for Falstaff's usage switch to the disguised Master Ford, whom he had addressed as *you* whilst Ford (purporting to be Master Broome) revealed his plan for Falstaff to seduce Mistress Ford and warned him to avoid Master Ford. Here is collusion again and Falstaff adopts a tone of solidarity:

Falstaff: Master Broome, *thou* shalt know, I will predominate
ouer the pezant, and *thou* shalt lye with his wife. Come
to me soone at night:

The extract from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* text in the Corpus is from Folio 1 published in 1623. Since there is also a Quarto 1 version, which dates from 1602, I compared *thou*-usage in the two versions. I was concerned with contemporary language use not with authorship. The 1602 version is about half the length of the text in the CED, so there were additional tokens of *thou* in the 1623 Folio text but usage was remarkably consistent in the duplicated utterances. I discovered one variation that could be attributed to number reference. The host, who throughout both texts addresses everyone as *thou*, tells Doctor Caius (CED 1623 Folio) with reference to Sir Hugh Evans:

Host: Let him die: sheath *thy* impatience: throw cold
water on *thy* Choller: goe about the fields with mee
through Frogmore, I will bring *thee* where Mistris Anne
Page is, at a Farm-house a Feasting: and *thou* shalt wooe her:

In the Quarto 1602 text this is:

Host: Let him die, but first sheth your impatience,
Throw cold water on your collor, com go with me
Through the fields to *Frogmore*, and Ile bring *thee*
Where mistris *An Page* is a feasting at a farm house,
And *thou* shalt wear hir cried game:

with 'thy impatience' and 'thy choller' as 'your impatience' and 'your collor'. It seems very likely that this refers to both Doctor Caius and Sir Hugh, since this is marked usage for the host.

The other slight difference is in Mistress Page's address to her husband. In the 1602 Q1 text this is:

Mistress Page: How now sweet hart, how dost thou?

and in the 1623 F1 text:

Mistress Page: Whether goe you George? harke you.

Mistress Ford addresses her husband as *thou* in both texts:

Mistress Ford: How now husband, how chaunce thou art so melancholy? (1602 Q1)

Mistress Ford: How now sweet Frank why art *thou* melancholy? (1623 F1)

In neither text does Master Ford greet his wife. In the 1602 Q1 text Master Page does not respond to his wife's greeting but he greets Master Ford and Mistress Ford.

In the 1623 F1 text Master Page first greets his wife:

Master Page: How now Meg?

and she responds:

Mistress Page: Whether goe you George? harke you.

There seems to be no change in the pragmatics of *thou* between the two texts.

1647 [3CTB] The Countrie Girle

Unmarked Usage

The five suitors of Lady Moseley, the young widow in this text, all address each other and her brother-in-law, Sir Robert Mallory, as *you* but are aware of their unequal social status. Master Rash, a mercer, tells one of his rivals, Sir Oliver:

Master Rash: Ile hope as much as I can, though *you* be a Knight;
and I but an honest Citizen. A Mercer, is a Merchant, and
will looke for good Ware, for his Money.

The sea captain, Captain Mullinex, tells Rash that his wealth does not buy him the necessary status to aspire to the hand of a lady. Despite this derogatory opinion, he addresses Rash as *you*:

Captain Mullinex: *you* have a great many Bags,
and a great many buildings to sir. -- But, dare
you for all that, presume in the way of Matrimonie,
to looke so high as a Lady?

This form continues as he becomes more disparaging and dismisses the suggestion that Rash could possibly be his rival for Lady Moseley's hand:

Rash: He that can purchase a Lordship --

Captain Mullinex: Thinks, he may purchase a Ladship:

-- *you* my Rivall? Can *you* fight sir?

The exception to this formal usage is Master Plush, a 'fine gentleman of fashion' and one of the suitors, described as being 'a notable humorous Coxcomb',⁹¹ i.e. a comic character and as such conventionally licensed to subvert unmarked usage. He addresses one of his rivals, Gregory Dwindle, who proclaims himself a gentleman but seems to be in somewhat straitened circumstances, his constant refrain being:

Gregory: an my Father wou'd but dye once!

The use of *thou* correlates with Plush's impoliteness and reinforces the status of both as comic characters:

Plush: My name is Plush; Master my Title, and Sir, a Title, that may be.

Gregory: And my name is Gregory --

Plush: Fop:⁹² *thy* sound is out o' season.

Plush is alone among the higher status characters in addressing Master William, Lady Moseley's servant, as *thou*, which may imply inappropriate (and therefore comic) usage. Master William's title indicates that he is not on the same social level as Barbara, the chambermaid, whom all the characters address as *thou*. There is an acute awareness of social status in this text. Captain Mullinex in response to Gregory's claim to be a gentleman asks for proof of his status:

Captain Mullinex: Will *your* Armes beare *you* out in the Title?

Master William is dismissive of the chambermaid's suspected pregnancy:

Master William: Come, *thou* mak'st such a Matter, of Nothing.

... Come, come, *thou* art, A Chamber-maid still;

-- And I prethee, whats this, but

a work that belongs to the Chamber?

⁹¹ OED a fool, simpleton (*obs*); now, a foolish, conceited, showy person, vain of his accomplishments, appearance, or dress; a fop; 'a superficial pretender to knowledge or accomplishments'. Plush fits this second definition.

⁹² OED a fool.

The implication being that, given her status, she should expect nothing else.

Lady Moseley's brother-in-law, Sir Robert, favours Sir Oliver Bellingham to marry her, addressing him as:

Sir Robert: my Noble Sir. My Sir, of a thousand per annum.

and saying of the others:

Sir Robert: their Worships are hardly worth it.

Sir Oliver: Yet in a just proportion, to their merit.

Sir Robert: Yes, that's just nothing: -- Hang e'm
Glowworms,⁹³ hang e'm.

The opinion of Master William, Lady Moseley's servant, is that Rash, Plush and Gregory

Master William: together, They make up, a delicate motion.⁹⁴

Lady Mallory also sees them as objects of derision and potential entertainment, telling Lady Moseley, her grieving sister:

Lady Mallory: Why, their mirth -- will be a means to cure *you*.

Lady Moseley's suitor, Sir Oliver Bellingham, addresses Plush with mock deference when Plush explains that having to wait at home for a new suit has made him late:

Sir Oliver: We heard of *your* Worships⁹⁵ new Suit,
and would not goe in before it.

Plush is unaware of the irony. The high social status characters make fun of the middling sort in formal expressions of politeness.

Sir Robert Mallory addresses his tenant's son, Abraham, as *thou* indicative of the latter's lowly social status, though this switches to *you* when inviting Abraham's collusion in delivering a ring to Margaret, Sir Robert's pretty tenant and Abraham's sister:

⁹³ OED in 17th c. often applied contemptuously to persons.

⁹⁴ OED a puppet-show.

⁹⁵ OED with *your* or *his*: a title of honour, used in addressing or speaking of a person of note [but here applied ironically].

Sir Robert: Remember me to her by this.

Abraham: I am in hast Sir Robert.

Sir Robert: Take *your* own time good Abram

Since *thou* to one of lowly social status is distancing, a switch to *you* is marked in indicating a deictic change not in comparative social status but in Sir Robert's estimation of Abraham's usefulness.

A further unmarked use of *thou* is that of Lady Moseley to the old gentlewoman,⁹⁶ who addresses Lady Moseley as *you* and appears to be free to advise her. Sir Robert instructs the old gentlewoman:

Sir Robert: Peace, an *you* love *your* old Carkasse, -- peace.

Such impoliteness suggests that she does not have the status of a lady but the address term *you* implies a higher social status than that of the chambermaid. The old gentlewoman uses *pray* and *you* to her Mistress:

Old Gentlewoman: Come, come, pray. -- *You* are so melancholly.

Master William is described by Sir Robert as Lady Moseley's *gentleman*, which implies that he may be of similar social status to the old gentlewoman. She uses *prethee* to him:

Goe, prethee bid e'm come,

as does the socially-superior Lady Mallory:

Prethee stay.

Master Plush, one of Lady Moseley's suitors, is identified as a *fine gentleman of fashion*. The old gentlewoman addresses him as *you* in correlation with *pray*:

But I must speake to *you* sir; for *you* see she
has other imployment, Pray, stand aside a little.

⁹⁶ OED a female attendant (orig. a gentlewoman by birth) upon a lady of rank.
The phrase *old gentlewoman* in humorous or derisive sense is attested in 1699 in the OED but does not seem to apply with that sense here.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Sir Oliver with his title and wealth is Sir Robert's favoured suitor for his widowed sister-in-law. Sir Robert's switch from *you* to *thou* denotes an invitation to collusion:

Sir Robert: *You* see Sir Oliver ...
as her Gentleman discreetly said,
A little time may change her: We must still
In such a kind humour a womans will.
But, she's *thine* own, be bold on't.

That is: this may be the current state of affairs **but** together we can change her mind.

The ladies persuade Barbara, the chambermaid, to disguise herself as Lady Moseley in order to fool the latter's suitors. Sir Robert is angry that Plush, Rash and Dwindle have apparently been allowed access to Lady Moseley, while Sir Oliver has not:

Sir Robert: -- An *ye* were as heavy as Lead, 'twas but a light
trick of *you* to deny Access to such a brave man as this is, and
allow't to such Mimicks as these are.

He switches his address term to the supposed Lady Moseley though in an apparent demonstration of sympathy with her continued mourning:

Sir Robert: Prethee look up a little; -- I can shew *thee*
A Glasse, shall shew *thee* better things;

eventually losing patience when 'Lady Moseley' appears unpersuaded and proposes to the titled, wealthy suitor that they collude in seeking a more willing conquest:

Sir Robert: **come**, I'll bring *thee*, though shee be mine owne
Madona's Sister, My Knight, of a thousand per annum,
to her betters: -- one that is younger, fairer, richer

On the discovery that Barbara, the chambermaid, has been masquerading as Lady Moseley, Sir Robert switches back to *you* in addressing Sir Oliver to discover his reaction. He is uncertain now of their relationship and withdraws slightly until he can discover whether Sir Oliver still intends to pursue Lady Moseley:

Sir Robert: My Lady Bab. -- How like *you* this Sir Oliver?

Throughout their long private conversation in which Sir Oliver Bellingham tries to persuade Lady Moseley to agree to marriage and declares the sincerity of his love,

they address each other as *you*. This contrasts with the comedy scene in which Barbara impersonates Lady Moseley. Barbara is apparently veiled. As she enters Rash exclaims:

Rash: Beautious Lady!

and Plush, not to be outdone:

Plush: Most beautious Lady!

Gregory is more pedantic:

Gregory: Most beautifull Lady, that may be:
for yet, I see no such matter.

Plush reacts to Gregory with *thou* and disdain and to 'Lady Moseley' with deference. Implied in the dialogue is his step forward with a hand outstretched to 'Lady Moseley's' veil and a rapid retreat, presumably in response to the 'Lady's' reaction.

Plush: *Thine* eyes are veyl'd with ignorance, or else,
Through this thin veile, *thou* might'st, as we, -- behold
Matter of admiration!
-- *You'll* vouchsafe; --
Not yet.

Babara: Alas: -- upon their Captive heart,
My sorrowes yet have set too strong a Guard
For such delights to enter.

Plush is not to be subdued for long, however, and switches to the conventional *thou* of wooing:

Plush: I could wish. That Conquerour of *thy* heart,
and all his Guard Were visible,
that I might challenge them.

A scene opens with Margaret, Old Thrashard's pretty daughter, telling her father, who is Sir Robert Mallory's tenant, of her fears concerning the attempts of an unidentified man to seduce her. Thrashard's address terms to his daughter change as the identity of this would-be seducer is revealed:

Thrashard: And doest *thou* feare, -- *thou* shalt hold out no longer?
... Do I know him?
... How Sir Robert!
... He ayme against *thy* chastity? Alas.

Thrashard switches from listing Sir Robert's bounty to his daughter:

Has he bestowed upon *thine* Infancie,
That care, and cost, that he has done? -- Maintain'd *thee*
Among his owne? -- Fed *thee* among his owne?

to contrast this with his daughter's ingratitude:

-- **And** for this,
Is this the best *you* can returne him?
-- **Nay**, perchance
The merriment, that *you* interpret lust,
Was his meere love to vertue.

Thrashard tries to persuade Margaret, his daughter, that she has misinterpreted Sir Robert's good intentions:

Thrashard: Tis my conceit, that all his talk, -- his
Letters, and all the gifts he sent *thee*, were employed,
Ith' way of triall: -- Not to make *thee* naught;
But so to sound *thy* goodnesse.

When her brother Abraham enters with news of Sir Robert's arrival and Margaret asks to leave, Thrashard loses his temper and distances himself from his daughter addressing her as *you*:

Thrashard: Come, y'are a Baggage; y'ar a foolish Baggage,
To injure with such frivolous suspitions,
A Gentleman of his repute, and goodnesse!
Come, let me heare no more on't.

There is no evidence of Margaret's utterance to her father that provoked the following reply but the structure of his reply introduced by the pragmatic marker **why** suggests that it constitutes a response and the switch of address term that it connotes positive affect in contrast with his previous usage.

Thrashard: **Why**, well said Girle, keepe but that resolution,
And let his purposes, be what they can,
They cannot hurt *thee*.

Thrashard concludes the topic with a return to an affectionate address to his daughter in which he expresses his concern that they must placate Sir Robert:

Thrashard: *Th'art* a pertish⁹⁷ thing;
 And -- I'm afraid, have beene distastfull to him:
 I'm halfe afraid on't Girle: -- we must be wise;
 By's frown we fall Wench; by his favours rise.

In the scene where Sir Robert attempts to seduce Margaret, she addresses him as *you* throughout and his address to her switches between *you* and *thou* as he attempts to persuade her. He begins by greeting Thrashard and Margaret:

Sir Robert: Good morrow Tennant; -- good morrow beautiful Tennant.

Thrashard and Abraham respond but Margaret does not.

Sir Robert acknowledges Abraham and prompts Margaret to respond, addressing her as *you*:

Sir Robert: My Tennant Abra'm! -- God-a-mercy good Tennant Abra'm.
 I want *your* welcome faire one.

Margaret: Sir, *you* are welcome.

This does not satisfy Sir Robert and he switches to the intimate *thou* in collocation with the hypocorism *Peggy*:

Sir Robert: Had this bin spoke, with smiles upon thy cheek,
 I durst have sworne the Syllables had beene
 The Language of *thy* heart; *thy* heart, sweet Peggy.
 What, still so adverse to my pleasure?

He dismisses Thrashard and Abraham and continues trying to cajole Margaret. His switch to a distancing *you* in the same utterance has the effect of a stage direction. *Thou* is the address term of persuasion here and, on receiving no response, it is as if Sir Robert turns away abruptly with a frown:

Sir Robert: Still, still this cloud upon *thy* brow sweet Peg?
You know my minde.

Margaret: And *you* know mine Sir Robert.

It seems as though Sir Robert cannot believe that he has been rejected and he switches back to a wooing register as he seeks to explain himself:

⁹⁷ OED of a person, esp. a young one, or one regarded as socially inferior: impertinent or saucy in speech or manners.

Sir Robert: I meane, I love *thee*, my sweet Peggy.

Margaret: Doe *you*? -- Not halfe so well as I love *you*.

but the feelings Margaret goes on to describe are those of respect rather than love which angers Sir Robert, who reminds her of their relative social status:

Sir Robert: This is not that I look for: heark *you* Margaret;

Your Father is my Tennant.

Since his previous use of *thou* and hypocorisms to address her has connoted emotional proximity and endearment, his subsequent switch to *you* has the negative affect of emotional distance. Sir Robert's prior use of *thou* to Margaret's brother, Abraham, and his subsequent switch to address him as *you* connoted a positive affect. *Thou* expressed the social distance between a landlord and his tenant's son and the switch to *you* in collocation with positive epithets a narrowing of the distance caused by Abraham's collusion in Sir Robert's wooing of Margaret:

Abraham: *You* know who I meane, Sir Robert.

(reference to Gillian, his scolding sister)

Sir Robert: *Thy* scolding sister.

... And how does Margaret, my pretty Tennant?

... Remember me to her by this. -- (A Ring.)

Abraham: I am in hast Sir Robert.

Sir Robert: Take *your* own time good Abram.

Sir Robert adopts a progressively more hostile tone to Margaret. Not only does he continue to address her as *you* he now collocates this with abusive epithets:

Sir Robert: Nay, since *you* vrge it, let me tell *you* Minion,⁹⁸

He's not my Tennant, neither; but my Beadsman.⁹⁹

The constant switches in his use of address terms seem to reflect the switches between his passion for her and his indignation at her rejection of him:

Sir Robert: Is't not forgetfulnesse

When all the love, -- the tender cares, and cost,

That from *thy* Infancie, to this Ripe groweth,

I have bestowed upon *you*, cannot gaine me

Such a request as this is!

⁹⁸ OED As a derogatory term (esp. as a form of address): slave, underling.

⁹⁹ OED the term by which men used to designate or subscribe themselves in addressing their patrons and superiors, answering to our modern 'humble servant'.

-- Come, prethee kis me. (Kis her.)
 Why, God a mercy Peg; -- agen, agen;
 ... Lock me, once more, in *thy* embrace, and busse¹⁰⁰ me,
 And then. --

Herrick's quotation cited in the OED definition of *busse* illustrates Sir Robert's concept of Margaret: 'we busse our wantons, but our wives we kisse.'

Their private dialogue concludes as Abraham enters. Sir Robert again collocates affectionate *thou* with the hypocorisms *Peg* and *Peggy* but his switch to *you* indicates that she is rejecting a gift. The pragmatic marker **Nay** connotes her physical withdrawal and his pursuit and his use of *you* a re-opening of the emotional distance between them:

Sir Robert: For this time Peg I'll leave *thee*. --
 What, leave *thee*, and leave nothing with *thee* Wench?
 Nay, that were foule play Peggy: there, -- **Nay**, take it.
 Indeed *you* shall

Subsequently he addresses her as *thou* and in terms of affection:

Sir Robert: Musick? -- Rot on their fiddle, and their fiddle strings,
Thou art my Musick.
 -- Do but remember me, as I shall *thee*;

1653 [3BROME] A Mad Couple Well Match'd

Unmarked Usage

The social mix of characters in this text is similar to that in the previous text but the use of address terms is more uniform with most characters exchanging *you* and only Saleware, a citizen, that is: a character of the middle rank, commonly addressing his wife as *thou*.

An adapted version of this play by Aphra Behn, *The Debauchee or The Credulous Cuckold* was published in 1677. The characters and the plot are the same. In this later version Saleware's unmarked usage to his wife is *you*. An incident only

¹⁰⁰ OED to kiss: **1648** HERRICK *Hesper*. (1823) l. 266 Kissing and bussing differ both in this, We busse our wantons, but our wives we kisse.

referred to in the 1653 text is depicted in more detail in the 1677 text. In this Carlesse, Sir Thrivewell's heir, enters 'drunk, all loose, and without his perriwig' and rouses Old Sim, his uncle's butler. Carelesse uses unmarked *thou* to Sim and to Bess, the kitchen maid.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Mistress Alicia Saleware is serving Bellamy, Lord Lovely's steward, when her husband enters. He greets her with the singular form of the verb, then switches to the more formal *you*. This remark, although addressed to his wife, is also directed implicitly to Bellamy. Mistress Saleware is not given any new information and the use of *you* indicates that this remark is for public hearing.

Saleware: Ally how *dost*?

Mr. Bellamy how *ist*?

you must use Mr. Bellamy kindly my sweet Ally:
hee is our noblest Lords most speciall favorite,
and must finde all faire dealing here, as
well when I am abroad as at home sweet heart.

Bellamy: *You* heare not mee complaine sir, fare *you* well
(Exit)

After Bellamy's exit Saleware resumes what appears to be his unmarked address to his wife:

Saleware: What an Affinego's this! He might ha' thank'd
mee for my good words, though I meant him no good
will, I hope *thou* hast overreach'd¹⁰¹ him indeed.

This is followed by a long exchange in which Mistress Saleware complains of having to work in her husband's shop and to dress as a citizen's wife. She addresses her husband as *you*. He placates her, addressing her as *thou*. He agrees that she may dress 'as Courtly, or as Lady-like as thou pleasest,' to which his wife replies that she is friends with him again and they agree that *friend* will be their 'common compellation' She tells him of her business success and he accepts her rebuke, addressing her as *you* as a concession to their equal status:

¹⁰¹ OED to gain an advantage over, get the better of, outdo.

Alicia: Then friend, let *your* shop be *your* own care for the rest of this day, I have some business abroad.

Saleware: Whither sweet friend?

Alicia: Is that a friendly question?

Saleware: I am corrected friend, but will *you* not take a Man to wait upon *you*?

His closing comment on their exchange acknowledges the need to treat his wife as an equal:

Saleware: Sapientia mea mihi. A wily wife, with an imperious will,
Being crost, findes meanes to crosse her Husband still;
And Tradesmen that so match, must not with Gall
Temper their wives, but sweetly by wit-all.

The 1677 text retains Salesware's initial public and private address usage to his wife but omits the exchanges in which they negotiate the reciprocal use of the term *friend*. In the 1677 version this usage is given:

Tom Saleware: Nay, now I am sure she's pleas'd, she calls me Friend, she ever did so when she was in good humor

whereas the 1653 CED text implies a different motivation:

Saleware: friend it will sound daintily, especially when *thou* shalt appeare too gallant to be my Wife.

Carelesse, Sir Thrivewell's nephew and heir, addresses Closet, Lady Thrivewell's former nurse, as *you*, even when collating this with a derogatory term:¹⁰²

Carelesse: I had rather see *your* Gibship¹⁰³ hang'd up with Polcatts in a Warren, and *your* sweet Lady with *you*, though I confesse that were some pitty.

His subsequent switch to *thou*, is possibly conciliatory, as he attempts to persuade the nurse that his exclamation, 'Excellent,' referred to the broth she had brought him and not to the doubt she expressed that his aunt would ever bear his uncle a child.

¹⁰² Lowe (*Richard Brome Online*) has this utterance as an aside in the edited Modern text. I consider that the explanation offered here for the pronoun switch applies, whether or not the nurse was intended to hear the comment.

¹⁰³ OED gib = a term of reproach, esp. for an old woman.

The nurse asks:

Nurse: Is that *your* love to *your* Aunt?

Carelesse tries to cover his mistake and addresses her as *thou* as he tries to extricate himself from the difficulty he has created:

Carelesse: Cannot all *thy* art, and her cost finde helpe for
my Unkle, think'st *thou*, to get a child?
... Still *thou* mistak'st me Nurse
... And tell her if *thou* wilt, that I love her so well

This usage is reproduced in the 1677 version:

Carelesse: I had rather see you at the Devil, and your Charming Lady too;
—**But**, dost think there are no ways, Closett, to get my Aunt with Child?
... Canst not *thou* perswade her to her good?
... Nor do I care if *thou* tell'st my Aunt, how dearly I love her.

Carelesse's anger with his servant Wat for delivering his wrongly-addressed letter, so that Phoebe, his whore, and Mistress Crostill, the rich vintner's widow, receive each other's letters containing a marriage proposal and an insulting rejection respectively results in a beating for Wat. The switch in address terms here seems to reflect the negative affect of Carelesse's construction of Wat as a *malicious rogue* and the positive affect of his former perception of Wat when he behaved as 'so good a Master' towards him.

Carelesse: Thus sir – i'lle give *you* demonstration,
you malicious Rogue,
you that conspirst with her to betray me,
so good a Master I have beene to *thee*,
and so good a friend to her, i'lle recompence *you* both.

Carelesse seems to use *you* with negative affect in addressing Wat, asking him:

Carelesse: **But** what *you* Traitor *you*?

This continues as he continues to castigate and beat Wat:

Carelesse: I owe *you* somewhat for *your* last-nights absence,
too pernicious Villaine that kepst *thy* selfe out o' the
way o' purpose that I should bee drunke, and abuse
my self, and the house here all lay o' *your* absence, There's
somewhat more for that. (Beats him.)

This episode is much briefer in the 1677 text and has Carelesse addressing Wat as *you*.

A comparison of the scene relating to the reading of the letter intended for Phoebe, the whore, but delivered in error to Mistress Crostill, the rich widow shows that Tom Saleware addresses his cousin Phoebe as *thou* in the 1653 CED text which becomes *you* in the 1677 version.

Tom Saleware (1653): weepe not, but hold up *thy* head Cuz,
wee will not be dasht, nor basht relative in a good cause;

Tom Saleware (1677): hold up *your* head, Phebe,
we'll not be dasht in a good Cause.

The style of the letters is much more opprobrious in the 1677 version in which *thou* collocates with terms of abuse. Tom Saveall, Sir Valentine's steward, reads aloud the letter:

1653

In the first place *you* shall give mee leave to wonder
at *your* impudence (though it be but in *your* dreames)
to have a thought that I ever intended, or can
be drawne by perswasion, force, or the power of
witchcraft to marry *you* –
Secondly, I am to tell *you*, that I am warme in mine
Unkles favour.

1677

Thou damnable impudent Woman, —hah,
— how darest *thou*, tho but in *thy* Dreams,
imagin I am, or can be so great a Coxcomb as to
marry *thee*; a sin which *thou* art Damn'd for but believing.—
Dost *thou* not hear I am again establish't in my
Uncles favor

The earlier (CED) text is written in legalese, whereas the later text has a conversational style (for example the exclamation *hah*):

1653 *you* shall give mee leave to wonder at *your* impudence

1677 *Thou* damnable impudent Woman, - hah,

1653 to have a thought that I ever intended

1677 how darest *thou* ... imagin I am

1653 or can be drawne by perswasion, force, or the power of witchcraft

1677 or can be so great a Coxcomb as to

1653 I am to tell *you*
 1677 Dost *thou* not hear

The earlier text is consistent in the use of *you*. The later text, which is structured more as a dialogue, answers the proposition that the writer is 'or can be so great a Coxcomb as to marry thee' with the pragmatic marker **No** that reorientates the topic and turns from abuse to advise the recipient how to proceed.

1653
 Thirdly, and lastly, let mee advise *you*, since
you are so hot upon Marriage, though I assure my
 selfe *you* love none but mee, (and I thanke *you* for't)
 that *you* fraine or dissemble an affection to some one of
 the City, who is but comparative to your selfe in blood
 and fortune, and so *you* may make by-use of me as *your*
 friend, and have children like me,
 George Carelesse.

1677
No, therefore let me advise *you*, since *you* are so mad for a Husband,
 (tho I believe *you* love me, and only me,) marry a Blockhead,
 either in the City, or Country, that thinks there's Joys in Marriage,
 and I may chance to be so kind to be *your* Friend,
 by the by; and so *you* may have Children, like
Yours, (that way,) G. Careless

Lady Thrivewell is flustered at her nephew's suggestion that she should bear him a child to provide his uncle with an heir, asking,

Lady Thrivewell: Is the man sound tree?
 ... Sound i' *your* senses sir, I meane.
 But is all this in earnest?

She finds his proposal difficult to believe and addresses him with distancing *thou* more in incredulity than opprobrium having previously addressed him as *you* when chastising him for his drunken assault on a chambermaid. Her fluctuating usage indicates her emotional turmoil:

Lady Thrivewell: Fie, fie, *you* doe but say so?
 ... **Nay** preythee George set me down a little.
 ... But prathee tell mee, dost *thou* not all this onely to trie me,
or am I a Rogue thinke *you*, **or** wouldst *thou* seriously
 that *thine* own naturall Unkle, *thy* bountifull
 Patron, nay *thy* father on the matter, should suffer such
 a wrong, and done by us?
 ... Was ever such a Reprobate?

She reverts to *you* with a calm denial of Careless' claim that her husband *Cuckqueanes* her.

... *You* speake not on *your* knowledge.

1669 [3CDRYDE] The Wild Gallant

Unmarked Usage

This is yet another text with titled characters, their followers or hangers-on, tradesmen and domestic servants. Master Loveby, the wild gallant, employs *thou* in addressing both Mistress Bibber, his landlady, and her husband to whom he owes rent. This may be an indicator of their social inferiority but Loveby's own social status is indeterminate. He is loved by Lady Constance, daughter to Lord Nonsuch, who secretly supplies him with gold to finance his wooing of her. He has lost the fortune he once had but 'keeps company with his betters; and commonly has Gold in's pockets.' His address to Bibber and his wife may reflect his attempt to ingratiate himself with them in an assumption of intimacy. He addresses Bibber as *Will* and Mistress Bibber as *sweet Landlady* but reveals his true opinion in an aside:

Loveby: (aside) -- Well Monsieur Bibber, from henceforward I'll keep my wit for more refin'd spirits; *you* shall be payd with dirt.

The unmarked usages of *thou* that do seem to connote comparative social status are those of Lady Constance, Lord Nonsuch's daughter, to her cousin, Madam¹⁰⁴ Isabella, who addresses Lady Constance as *you*. Lady Constance also addresses Setstone, the jeweller, as *thou*. She addresses the impoverished Loveby as *you* in collocation with the term *servant*.¹⁰⁵ This apparently rather curt usage refers to his status as her suitor, so *you* is unmarked in this context.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

The opening dialogue is between Failer and Burr who are identified as hangers-on of Sir Timirous, a bashful knight. They are joined by Bibber, the tailor. Their use of

¹⁰⁴ OED 1749 H. Fielding *Tom Jones* III. VIII. ii. 157 [An unmarried young lady is referred to by servants and inferiors as 'Madam Sophia'.]

¹⁰⁵ OED A professed lover; one who is devoted to the service of a lady.

address terms switches throughout their exchanges. Initially Failer is disparaging about Burr's appearance:

Failer: *thy* Doublet and Breeches are Guelphs and Ghibellins to one another; and the stiches of *thy* Doublet are so far asunder, that it seems to hang together by the Teeth.

Burr appears to accept this as banter:

Burr: *You* are very merry with my Wardrobe.

When a boy announces the arrival of the tailor, Failer continues in this bantering register but an aside addressed only to Burr adopts a more serious tone in which he switches to *you*. The switch in topic is indicated by the pragmatic marker **well, but**

Failer: – **Well, but** what think *you* of being put into a Suit of Cloaths, without Money? (aside)

Failer: Do *you* not know Will. Bibbers humor?

Burr: Prethee, What have I to do with his humor?

In his explanation Failer switches back to the more intimate address as he reveals the secret to Burr. The pragmatic marker **but** functions as the modern use *just, simply*:

Failer: Break **but** a Jest,¹⁰⁶ and he'll beg to trust *thee* for a Suit;

In his reaction to this suggestion Burr's switch from his previous address term to Failer indicates a change of stance, as his perception of Failer changes from *dear Heart* to *unreasonable Rogue*:

Failer: Art *thou* not ashamed to lie a Bed so long?

Burr: I may be more ashamed to rise; and so *you*'l say, dear Heart, if *you* look upon my Cloaths;

Burr interprets Failer's suggestion as a joke. The emphatic predeterminer **what** functions as a pragmatic marker of this change:

Burr: Wit from a Low-Countrey-Soldier? One that has convers'd with none but dull Dutchmen these ten yeares!
What an unreasonable Rogue art *thou*? why, I tell *thee*, 'tis as difficult to me, as to pay him ready Money.

¹⁰⁶ Simply make a joke.

Failer's response is a change from humour and intimacy to a didactic tone as he repeats his instruction to Burr to make a jest and encourages him:

Failer: **Come**, *you* shall be rul'd for *your* own good, Lie down;
I'll throw the Cloaths over *you* to help Meditation; and, upon the
first opportunity, start *you* up, and surprise him with a Jeast.

Later when Failer and Burr fight over the Lady Constance, Burr's use of the epithet *Judas* in collocation with *you* and a kick is more deprecatory than his former bantering usage *unreasonable Rogue*, which collocated with *thou*:

Burr: go *you* Judas ! I'll teach *you* what 'tis to play fast and
loose with a Man of War (Kicks him)

Bibber, the tailor, addresses Failer formally but there is an element of banter in his message, which Failer reciprocates in less formal terms, using Bibber's first name:

Bibber: Morrow Mr. Failer: What, I warrant *you* think
I come a Dunning now?

Failer: No, I vow to Gad, Will, I have a better opinion
of *thy* Wit, than to think, *thou* would'st come to so little purpose.

He continues in a similar tone when Bibber declines his offer of ale:

Bibber: I had too much of that last night;
I was a little disguis'd,¹⁰⁷ as they say.

Failer pretends to misinterpret this and their comparative status seems to licence his derogatory reply, moving from the friendly *thou Will* to the less friendly *thou Bibber*. Bibber does not react, nor does he reciprocate. This implies Bibber's acknowledgement of his lower social status:

Failer: Why disguis'd? Hadst *thou* put on a clean Band,
or but change of address wash'd *thy* Face lately?
those are *thy* Disguises, Bibber.

After the banter, Failer begins to discuss business explaining that Burr wants the tailor to make him a suit of clothes on credit. This change of topic involves a switch of usage and a switch of persona to *you*, the tailor, from *thou*, the butt of the banter:

¹⁰⁷ OED intoxicated; drunk, tipsy.

Failer: This Porter brings sad Newes to *you* Will,
you must trust him for a suit of Cloathes, as bad as 'tis:

Failer reverts to banter as the conversation closes, resuming the informal address and implying that Bibber is anxious for his morning tippie:

Failer: **come** Bibber; I see *thou* longest to be at *thy* mornings watering.

This usage is repeated when Bibber appears with a bottle in his hand, indicating that business is conducted in a formal register, whereas Failer collocates informal, proximal usage with banter:

Bibber: By this hand, I have a light upon the best wine in *your*
 Cousins Cellar, drink but one glass to me, to shew I am welcome, and
 I am gone.

Failer: Here then, honest Will. 'tis a cup of forbearance to *thee*.
 ... Why, I drank that to *thee* Will. that *thou* shouldst forbear *thy* money.

The relationship that Master Loveby, the wild gallant, has with Bibber, the tailor, is similar to Failer's. Both address him with apparently good-humoured banter but his lowly social status does not permit him to return this. Indeed, Bibber seems to be a complaisant cuckold, or wittol, since in response to his wife's complaint that Loveby had used her, he remarks:

Bibber: Has he us'd *you* Frances; put so much more into his Bill for Lodging.

Loveby's reaction is to patronise Bibber with the hypocoristic *little*:

Loveby: Honest Will, and so he dy'd; I thank *thee* little Bibber,
 being sober, and when I am drunk, I will kiss *thee* for't.

Their argument over the rent Loveby owes to Bibber becomes heated and Loveby switches to the distancing form *you* and to the further distancing formal title and occupation with no reference to Bibber's name:

Loveby: Mr. Taylour, I shall turn the better Bill-man, and knock that
 little Coxcomb of *yours*, if *you* do not answer me what I owe *you*.

When first encountering Lady Constance and Madame Isabelle, Justice Trice addresses each of them as *you*:

Justice Trice : O *you* Rogue are *you* there? *you* are welcome huswife,¹⁰⁸
and so are *you* Constance, (^fa tol de re tol de re la^).
(Claps their backs)

He continues to use *you* but, although he addresses Lady Constance, it is not apparent if he refers to her alone or if he includes Madame Isabelle in his invitation. I have, therefore, ignored switches that could be explained linguistically as reference to number,¹⁰⁹ such as:

Justice Trice: Huswife Constance, I'll have *you* into my Larder,
and shew *you* my provision:

As the interlocutors are being ushered in to dinner, it is conceivable that Trice takes Constance by the arm and speaks to her alone.

... I have a delicate dish of Ruffs¹¹⁰ to dinner Sirrah.
... To dinner! why by supper they had been past
their prime, I'll tell *thee* a story of u'm: I have a friend. --

Then, having been interrupted, he resumes the narration of his story to the general company.

... Well, well; I have a friend as I told *you*

In a later dialogue Trice and Constance exchange bantering abuse whilst addressing each other as *you*:

Justice Trice: Come *you* little Harlotry;¹¹¹ What satisfaction can *you*
give me for running away before the Ruffs came in?

Lady Constance: Why I left *you* to u'm, that ever invite *your* own
belly to the greatest part of all *your* feasts.

Justice Trice: I have brought *you* a Knight here Huswife, with a plentiful
Fortune to furnish out a Table; and, What would *you* more?
Would *you* be an angel in Heaven?

Then he switches topic and address, as if to say 'enough of this abuse/banter', what is your answer to my serious question, 'will you marry Sir Timirous':

¹⁰⁸ OED a light, worthless, or pert woman or girl.

¹⁰⁹ Similarly usage where *you* = *one*.

¹¹⁰ OED the male of a bird of the sandpiper family.

¹¹¹ OED a harlot; a term of opprobrium for a woman.

... **but**, What say'st *thou* to Sir Timirous, little Constance?

That the exchange is banter and not abuse is indicated by his switch of epithets from *Harlotry* and *Huswife* to the affectionate *little Constance*. That Constance has regarded this as banter is indicated by her laughter:

Lady Constance: Would *you* have me married to that King Midas Face?
... Come on Sir; What's *your* will with me? (Laughs)

1675 [3CWYCHE] The Country Wife

Unmarked Usage

The characters in this text are all of a similar social status. There is a group of friends, Master Harcourt and Master Dorilant, London gallants, and their friend Master Horner who has just returned from Paris and has devised a scheme to enable him to cuckold the husbands of respectable married ladies. He spreads a rumour that he is impotent in the hope that husbands will permit him to socialise freely with their wives. Unmarked address within this group is *you*. The exception is Master Sparkish, an outsider, who frequently addresses the members of the group as *thou* and sees himself as a wit and as part of the group:

Sparkish: ... a wit to me is the greatest title in the World

Sparkish is a figure of fun whose use of *thou* to the three friends seems inappropriate and over-familiar, as their disparaging assessment of him indicates:

Harcourt: What, my dear Friend! a Rogue that is fond of me, only I think for abusing him

Dorilant: No, he can no more think the Men laugh at him, than that Women jilt him, his opinion of himself is so good.

Horner: 'tis a very hard thing to be rid of him, for he's one of those nauseous offerers at wit, who like the worst Fidlers run themselves into all Companies.

The newly-married Mistress Pinchwife greets her husband as *thou* as does Sir Jasper Fidget his wife but in general *thou* is marked usage in this text.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

In Act I prior to the CED extract the newly-married Master Pinchwife tries to hide the fact of his marriage from the friends, convinced that they will try to seduce his wife. Horner greets him with good-humoured banter:

Horner: Well, Jack, by *thy* long absence from the Town, the grumness¹¹² of *thy* countenance, and the slovenlyness of *thy* habit; I shou'd give *thee* joy, shoud' I not, of Marriage?
... the next thing that is to be heard, is *thou*'rt a Cuckold.

Pinchwife dissembles and tries to leave:

Horner: Nay, prethee stay.
Pinchwife: I cannot, I will not.

At which Horner switches from banter with the directive **come** functioning as a pragmatic marker.

Horner: **Come** you shall dine with us.

When Pinchwife offers an excuse, Horner switches back in a gesture of rapprochement. It is as though he acknowledges that they have gone too far with their raillery.

Pinchwife: I have din'd already.

Horner: **Come**, I know *thou* hast not; I'll treat *thee* dear Rogue, *thou* sha't spend none of *thy* Hampshire Money today.

Then there is a further switch functioning almost as a stage direction indicating Horner's movement towards Pinchwife and a restraining hand as he tries to prevent his leaving.

Horner: ... **Nay**, you shall not go.

The young Mistress Pinchwife, newly-married to a jealous husband, greets him affectionately but thereafter switches to *you* when it appears that he is angry with her:

Mistrss Pinchwife: Oh my dear, dear Bud,¹¹³ welcome home; why dost *thou* look so fropish,¹¹⁴ who has nanger'd *thee*?

¹¹² OED gloominess

¹¹³ OED a term of endearment.

¹¹⁴ OED froward, fretful, peevish.

Pinchwife's unmarked address to his young wife is *you*. He guards her jealously from the attentions of the 'men of scandalous reputations', telling her, when she has expressed a desire to 'go a walking':

Mr. Pinchwife: *Your* a Fool. (Mrs. Pinch goes aside, & cries)

and berating his sister for supporting her:

Mr. Pinchwife: What *you* wou'd have her as impudent as *your* self,
as errant a Jilflirt,¹¹⁵ a gadder,¹¹⁶ a Magpy,¹¹⁷
and to say all a meer notorious Town-Woman?¹¹⁸

This invective in collocation with *you* implies that *thou* is no longer a necessary feature to connote disparagement.

Pinchwife fluctuates between chastising and cajoling his seemingly naive wife as she admits to liking the 'player men'.

Master Pinchwife: Nay, if she be so innocent as to own to me her
liking them, there is no hurt in't -- (Aside)

Come my poor Rogue, but *thou* lik'st none better then me?

She is a *poor Rogue* because of her apparent innocence and Pinchwife's use of *thou* seems condescending whilst offering rapprochement but Mistress Pinchwife seems oblivious to possible danger:

Mistress Pinchwife: Yes indeed, but I do, the Player Men are finer Folks.

Her husband reorientates the topic and switches to a more serious question with more formal address:

Master Pinchwife: **But** *you* love none better then me?

The guileless Mistress Pinchwife evades the question:

Mistress: *You* are mine own Dear Bud, and I know *you*,
I hate a Stranger.

He directs her:

¹¹⁵ OED a young woman or girl of a wanton or giddy character.

¹¹⁶ OED one who gads [to rove idly].

¹¹⁷ OED an idle or impertinent chatterer.

¹¹⁸ OED a prostitute.

Mr. Pinchwife: Ay, my Dear, *you* must love me only, and not be like the naughty Town Women, who only hate their Husbands,

then ultimately switches to cajoling her with the pragmatic marker **come** inviting her to change her stance as his stance changes with his proximal address *thou* ...

Dearest:

Mr. Pinchwife: **Come**, be not melancholly, for *thou* sha't go into the Country after to morrow, Dearest.

A further switch to *thou* similarly connotes affection and compassion over Mistress Pinchwife's naive dismissal of his fear of jealousy.

Mr Pinchwife: ... that which is worse than the Plague, Jealousy.

Mrs. Pinchwife: Pish, *you* jear, I'm sure there's no such disease in our Receipt-book at home.

Mr. Pinchwife: **No**, *thou* never met'st with it, poor Innocent -- well, if *thou* Cuckold me, 'twill be my own fault -- for Cuckolds and Bastards, are generally makers of their own fortune. (Aside)

Mistress Pinchwife is more concerned with entertainment:

Mrs. Pinchwife: Well, but pray Bud, let's go to a Play to night.

Pinchwife notes his wife's change of topic and he changes his stance from regarding his wife as an innocent ingenue whom he has unjustly maligned to seeing her as a devious plotter planning to cuckold him. He switches to *you* again and introduces a topic change with the pragmatic marker **but**:

Mr. Pinchwife: 'Tis just done, she comes from it; **but** why are *you* so eager to see a Play?

and their exchange concludes with his switch back to *thou* introduced by the directive **come** functioning as a pragmatic marker as he addresses her like a child with the promise of a reward for good behaviour:

Mr. Pinchwife: **Come** have a little patience, and *thou* shalt go into the Country on Friday

In their ensuing exchanges Mistress Pinchwife remains curious about plays and 'player men' and Master Pinchwife becomes progressively more angry, addressing her as *Mrs Minx*, telling her 'hold your peace', and 'you lye.' Finally, on the

entrance of Sparkish and Harcourt, he hurries to hide her from them and addresses her with the opprobrious term *baggage*:

Master Pinchwife: In baggage,¹¹⁹ in. (Thrusts her in: shuts the door)

At no point do they resume the use of *thou*, which for them had seemed to connote affection.

Horner responds with banter to Dorilant's claim:

Dorilant: But I wou'd no more Sup with Women, unless I cou'd lye with'em, than Sup with a rich Coxcomb, unless I cou'd cheat him

then switches and reorientates to comment on the circumstances of Dorilant's drinking with a fool:

Horner: Yes, I have known *thee* Sup with a Fool, for his drinking, **if** he cou'd set out *your* hand that way only, *you* were satisfy'd; and if he were a Wine-swallowing mouth 'twas enough

Horner has a similar switch in topic reorientation in a comment to Sparkish:

Horner: but hast *thou* a Mistriss, Sparkish? 'tis as hard for me to believe it, as that *thou* ever hadst a buble, **as** *you* brag'd just now.
Sparkish: O *your* Servant, Sir; are *you* at *your* raillery, Sir?

This uncertainty on the part of Sparkish reflects the greater social distance that exists between him and the rest of the group. He seems insensitive to the nuances of their banter. Just as Sparkish enters, Harcourt confesses to the others that he is in love with Sparkish's mistress, Alithea. He is concerned that Sparkish may have overheard. This is not the case but Sparkish seems amused by the thought that Harcourt has been paying court to his mistress. His arch comment is mitigated by laughter and the pragmatic marker **but** implies that he is about to dismiss the idea. When Harcourt expresses consternation, Sparkish hastens to reassure him by reorientating from apparent accusation to forgiveness and switching to the more companionable address term.

Sparkish: Oh, Harcourt, my Mistriss tells me, *you* have been making fierce love to her all the Play long, hah, ha --
but I --

¹¹⁹ OED a worthless good-for nothing woman; a woman of disreputable or immoral life, a strumpet.

Harcourt: I make love to her?

Sparkish: **Nay**, I forgive *thee*; for I think I know *thee*, and I know her, but I am sure I know my self.

Harcourt attempts to ingratiate himself with Sparkish in the hope that the latter can further his wooing of Sparkish's mistress. Having previously addressed Sparkish as *thou* in annoyance that Sparkish is more anxious to attend the king's supper than to reconcile him with Alithea:

Harcourt: *thou* art one of those Fools, that think their attendance at the King's Meals, as necessary as his Physicians,

Harcourt switches to more formal address:

Harcourt: **Come**, Sparkish, *your* Mistriss saw *you*, and will be angry *you* go not to her; besides I wou'd fain be reconcil'd to her, which none but *you* can do, dear Friend.

Sparkish reciprocates this usage switching to *thou* in the elaboration of the first sequence of his utterance introduced by the pragmatic marker **for**

Sparkish: Well that's a better reason, dear Friend; I wou'd not go near her now, for her's, or my own sake, but I can deny *you* nothing; **for** though I have known *thee* a great while, never go, if I do not love *thee*, as well as a new Acquaintance.

Harcourt responds formally and politely. Their repetition of *dear Friend* gives a tone of effusive formality and politeness. Harcourt employs the more intimate form of address to Sparkish in explaining that his desire to be reconciled with Alithea is a means to retain his friendship with Sparkish, and then switches back to *you* as he reorientates the topic back to Alithea:

Harcourt: I am oblig'd to *you* indeed, dear Friend,
I wou'd be well with her only, to be well with *thee* still;
for these tyes to Wives usually dissolve all tyes to Friends:
I wou'd be contented, she shou'd enjoy *you* a nights, but wou'd have *you* to me self a dayes, as I have had, dear Friend.

Sparkish resorts to hyperbole and use of *thou* to express his deep friendship:

Sparkish: And *thou* shalt enjoy me a dayes, dear, dear Friend, never stir;
and I'll be divorced from her, sooner than from *thee*; come along --

Sparkish introduces Harcourt to Alithea, his betrothed:

Sparkish: Here Harcourt, do *you* approve my choice?

Harcourt salutes Alithea but does not immediately reply to Sparkish, who repeats his question addressing Harcourt as *thou* as a sign of affinity thus imposing a greater obligation on Harcourt to respond:

Sparkish: Harcourt how dost *thou* like her, Faith?

Sparkish: Tell me, I say, Harcourt, how dost *thou* like her?
thou hast star'd upon her enough, to resolve me

When Alithea attributes Harcourt's eventual expression of admiration to raillery, Sparkish assures her that 'he does not railly now' and switches to address him as *you* after attributing to him the status of *the honestest, worthyest, true hearted Gentleman*:

Sparkish: **Nay, I gad**, I am sure *you* do admire her extreamly,
I see't in *your* eyes.

When Harcourt reveals to Alithea that he would prevent her marriage to Sparkish if he could, Sparkish interprets this as Harcourt's regret at the loss of a friend and in seeking to console him switches to expressions of solidarity in address, *dear Franck, thou dear Rogue*, and in categorisation, *we Men of wit*:

Sparkish: **Come** dear Franck, for all my Wife there that shall be,
thou shalt enjoy me sometimes dear Rogue:
by my honour, we Men of wit condole for our deceased
Brother in Marriage, as much as for one dead in earnest:

A further expression of solidarity is his concluding appeal for approbation:

Sparkish: I think that was prettily said of me, ha Harcourt?

In struggling to prevent Pinchwife interrupting Harcourt's private conversation with Alithea, Sparkish's switch of address term seems to function deictically to indicate an affective distancing accompanying a physical approach to Pinchwife to struggle with him:

Sparkish: **Nay**, *you* shall not disturb'em; I'll vex *thee*, by the World.
(Struggles with) Pinch. (to keep him from) Harc. (and) Alith.

Another exchange involves the titled characters Sir Jasper and Lady Fidget. Sir Jasper greets his wife as *thou* and *dear* when addressing her in the persona of his wife and speaking to her privately but switches publicly to the formal *your Ladyship* and *Madam* when chastising her for her use of abusive language to Horner. In stating her social status, he implies that such usage is inappropriate in a lady.

Sir Jasper: Ay, my dear, dear of honour, *thou* hast still so much honour in *thy* mouth --

Sir Jasper: Nay, prethee Dear, hear me. [Whispers to Lady Fid.]

Sir Jasper: Hold, an't please *your* Ladyship;
... Hark *you*, Madam, take my advice in *your* anger;
you know *you* often want one to make up *your* droling pack of hombre Players;

Sir Jasper's switch in address to Horner is possibly part of his declared strategy 'to mollify, to wheedle him'. When Horner seems surprised at Sir Jasper's offered hospitality, Sir Jasper changes his offer into a request, thus reducing and even reversing the social distance between them, so that *you* becomes *thou*.

Sir Jasper: since *you* are unprovided of a Lady to flatter,
and a good house to eat at, pray frequent mine,
and call my Wife Mistriss, and she shall call *you* Gallant,
according to the custom.

Horner: Who I? –

Sir Jasper: **Faith**, *thou* sha't for my sake, come for my sake only.

Harcourt contrives to declare his love to Alithea in the presence of her betrothed, Sparkish, with ambiguous opprobrious references to some unspecified person she should not marry. Alithea is aware that the references are to Sparkish and protests, but Sparkish himself protests at Alithea's apparent misinterpretation. This leads to switches in the address terms Sparkish employs to his 'friend' Harcourt. The stage direction in the following exchange by which Harcourt demonstrates his reference to 'so unworthy and inconsiderable a thing' by clapping his hand to his own breast whilst pointing to Sparkish is just one example of the confusing ambiguities of reference in this scene. Sparkish is startled by Harcourt's outright declaration of love to Alithea but is persuaded by Harcourt's explanation, interpreting it according to his preconceived construction of Harcourt as his friend.

Harcourt: I love *you*, Madam, so --

Sparkish: How's that! Nay -- now *you* begin to go too far indeed.

Harcourt: So much I confess, I say I love *you*, that I wou'd not have *you* miserable, and cast *your* self away upon so unworthy, and inconsiderable a thing, as what *you* see here, (Clapping his hand on his breast, points at Sparkish.)

Sparkish: **No faith**, I believe *thou* woud'st not, now his meaning is plain: but I knew before *thou* woud'st not wrong me nor her.

In a further attempt to persuade Alithea of her perceived mistake Sparkish puts a direct question to Harcourt switching between the familiar address term to indicate the formal nature of the question:

Sparkish: answer to *thy* Catechisme:
Friend, do *you* love my Mistriss here?

Harcourt: Yes, I wish she wou'd not doubt it.
Sparkish: But how do *you* love her?

Sparkish: **But** speak for *thy* self Harcourt,
you said *you* wou'd not wrong me, nor her.

There are two levels of discourse according to Harcourt's dual persona: Sparkish addresses his friend with the familiar address term and frames his questions as a formal interrogation.

1676 [3CETHER] The Man of Mode

Unmarked Usage

There is little use of *thou* in this text, though gentlemen friends greet each other with *thou*. These examples are from Act I and precede the CED extract:

Medley: Dorimant my Life, my Joy, my darling-Sin;¹²⁰
how Dost *thou*.

Dorimant: [Enter Bellair]
Dear Bellair, by Heavens
I thought we had lost *thee*;

An orange seller comments disapprovingly on the effusive nature of their greeting:

Orange Woman: Lord what a filthy trick these men have got of
Kissing one another!

¹²⁰ cf French *péché mignon* – darling sin = dearly loved, favourite, pet.

In the CED text Sir Fopling Flutter, a gentleman and the eponymous hero *the Man of Mode*, greets Dorimant as *thou*:

Sir Fopling Flutter: Dorimant, let me embrace *Thee*.

As his name implies, Sir Fopling is a comic character. This possibly accounts for his continued use of familiar address to Dorimant, who addresses Sir Fopling as *you*.

Sir Fopling greets the others more formally:

Sir Fopling: (To Lady Townley) Madam, I Kiss *your* Hands,
(To Emilia, a gentlewoman) Lady *your* servant;

The other comic character is Old Bellair, brother to Lady Townley. His customary usage is *you* except to Emilia whom he addresses as *thou*:

Old Bellair: Neighbour, a Dod I am glad to see *thee* here,
(To Emilia)
Make much of her Sister, she's one
Of the best of *your* acquaintance; I like her
Countenance and her behaviour well, she has
A Modesty that is not Common i'this Age, a Dod,
She has.

There is some usage to servants indicative of unequal social status:

in Act I
Dorimant: Leave your unnecessary fidling; a Wasp
That's buzzing about a Mans Nose at
Dinner, is not more troublesome than *thou* art.
(To Handy, his valet, who is fidling about him)

in the CED extract

Harriet, daughter to Lady Woodvil, to Busy, her waiting woman:

Harriet: How do I daily suffer under *thy* Officious Fingers?

Since other more opprobrious usage collocates with *you*, it is likely that *thou* in these examples is motivated by downward social usage.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

The comedy in Old Bellair's character is in his relationship with Emilia, a young gentlewoman, of which the recurrent theme according to Emilia is:

Emilia: He calls me Rogue, tells me he can't abide me;
And does so bepat me.

That Old Bellair sees himself as something of a rogue where young women are concerned is illustrated by his remark to his sister concerning Emilia's attractions:

Old Bellair: I am but Five and Fifty Sister *you* know, an
Age not altogether unsensible!

(To Emilia)
cheer up sweet Heart;
I have a secret to tell *thee* may
Chance to make *thee* merry, we three will make
Collation together anon, i'the mean time
Mum,¹²¹ I can't abide *you*, go I can't
Abide *you* –

(To Emilia)
Remember Night, go y'are a Rogue, y'are a
Rogue; fare *you* well, fare *you* well;
come, come,

This switching of address terms to Emilia seems to constitute banter. His use of *thou* connotes the difference in their ages and his switch to *you* in collocation with apparent negative affect, 'I can't abide you ... y'are a Rogue' is ironic. Partridge comments of elderly gentlemen that they are 'moodily whimsical in their uses of the modes of address to children and servants' (1969:25). This seems to apply also in their modes of address to young ladies.

Old Bellair's favourite phrase is *a Dod*.¹²² He expresses appreciation and affinity when another young lady, Harriet, makes fun of this:

Old Bellair: Come! there is Love i'th' case, a dod there is,
Or will be; what say *you* young Lady?

Harriet: All in good time Sir, *you* expect we should fall to,
And Love as game-Cocks fight, as soon as we are set
Together, a Dod y'are unreasonable!

Old Bellair: **A Dod** sirrah,¹²³ I like *thy* wit well.

¹²¹ OED 'not a word!'

¹²² OED *dial.* or *vulgar* in asseverations, originally a deformation of *God*.

¹²³ OED a term of address used to men or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker, sometimes employed less seriously in addressing children. Applied to women (seriously or in jest) – in this context appears to have positive connotation.

Old Bellair is apparently one of those waggish old gentlemen who consider that their age licenses bantering usage to young females.

One further example of switching is that of Harriet's usage to Busy, her waiting woman, to whom her unmarked usage is *thou*. Since Harriet does not take particular care to respect Busy's positive face, as this remark indicates:

Harriet: Hast *thou* so little wit to think I spoke what I meant

the motivation for the switch to *you* is not immediately apparent. The negative connotation of *prating* suggests that Harriet's unmarked usage of *thou* to her maid, though seemingly disparaging, reflects only social status and that *you* in collocation with *prating* represents an intensification of this disparaging stance to Busy:

Harriet: Leave *your* prating, and sing some foolish Song or other.

1682 [4CSHADW] The Lancashire Witches

Unmarked Usage

Unmarked usage among the titled characters in this text is *you*. The exception is Sir Edward Hartford who greets Theodosia, Sir Jeffrey Shacklehead's daughter, and Isabella, his own daughter as *thou*. He subsequently addresses Isabella as *you*, though this may reflect his disapproval at Isabella's alleged mistreatment of Sir Jeffreys' son, Sir Timothy, her intended husband:

Sir Edward: My sweet Cousin good Morrow to *thee*,
I hope to call *thee* shortly by another Name,
[to Theodosia, his prospective daughter in law]
my dear Child, Heaven's bless *thee*. [to Isabella, his daughter]
(Isabella Kneels.)

Sir Edward: *You* would not use him, *you* intend to marry, ill. [to Isabella, his daughter]

Sir Timothy Shacklehead is described as: 'a very pert, confident, simple Fellow, bred at Oxford, and the Inns of Court.' His parents, Sir Jeffrey and Lady Shacklehead have arranged with Sir Edward Hartford that Sir Timothy should marry Sir Edward's daughter, Isabella and that their daughter, Theodosia should marry Sir Edward's son, Young Hartford. The daughters both oppose this arrangement, as their affections are engaged elsewhere.

The Priest is described in the *Drammatis Personae*¹²⁴ as Tegue O Dively, the Irish Priest, ‘an equal mixture of Fool and Knave.’ He is given some Irish dialect terms to identify him as Irish but the inconsistency of his phonetic rather than of his semantic usage suggest that his dialogue cannot be a faithful representation of an Irish dialect. He is a stage Irishman: *thou* may be rendered as *dou*; *thee* as *dee* and *thy* as *ty* or *dy*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Isabella’s unmarked usage to Sir Timothy, her proposed husband, is *you* but the majority of her addresses to him collocate abusive epithets with *thou*:

Isabella: Sir Timothy, *you* are a Bloody-minded man.

Isabella: Why how now Dogs face, hast *thou* the Impudence
to make love again, with that hideous Countenance?
that very insipid silly Physnomy of *thine*?
... every motion of *thy* Body proclaims *thee* an Ass.
... Be gone *thou* Basilisk,
... Be gone, *thou* infinite Coxcomb, I'll set *thee* farther.
(She throws Stones at him.)

When her father chastises her and tells her that the marriage is arranged, Sir Timothy addresses Isabella formally:

Sir Timothy: Do *you* here that Gentlewoman –

but switches to a placatory *thou* once they are alone:

Sir Timothy: Dear Cousin, prethee be kinder to me,
I protest and vow, as I am a Christian, I love *the* better
then both my Eyes, for all this.

He switches to a distancing *you* in response to her abuse, then apparently almost switches back at the emotive connotation of ‘to Morrow-night’ (their intended wedding night) but checks himself: ‘well I say no more.’

Sir Timothy: I shall be more Familiar with *you* to Morrow-night,
oh my dear rogue -- **well** I say no more, faith I shall,
well, no more to be said.

He gives way to this emotion in a later speech, switching from the formality of ‘I am mightily beholden to you’ when Isabella disassembles before him and her father that

¹²⁴ Early English Books Online.

her abuse was a jest to reorientation of topic with expressions of lust introduced by the pragmatic marker **oh** collocating with *thou* and punctuated by the more conventional declaration with a switch to *you*, 'I love you':

Sir Timothy: Dear Cosin be in good humour, I could wish my
self well beaten for mistaking one that loves me so,
I would I might ne're stir, if I did not think *you* had
been in earnest: well, but I vow and swear I am
mightily beholden to *you*, that *you* think me so
fine a person, and love me so dearly;
Oh how happy am I that I shall have *thee* to morrow
in these Arms! by these ten bones, I love *you*
more than all the Ladies in London put them together.
Prethee Speak to me, O that Smile Kills me, **oh**
I will so Hug *thee* and Kiss *thee*, and Love *thee* to morrow night.

Both of these characters use *thou* to connote affect: for Isabella this is negative. Sir Timothy initially addresses Isabella as *thou* in opening a courtship scene and he reverts to *thou* in expressing lust.

Isabella's further use of *thou* is to Doubty, a gentleman, expressing affinity as she opens her heart:

Isabella: Well, my Dear, I must open my heart to *thee*;
I am so much in Love with this Bellfort,
that I shall dye if I lose him.

Thomas o Georges's, a country fellow, report of his dialogue with Mal Spencer, an alleged witch, shows that he addressed her as *you* and she replied with *thou*. This may be motivated by the *me/tee* rhyme, since the rest of her address is *you*.

Thomas o Georges: Quo ay what don *yeo* doo with that fow Cat?
why, says Whoo,¹²⁵ who soukes me. Soukes [sucks] *tee*!
Marry that's whaint quo ay, by'r Lady what can Cat do besides?
Why, says whoo, whoost carry me to Rachdale believe.
Whaw, quo ay, that's protty [pretty=clever]!
Why, says whoo, yeost ha one an *yeow* win to carry *yeow*;

Mal also addresses Clod, a country fellow, as *you*. Both are of low social status. Mal's usage illustrates the deictic function of *thou/you* switching. She begins their exchange with formal address to which Clod responds negatively with *thou*.

¹²⁵ Whoo = dialect for *heo* = she.

Mal Spencer: Why so unkind Clod? *You* frown and wonnot kiss me.

Clod: No marry, I'll be none of *thy* Imp, I wott.

Mal replies with *thou* of positive affect, as she attempts to cajole him.

Mal Spencer: What dost *thou* mean my Love? prethee kiss me.

When this does not succeed, she proclaims her innocence of the charge of witchcraft:

Clod: Stand off by'r Lady an I lift kibbo once, Ist raddle *thy* bones:
thou art a fow Queen, I tell o that, *thou* art a fow Witch.

Mal Spencer: I a Witch! a poor Innocent young Lass, that's
whaint, I am not awd enough for that Mon.

Clod: And I believe my Eyne, by the Mass I saw *you* in
Sir Yedards Cellar last neeght with *your* Haggs,
thou art a rank Witch, uds flesh I'll not come nere *thee*.

Then Mal reverts to *you* when she no longer seeks his love but offers him the
inducement of betterment from their relationship.

Mal Spencer: Did *you* see me? Why, if I be a Witch, I am the
better Fortune for *you*, *you* may fare of the best and be rich.

Clod: Fare, marry I'll fare none with *thee*, I'll not be
hang'd, nor go to the Deel for *thee*, not I by th' mass,
but I will hang *thee* on I con by'r Lady.

When this is rejected, she retains *you* but with negative affect.

Mal Spencer: Say *you* so Rogue, I'll plague *you* for that.
She goes out.

1694 [4CCONGR] The Double Dealer

Unmarked Usage

Social status is not significant to address variables in this text as the participants are either titled or appear to be socially accepted in titled circles. Careless, Mellefont and Brisk are not identified as gentlemen but the fact that Mellefont is promised to Cynthia, the daughter of a knight, and that Careless is his friend suggests that they are regarded as such.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Speakers' exchanges switch between unmarked *you*, sometimes in collocation with a hypocorism, implying familiarity, and *thou* of banter or raillery, functioning deictically to imply yet closer familiarity:

Mellefont: Ned, Ned , whither so fast? What, turn'd flincher!
 Why, *you* wo' not leave us?
 ... **Then** *thy* Reason staggers, and *thou'*rt almost drunk.

Brisk, *a pert coxcomb*, interprets Careless's negative remark as raillery:

Brisk: Careless, this is *your* trick; *you're* always spoiling Company by leaving it.
 Careless: And *thou* art always spoiling Company by coming into 't.

Brisk: Pooh, ha, ha, ha, I know *you* envy me. Spite, proud spite, by the Gods! and burning envy. -- I'll be judged by Mellefont here, who gives and takes Raillery better, *you* or I. Pox, Man, when I say *you* spoil Company by leaving it, I mean *you* leave no body for the Company to Laugh at.

Then Careless repeats his negative affect to Brisk:

Careless: Prithee get *thee* gone; *thou* seest we are serious.

The switches in address terms of Brisk, the pert coxcomb, to Mellefont connote topic and speaker reorientations. His use of *you* is motivated by his use of reported speech which distances him from the utterance, as he replicates the formality of Lord Touchwood's and Sir Paul Pliant's usage:

Brisk: *you* shall Command me from the Zenith to the Nadir. --
 But the Deuce take me if I say a good thing till *you* come. --
But prithee dear Rogue, make haste, prithee make haste,
 I shall burst else.
 -- **And** yonder *your* Uncle my Lord
 Touchwood swears, he'll Disinherit *you*, and Sir Paul Pliant
 threatens to disclaim *you* for a Son-in-Law.

Mellefont also switches to *thou* in attempting to cajole his friend, Careless, into plotting with him. Here **prithee** functions as a pragmatic marker in reorientating Mellefont's utterance from a statement to a request:

Mellefont: I'll tell *you*, I would have mirth continued this day at any rate;
 There are times when Sense may be unseasonable, as well as Truth.
Prithee do *thou* wear none to day; but allow
 Brisk to have Wit, that *thou* may'st seem a Fool.

On hearing Mellefont's explanation that his aunt, Lady Touchwood, is plotting against him, Careless objects:

Careless: I thought *your* fear of her had been over -- is not to Morrow appointed for *your* Marriage with Cynthia.

Subsequently, on hearing that Lady Touchwood has attempted to seduce Mellefont, Careless first exclaims admiringly, then objects with the pragmatic marker **but** as he reorientates his stance to focus on Mellefont's particular viewpoint and then elaborates in a comment on the wider more general viewpoint introduced by the pragmatic marker **for**:

Careless: Exquisite Woman! **But** what the Devil does she think, *thou* hast no more Sense, than to get an Heir upon her Body to Disinherit *thy* self: **for** as I take it this Settlement upon *you*, is, with a Proviso, that *your* Uncle have no Children.

Lady Touchwood, who is in love with her nephew, Mellefont, conspires with Maskwell, 'a villain, pretended friend to Mellefont, gallant to Lady Touchwood and in love with Cynthia', to prevent the marriage of Mellefont and Cynthia. They argue and Lady Touchwood switches her prior usage:

Lady Touchwood: How, what said *you* Maskwell
-- another Caprice, to unwind my temper.

to exclaim:

Lady Touchwood: **O** Maskwell, in Vain I do disguise me from *thee*, *thou* know'st me, know'st the very inmost Windings and Recesses of my Soul. -- Oh Mellefont! I burn; Married to Morrow! Despair strikes me. Yet my Soul knows I hate him too: Let him but once be mine, and next immediate Ruin seize him.

Her exclamation '**O**' functions as a pragmatic marker to introduce a passionate outburst and Maskwell's response is an indication of his awareness of the emotion her usage connotes:

Maskwell: Compose *your* self, *You* shall Enjoy and Ruin him too,
-- Will that please *you*?

She continues to address him as *thou* as she invites the intimacy of collusion:

Lady Touchwood: How, how? *Thou* Dear, *thou* precious Villain, how?

then switches with a further pragmatic marker to reorientate her stance from hope to disillusion:

Lady Touchwood: **But** I don't see what *you* can propose from such a trifling design.

Lady Froth, 'a pretender to poetry, wit and learning', switches only once from her unmarked usage of *you* to address Cynthia, daughter to Sir Paul, as *thou* at the climax of an exchange in which she elaborates on her love for her husband. She had earlier chastised Cynthia's cynicism:

Lady Froth: **O** my Dear Cynthia, *you* must not rally *your* Friend,

but on hearing that Cynthia does not write about her love becomes more and more passionate as she realises the possible implication for her own relationship:

Lady Froth: **O** Inconsistent! In Love, and not Write!
 if my Lord and I had been both of *your* Temper,
 we had never come together,
 -- **O** bless me! What a sad thing would that have been,
 if my Lord and I should never have met!

Cynthia: Then neither my Lord and *you* would ever have met with *your* Match, on my Conscience.

It may be this passion that motivates her more intimate address to Cynthia. Lady Froth considers herself a poet. She launches into a description of her husband:

Lady Froth: **O** my Conscience no more we should;
thou say'st right -- for sure my Lord Froth is as fine a Gentleman,
 and as much a Man of Quality! Ah! Nothing at all of the Common Air,
 -- I think I may say he wants nothing, but a Blue Ribbon and a Star,
 to make him Shine, the very Phosphorus of our Hemisphere.

The effect of this hyperbole is rather undermined by the anticlimax when Lady Froth switches back to mundanity and unmarked address.

Lady Froth: Do *you* understand those Two hard Words?
 If *you* don't, I'll explain 'em to *you*.

Having been misled by his sister, Lady Touchwood, into believing that Mellefont plans to marry Cynthia only to gain access to her stepmother and his wife, Lady Plyant, Sir Paul Plyant abuses Mellefont:

Sir Paul Plyant: *Thou* Serpent and first Tempter of Womankind. –

but, despite his emotion in making his accusation, he switches to *you* in addressing Mellefont:

Sir Paul Plyant: Do *you* think my Daughter, this pretty Creature; gads bud she's a Wife for a Cherubin! Do *you* think her fit for nothing but to be a Stalking-Horse, to stand before *you*, while *you* take aim at my Wife? Gads bud I was never angry before in my Life, and I'll never be appeased again.

Possibly this is motivated by a reorientation of the topic from Mellefont to Cynthia.

Confusingly Sir Paul addresses his daughter, Cynthia, by the hypocorism *Thy* (presumably [θi:] rather than the pronoun [ðai]).

Sir Paul Plyant: *Thy, Thy*, come away *Thy*, touch him not, come hither Girl, go not near him, there's nothing but deceit about him; ... he will eat *thee* up alive ...
-- gadsbud he does not care a Farthing for any thing of *thee*, but *thy* Portion, why he's in Love with my Wife; he would have tantalized *thee*, and made a Cuckold of *thy* poor Father, --
-- therefore come away; **but** providence has prevented all, therefore come away, when I bid *you*.

Sir Paul's dramatic warnings to his daughter (here combined) of Mellefont's dastardly intentions conclude, like Lady Froth's speech to Cynthia, in an anticlimax and, like Lady Froth, Sir Paul switches to *you*. The pragmatic marker **but** introduces the change of key from high drama and emotion to mundanity.

Mellefont and Maskwell, 'a villain' and his 'pretended friend', exchange unequal address terms, with Maskwell habitually addressing Mellefont as *you* and Mellefont's use of *thou* appearing to reflect heightened emotion. After learning of his aunt's plot against him, Mellefont encounters Maskwell and welcomes him:

Mellefont: Maskwell, welcome, *thy* presence is a view of Land, appearing to my Shipwreck'd hopes:

since:

Mellefont: There's comfort in a hand stretch'd out, to one that's sinking; tho' ne'er so far off.

When Maskwell convinces him that he has deceived Mellefont's aunt and is plotting on his, Mellefont's, behalf, Mellefont continues his shipwreck metaphor in collocation with poetic *thou*:

Mellefont: Ha! O I see, I see my Rising Sun! Light breaks thro' Clouds upon me, and I shall live in Day –
O my Maskwell! how shall I thank or praise *thee*;
Thou hast outwitted Woman. -- But tell me,
how could'st *thou* thus get into her Confidence?

He concludes the exchange with topic reorientation introduced by the pragmatic marker **if** and a switch to *you* in reference to a potential different outcome and a switch from a poetic register:

-- **if** *you* had not come as *you* did; I don't know what she might have attempted.

His switch back to *thou* connotes his affection and gratitude to Maskwell and is introduced by the pragmatic marker **well**, as Mellefont reorientates from his aunt, Lady Plyant, to Maskwell:

Mellefont: She is most gracious in her Favour,
-- **well**, and dear Jack, how hast *thou* Contrived?
... till then, success attend *thee*.

1696 [4CMANLE] The Lost Lover

Unmarked Usage

Unmarked usage in this text is for titled parents and their children to address each other as *you*. This also applies between Smyrna, the Turkish Merchant, and his wife and to servants. The exception is Sir Rustick Good-Heart, an Old Country Gentleman, who has arranged with Lady Young-Love, an Old Vain Conceited Lady, to marry her daughter Marina. Sir Rustick addresses Marina as *thou* in collocation with a variety of endearing epithets: *sweet heart, my Dear, Girl, Child, Sweet Mistress*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

A notable feature of this text is the switching of pronouns of address. Lady Young-Love seeks her companion's opinion and reduces the social distance between them in an apparent attempt to encourage an honest answer, though actually seeking confirmation of her own opinion.

Lady Young-Love: Belira, How do *you* like these figur'd Velvets;
... Belira, *thou* won't flatter me; I have not red enough have I?

When Marina, daughter to Lady Young-Love, tells Sir Rustick, the old country gentleman, that she had not given a thought to having a husband, he addresses her with *thou* as an old man to a young girl, then switches to *you* when comparing her with the women of the town. His switch back is introduced by the exclamation **Ods bobs** functioning as a pragmatic marker to introduce a comment on his previous assertion.

Sir Rustick Good-Heart: All in good time, Child;
I like *thee* ne'er the worse for that.
You don't look like the forward things of the Town,
that Marries a Man only to Cuckold him,
Ods bobs¹²⁶ *thou* wilt not do that, I hope, Child.

As their exchange continues, Marina protests that Sir Rustick must be mistaken to think that he is in love with her 'at your Age'. Sir Rustick does not appear to take offence but treats her observation as meriting discussion and Marina as a more equal partner, introducing the topic reorientation with the pragmatic marker **why**:

Marina: Love of me, sure *you* mistake *your* self, one wou'd
have imagin'd it, any other under the Sun at *your* Age.

Sir Rustick Good-Heart: **Why** there, be dad *you'r* out,
there's none Lovers but us old Fellows,
the Young ones don't think it worth their time;

This stance does not last, however, and he follows a conventional leave-taking with a switch to *thee* appropriate to a young girl:

Sir Rustick Good-Heart: Sweet Mistriss *your* Servant, till I see *thee* again.

¹²⁶ OED a euphemistic substitute for *God* in asseverative or exclamatory formulae. Perhaps alteration of *God's body*.

Smyrna, the eponymous jealous husband in this text, is terrified of being cuckolded. The switch in Wildman's address to him introduced by the pragmatic marker **if** denotes the hypothetical case of a different and more distant reality in which Olivia is not Smyrna's wife.

Smyrna: ... 'tis a dangerous place, for an old Fellow, that has an Handsom Wife;
Have *you* not that Opinion of her, Mr. Wildman?

Wildman: All the World must allow her that Character,
but Faith, my Friendship to *you*, hinders me to think of her,
as I would, **if** she were not *thy* Wife.

Smyrna takes offence and leaves:

Smyrna: let me tell *you*, Mr. Wildman, I Love my Wife, and don't like
People that slight her Charms, and prefer my Friendship to her Beauty

Wildman's use of *thou* in response connotes negative affect:

Wildman: Go *thy* ways, for an old Jealous,
I wish be-gad, I could say, Cuckold,
but my honest Endeavours shall not be wanting
to make *thee*, that *thou* believest *thy* self.

It is difficult to account for the difference in usage in exchanges between Sir Rustick's son, Wilmore, and his friend Wildman. Wilmore's unmarked usage to his friend is *you* but Wildman's usage to Wilmore varies considerably. Their exchange concerning Wilmore's apparent intention to marry old Lady Young-Love opens with Wildman addressing Wilmore as *thou*:

Wildman: If *thou* art weary already, what wilt *thou* be when
the Noose is fixt, and no kind relieving Hand can do *thee*
the curtesy of unslipping it.

Wilmore: I confess, I have given the Town reason to believe,
I cou'd allow May and December the two ends of time,
to meet in our expected Wedlock.

Wildman: The Opinion of *thy* Sense was not forfeited by that,
we always believed, *thou* hadst enough to distinguish
between the glittering Metal and the Allay;
But are *you* not resolved to Marry my Lady Young-Love.

Wildman's switch here introduced by the pragmatic marker **but** seems motivated by a temporal reorientation from a discussion of the existing situation to asking what

Wilmore proposes to do in the future. Wilmore denies any intention to marry Lady Young-Love. In response Wildman reverts to *thou* with reference to the existing situation.

Wilmore: So far from it, that I wou'd run my self into any other Noose in Christendom, to avoid hers;

Wildman: Begad if our Town Ladies come to know how well *thou* art principled, *thou* may'st e'en make *thy* own Markets amongst them,

Wilmore explains that in his plot to marry Marina he has pretended to be in love with Belira and agreed to marry Lady Young-Love. Again, Wildman re-orientates the exchange. The pragmatic marker **and** introduces his question about Wilmore's proposed future action.

Wildman: **And** how do *you* think to evade either.

To which Wilmore replies that he wishes Wildman to engage Belira in his affairs, so that he can entertain Marina. Wildman appears displeased and his usage switch seems to distance him from Wilmore:

Wildman: *You* have ordered *your* own without considering my applications to Belira may ruine me with Orinda.

but agrees to help:

Wildman: *You* shall command me.

Sir Amorous Courtall, a fop, addresses only Wildman as *thou* and on occasion by his name, Charles. It seems that Sir Amorous does consider Wildman to be his friend.

Sir Amorous Courtall: Let me expire, if *thou* dost not talk scandalously, I hope 'tis not Matrimony *thou* hint'st at.

and tells him the extent of his losses on military campaign:

thou art my Friend, to whom I may own such a Misfortune,

though Wildman is already aware of his misfortune but does not reciprocate Sir Amorous's usage:

Wildman: Besides, my Widow will set all uneasiness aside, and repair the breach *you* have made in *your* Estate.

On the one occasion Wildman does address Sir Amorous as *thou*, he expresses annoyance:

Wildman: The Devil take *thy* Foppery; was it for this,
thou madest us stay for *thee*?

Similarly Marina's one use of *thou* to Belira reflects her irritation when Belira asks if she wishes to meet Wilmore in the park. She changes the topic with **but** and reverts to *you* :

Marina: Why *thy* question? He is my Mothers, and never can
be mine; **but** we trifle: will *you* favour me with *your*
Company, whilst I am Dressing?

The switches in Smyrna's addresses to his wife may indicate his uncertainty over her virtue. She denies having cuckolded him and he addresses her abusively. His replies to her protests seem to construct her private and public personae. With reference to her thoughts and beliefs she is addressed as *thou*. The public perception of her is addressed as *you*.

Smyrna: *You* are the Mother of Lyars,

Olivia: Because *you* heard he courted me before I was
Married, *you* think I must needs be naught with him.

Smyrna: ... **why** *thou* art not a Citizen's Wife for nothing;
thou hast more grace I trust in the Lord, than not to think
Cuckolding *thy* Husband a good honest practicable Thing;

Smyrna consults an astrologer to discover if his wife is cuckolding him:

Olivia: But sure, *you* don't believe, that an ignorant block-head
of a Fortune-teller, should speak any thing like Truth.

Smyrna: I'll tell *you* what I believe **though**, Mistriss,
... the Sin will lye at *your* door, Wife, *you'd* as good
confess, and save charges into the Bargain

Olivia: Lord, Husband, what do *you* take me for?
Why, if it were so, do *you* think I'd be such a Fool to confess.

Smyrna: **No**; *Thou'*rt wiser o' my Conscience, **but** be sure
you are as trusty to other Folks;

Smyrna asks the astrologer:

Smyrna: How say *you* Master Knowlitttle, do *you* like my Wife too?
does the Stars denote me for further Cuckoldom,

Knowlitttle: Is that one question all *you* wou'd have resolved.

but switches usage from formally addressing *you Master Knowlitttle* in his capacity as fortune-teller to informal *Friend* and *thou* as he seems to recognise and acknowledge Knowlitttle, the man's, lack of clairvoyant skill:

Smyrna: Ay Friend, and I see 'tis more than *thou* canst do,
thou art going to convince me of the Vanity and Folly
of all those who have helped *thee* to deceive themselves.

Switching to address Knowlitttle as the fortune-teller, Smyrna's address changes once more:

... Wou'd *you* frighten me into an Opinion of *your* Art,

Smyrna dreads having his suspicion proved right but is desperate to discover the truth. A possible explanation for his changing use is that it reflects his mental turmoil.

Lady Young-Love is waiting to marry Wilmore. She sends Belira, who has been his secret mistress, to bring him to the wedding. Wilmore addresses Belira as *you*. Her address to him fluctuates approximately with switches connoting her construction of the dual persona of his current identity in society as *you*, the gentleman about to make an advantageous marriage, and his former identity as *thou*, her secret lover.

Wilmore: Then do *you* Love me?

Belira: Yes, to see *you* happy -- **But** the Mask is off, and
thou canst Cheat no more, and I no more believe.

... *You* reproach me with what I wou'd be;
do not, do not rouze the Woman in me,
I wou'd be Calm to Night and see *you* Married

Wilmore: Rather see me Buried.

Belira: Perhaps so -- **Cou'd** the remembrance of my Wrongs
but¹²⁷ sleep with *thee*, I wou'd not Envy *thee* a quiet Grave.

Wilmore: Farewel, we part for ever, I'll leave the Town this Minute.

¹²⁷ Here *cou'd* ... *but* may be rendered in Modern English as *if only* ... *could*. This structure, therefore, functions as a pragmatic marker despite not having the conventional structure of such. The speaker reorientates the topic towards the persona of her interlocutor as her lover.

Having addressed Wilmore, her lover, Belira switches to address Wilmore, the gentleman on the verge of marriage:

Belira: **At least**, Sir, if *you* will not Marry *your* self,
but unkindly leave *your* Bride thus in the longing Moment;
do *your* Father the honour to grace his Marriage

Wilmore: What have I done, that *you* shou'd wish to make me Wretch'd?

He becomes her lover again:

Belira: What hast *thou* left undone to make me such?

but seems to misinterpret the cause of her despair, assuring her that their secret and her reputation is safe:

Wilmore: *Your* Reputation yet stands fair, and unless *your* own
Indiscretion betrays *you* the Secret shall be such, with me for ever.

Belira, however, is not concerned with reputation, as she reorientates the topic of his discourse (but not of her own) with the pragmatic marker **but**:

Belira: **But** *thy* heart, Traytor, *thy* perjur'd Heart;
tell me, how shall I get it back?

Wilmore: Never this way, I assure *you*.

She dismisses him with a directive indicating spatial deixis 'Go' and a directive of negative affect collocating with *you*:

Belira: 'Tis given for gone¹²⁸ then -- Go -- Live as Wretch'd as I can
make *you*, I'll think no more upon *you*.

Still Wilmore does not understand her:

Wilmore: Then 'tis Spite disturbs *you*: In what have I deserved it?

and Belira returns to the topic of their relationship and *thou*:

Belira: Look in *thy* false perfidious Heart, and take my Answer thence.

As Belira turns to leave, Wilmore calls her back with a switch in address that seems to connote negative affect when the motives he attributes to her are considered:

'womanish revenge, malice, despight':

¹²⁸ OED hopeless.

Wilmore: Come back Belira, 'tis my last Call: I wou'd
 satisfie *thy* Womanish Revenge, and let *thee*
 see me Curst by any other way than Fatal Marriage
 -- Take my Sword -- *Thy* Malice can supply *thy*
 want of use, despight can furnish strength,
 and too often *thou* hast found the way to
 my unhappy Heart to miss it now.

To this Belira replies formally with the further distancing device of reference to herself in the third person:

Belira: Ha, ha, ha, in Love to dying! By all that's good, turn'd Hero:
Your Mistress, Sir, is much obliged -- Keep *your* Sword,
 it may be a Fortune better worth than all *your* Fathers Lands;

Then Wilmore refers to Belira's two personae beginning and ending his utterance addressing her as *you* the *Proud, Fantastick Woman* she now presents and digressing to address opprobriously as *thou* the *secret mistress* she once was:

Wilmore: Am I indeed *your* Scorn, Proud, Fantastick Woman;
 [...]
 ... I've served it seems, as long as *you* cou'd like,
 and now *you* chuse another.

[*thy* liking was foul Lust; not Love: That gentle Name brings
 Happiness, but *thou* -- Let me not think upon *thee*, for
 fear it force my Tongue to something worse, than shou'd
 be said of Ladies;]

This duality continues with reference to their reciprocal relationship being expressed as *thou* and to that with third parties as *you*:

Wilmore: Belira, *thou* hast power to read my Soul; *thy*
 Magick Spells are irresistable. How hast *thou*
 found this Failing in my Vertue, which I not
 knowing of, my Wants cou'd never miss till now?

Belira: ... I've seen *your* shuffling poor designing Arts,
 to wave this Marriage and promote another.

1707 [4CFARQU] The Beaux Stratagem

Unmarked Usage

There is very little use of *thou* in this text. Of note is the exchange between Archer, masquerading as a servant to Aimwell, an apparently rich gentleman, and Cherry, the daughter of the landlord at the inn. Archer has been teaching her the Catechism. The stage direction, ‘Chucks her under the Chin’, illustrates his patronising attitude to her, yet he addresses her as *you*. This contrasts with similar exchanges in a previous text [3CETHER 1676 *The Man of Mode*]: Old Bellair’s bantering switches of address to the young ladies, Emilia and Harriet:

Archer: Come, my Dear, have *you* con'd over the Catechise
I taught *you* last Night?

... What is Love?

Cherry: Love is I know not what, it comes I know not how,
and goes I know not when.

Archer: Very well, an apt Scholar.
(Chucks her under the Chin)

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Unmarked usage for Mistress Sullen, wife to Squire Sullen, in addressing Dorinda, her unmarried sister-in-law is *you*. Dorinda’s response to Mistress Sullen’s complaint against her husband:

Dorinda: He allows *you* a Maintenance suitable to *your* Quality.

provokes a formal reaction:

Mrs Sullen: A Maintenance! do *you* take me, Madam, for an hospital Child,
that I must sit down, and bless my Benefactors for Meat, Drink and Clothes?

but this switches to informality as she appears to decry Dorinda’s naivete with the formal address *Madam* giving way to *Child*:

Dorinda: *You* share in all the Pleasures that the Country affords.

Mrs Sullen: ... *dost* think, Child, that my Limbs were made for leaping of Ditches,
and clambring over Stiles;

When Dorinda reveals that she is smitten by Aimwell, the handsome stranger, Mrs Sullen expresses affinity, since she is flirting with the handsome French officer,

Count Bellair, in order to make her husband jealous. Then she switches from *my dear Sister* and *thou* employing the pragmatic marker **for** to reorientate the topic from the current intimacy of the moment to the future unmarked state of affairs and *you*.

Mrs Sullen: ... Ha, ha, ha, my dear Sister, let me embrace *thee*, now we are Friends indeed!
for I shall have a Secret of *yours*, as a Pledge for mine
 -- now *you*'ll be good for something,
 I shall have *you* conversable in the Subjects of the Sex.

The only other use of the singular form is in Aimwell's exchange with his friend, Archer. Unlike Dorinda, Archer has not revealed an intimate personal secret but he hints at a possible scandalous secret concerning Cherry, the landlord's daughter.

Aimwell: And was she the Daughter of the House?
 Archer: The Landlord is so blind as to think so; but
 I dare swear she has better Blood in her Veins.

This provokes Aimwell to a more intimate form of response in anticipation of further revelations: an invitation to collusion.

Aimwell: Why *dost* think so?
 Archer: Because the Baggage has a pert (Je ne scai quoi), she reads Plays, keeps a Monkey, and is troubled with Vapours.
 Archer's reply is not as dramatic as Aimwell anticipated and he switches back to unmarked *you*:

Aimwell: By which Discoveries I guess that *you* know more of her.

1719 [4CKILLI] Chit Chat

Unmarked Usage

The characters in this text appear to be of similar social status. The only one to whom a title is assigned being Mrs Commode, an Indian Woman, in whose presence Alamode, a Fop, is discovered 'with a Heap of Fans, Snuff-boxes, and other Toys before him.' That is: Mrs Commode is in trade. The male characters are identified by their family names and the other female characters by their given names.

Unmarked address is *you*.

One usage it is difficult to account for is that of Worthy, a male character, to Townly, an acquaintance, whom he addresses as *thee*. This is odd morphologically and pragmatically. Worthy's unmarked usage to friends is *you*. This is the first reference to Townly in this scene. The connotation of the address is not apparent, unless it is to contrast with a distancing *you* from Worthy to his sister, Florinda, as he instructs her to entertain Bellamar. Worthy has previously given Bellamar his consent to marry Florinda. It may be that he disapproves of the antipathy Florinda has exhibited to Bellamar:

Worthy: Townly, *thee*¹²⁹ and I will make a Visit
 -- Sister, *you*'ll entertain Bellamar.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Marlove is Bellamar's secret Mistress. She suspects him of being in love with Florinda. Bellamar, she suggests, hides his true feelings, since:

Marlove: with an affected Negligence *you* Courted her, as Life;
 told her her Faults only to be thought sincere,
 when e'er *you* spoke *your* Love, and prais'd her Virtues;
thou poor Dissembler!
 ... *thou* Faithless, Base, Perfidious Man.

Bellamar has two personae: the face he presents to the world to which Marlove refers as *you* and the inner man known to Marlove and addressed as *thou*.

After her exit Bellamar, who has previously addressed Marlove as *you*, ruefully echoes the prosody of her parting triad, addressing her formulaically in abstentia as *thou*:

Bellamar: *Thou* very very -- true Woman!

¹²⁹ *Thee* occurs twice in a compound subject in this extract. *Thou* features as a single subject. Use of *thee* as a subject is reported in a trial text [5TMACCL 1725] and in a later drama text [5CMILLE 1734]. This differs from the use of *thee* as the second person singular subject form with a bare-stem form of the verb found on the seventeenth century Sword Inscriptions of William Peachey (c1643) and identified as the dialect of the Hampshire/Sussex border: 'I John Cooke be, thee dye bye me' – sword of John Cooke; 'When I be wraught on , Thee migt'st have naught on!' – sword of Richard Norton (Coates 1999).

Worthy, Bellamar's friend, considers that Bellamar was able to persuade Marlove to influence Moderna to marry him. He, therefore, attributes his happiness to Bellamar, asking him:

Worthy: how can my Gratitude repay the Joy *you* gave me with Moderna

to which Bellamar replies:

Bellamar: Why, just the Way *you* do, by being happy with her.
Believe me, Friend, I am as glad to see *thee* pleas'd,
as Knaves wou'd be to have *thee* griev'd.
-- I need not ask how *your* Wife does, since *your*
Joys seem without Allay.

The switch here denotes a topic reorientation from Bellamar's comment on the persona Worthy presents to the outside world to a comment in the form of a rhyming couplet on his own perception of his friend. The poetic register may have influenced this usage.

This duality seems to apply to the next part of their exchange. Where the topic is the here and now or a reference to the addressee's presumed emotion, the address is *you*. Where the topic is an expression of the speaker's own emotion, the address is *thou*.

Worthy: They are indeed, Bellamar. And --

Bellamar: Hold, I guess what *you* would say; Rapturous Love,
Elizium Fields, and all the Joys that Poets ever dream'd of,
are much surpass'd by *yours*.

Worthy: Bellamar *thou* art in the Right; I am happier
if possible than *thou* hast spoken; and what's impossible to her?
Bellamar: That's hard to say. In the mean Time, Is it
possible for *you* to tell me where *you* was a-going.

Worthy: No farther, now I've met *you*;

Similarly Alamode, the Fop, exclaims in pleasure on greeting Townly:

Alamode: O dear Townly, I joy to see *thee*!

then switches to *you* on being chastised for having previously ignored him:

Townly: *You* do! -- Gad, I met *you* just now, and
you did not know me.

Alamode: I ask Ten Thousand Pardons. I was thinking,
and did not see *you*.

Townly is identified as a Common Acquaintance (presumably in the sense of 'known to all' rather than 'of low degree', since there is no indication of the latter). Alamode subsequently addresses him as *thou* whilst addressing Bellamar as *you* in reported speech:

Alamode: Good, Bellamar; very good.
 -- Townly, when shall I hear *thee* say such
 a Thing? *Thy* Wit is like a certain Friends of
 ours, who to be very sharp, bids *you*¹³⁰
 kiss his A---, and laughs.
You know him, Bellamar?

and Lurcher, *a Fool*, as *thou*:

Alamode: O Lurcher, I'm sure *thou* art no Cheat!

Worthy's address to his wife, Moderna, reflects that of Salesware to his wife which is also directed to a third party [3BROME 1653]. Worthy consoles his wife in intimate terms. Then Marlove's entrance seems to promote an affective and possibly spatial distancing as he addresses his wife in the presence of a third party:

Worthy: Come, prithee cheer up, and glad my Heart
 that knows no Joy while *thou* art sad.
 Here's Marlove, she'll join to chase away *your* Cares.

A notable usage is Marlove's response. Marlove is decribed as Moderna's Confident. She addresses Moderna as *Child* collocating with *you*. There is no indication that the two women are not of a similar age, so this is presumably a term of affection, yet it does not collocate with *thou*.

Marlove: What makes *you* out of Humour, Child?

Some of the switching seems to be motivated by irony rather than banter. Bellamar appears to have inadvertantly offended Lurcher by usurping his place at table. He asks how long he and Lurcher have been 'foes.' Townly offers:

Townly: I'll tell *you*, if *you* won't think me a Fool for repeating his Words.
 Lurcher: Ay, tell him, tho' he was the only Man I desir'd *you* not to tell.
 Bellamar: Then I am the only Man he ought to tell,
 for I hope *thou* never spok'st well of me.

¹³⁰ 'Bids you' here marks an example of reported speech. Alamode is one level removed from the friends' utterance and speaks from their viewpoint, hence the pronoun is appropriate to them rather than to Alamode.

Bellamar is as yet unaware of his fault but aware of ill-feeling between himself and Lurcher, so addresses Lurcher with negative affect to convey apparent indifference to Lurcher's opinion.

On hearing the explanation, he attempts to save face by mitigating the offence: 'is that all', and making a satirical apology with an apparently friendly address:

Bellamar: Is that all, I'm sorry for it, dear Lurcher:
To make *thee* amends, *thou* shalt go to
Heaven before me, if *thou* canst.

Friendly banter appears to motivate Marlove's affectionate rebuke to Townly when he enters 'a little fuddled':

Marlove: *You* want warm Water to wash those Hands of
thine, and that dear dirty Face. **Why**, Man, *thou*'rt as
dirty as a Chymist.

1723 [5CSTEEL] The Conscious Lovers

Unmarked Usage

The characters are from all ranks of society. Two of them are knights. One is a wealthy heiress. One is a poor orphan who has been brought up by her aunt. One is a coxcomb with a rich uncle. They and their servants all exchange *you*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Act I precedes the CED extract

The First Act opens with Sir John and his old servant, Humphrey, whom he addresses as *you* though he twice says to him; 'I'll tell thee ...' This is a proximal device, an invitation for Humphrey to draw near and listen. Tom, Bevil Junior's servant, enters singing and Humphrey greets him good-humouredly:

Humphrey: O, here's the prince of poor coxcombs,
the representative of all the better fed than taught! —
Ho, ho, Tom! whither so gay and so airy this morning?

Tom reciprocates,

Tom: Sir, we servants of single gentlemen are another
kind of people than you domestic ordinary drudges that

do business; we are raised above you :
the pleasures of board wages, tavern dinners, and
many a clear gain, vails, alas! you never heard or dreamt of.

and Humphrey acknowledges Tom's banter. Then he switches from this register as he recalls Tom's former state:

Humphrey: *Thou* hast follies and vices enough for a man
of ten thousand a year, **though** it is but as t'other day
that I sent for *you* to town to put *you* into Mr Sealand's family,
that *you* might learn a little before I put *you* to my young master
... such a rude thing as *you* were

Phillis, Lucinda's maid, has similar social aspirations, telling Tom,

Phil. — Lard ! one is almost ashamed to pass along the
streets. The town is quite empty, and nobody of
fashion left in it; and the ordinary people do so stare
to see any thing dressed like a woman of condition, pass by.

... **O** Tom, Tom! is it not a pity that *you* should be
so great a coxcomb, and I so great a coquette,
and yet be such poor devils as we are ?

She expresses her opinion of Tom addressing him as *thou*. Then she reverts to *you* to direct him.

O Tom, Tom! *thou* art as false and as base as
the best gentleman of them all:
but, *you* wretch! talk to me no more on the
odious subject; don't, I say.

Tom constructs two personae for Phillis: first as *madam* and *Mistress Phillis* who
constucts herself as 'a woman of condition' and 'so great a coquette', and whom he
addresses as *you* in order to 'put her into the right temper to be wrought upon'.

Tom: I know not how to resist *your* commands, madam.
[In a submissive Tone retiring.]

— **Why**, truly, to be plain with *you*, Mrs. Phillis,
I can take little comfort of late in frequenting *your* house.

Then as the maid with whom her Mistress's would-be lovers flirt. He explains that
he is jealous and addresses her as *thou* in an apparent expression of affection. He
acknowledges this usage as banter by reverting to *you* '... to be serious'

Tom: I say it is, that *thou* art a part which gives
me pain for the disposition of the whole.
You must know, madam, to be serious,
I am a man at the bottom of prodigious nice honour.

He begins to propose a scheme to enrich them both. They exchange *you* but Phillis forgets her assumed superior persona and loses patience with Tom:

Phillis: Explain *thyself*, and don't be so fond of *thy* own prating.

Bevil Junior's addresses to his father's servant Humphrey switch between *you* and *thou* with *thou* connoting expressions of trust and secrecy:

Bev.jun. Humphrey, I know *thou* art a friend to both,
and in that confidence I dare tell *thee* —
Thou hast made it now my interest to trust *thee*.
Be patient, then, and hear the story of my heart.

The extract in the CED begins at Act II. Unmarked usage is the exchange of *you*. On the entrance of Charles Myrtle, his friend, Bevil Junior addresses him as *thou*:

Bevil junior: **Well** Charles, why so much Care in *thy* Countenance?
Is there any thing in this World deserves it?
You, who used to be so Gay, so Open, so Vacant!

but immediately switches to *you* and maintains this in the rest of the text in collocation with *Dear Sir, Sir, Dear Myrtle*.

When Isabella addresses her niece, Indiana, as *thou*, it seems to connote pity at what she perceives as Indiana's naivete over Bevil Junior's apparent affection for her:

Isabella: Yes -- I say 'tis Artifice, dear Child;
I say to *thee* again and again, 'tis all Skill and Management.

Well, go *thy* ways, *thou* willful Innocent!

This collocates with infantilising epithets, *dear Child* and *willful Innocent* in contrast with her use of *poor Soul, Madam* and *dear Neice* that collocate with *you*.

An exchange between Lucinda and Phillis, her maid, suggests that Lucinda's switch from unmarked *you* to *thou* connotes affinity in appreciation of Phillis' wit as *a pert merry Hussy*. Lucinda reverts to *you* as she resumes her former more distant stance and rebukes Phillis' perceived over-familiarity: 'you grow impertinent.'

Lucinda: But, I thought, I heard him kiss *you*.
Why do *you* suffer that?

Phillis: **Why**, Madam, we Vulgar take it to be a Sign of Love;
we Servants, we poor People, that have nothing but our Persons
to bestow, or treat for, are forc'd to deal, and bargain by way of Sample;
and therefore, as we have no Parchments, or Wax necessary
in our Agreements, we squeeze with our Hands,
and seal with our Lips, to ratifie Vows and Promises.

Lucinda does not recognise Phillis' sarcasm:

Lucinda: But can't you trust one another, without such Earnest down?

Phillis: We don't think it safe, any more than you
Gentry, to come together without Deeds executed.

Lucinda: *Thou* art a pert merry Hussy.

Phillis: I wish, Madam, *your* Lover and *you* were
as happy, as Tom and *your* Servant are.

Lucinda: *You* grow impertinent.

1734 [5CMILLE] **The Mother in Law**

Unmarked Usage

The only unmarked use of *thou* in this text is that addressed by both Lady Hippish and her step-daughter, Belina, to Primrose, Belina's maid. Lady Hippish is a stereotypical wicked stepmother who schemes to turn her husband Sir Credulous Hippish against his children and rejoices when she believes he has died. Primrose has persuaded Sir Credulous to fake his own death in order to discover his wife's reaction. The reaction of Lady Hippish when she encounters Primrose at this scene contrasts with that of Belina:

Lady Hippish: What is it? What dost *thee* mean by
this Blubbering, pr'ythee?

Belina: What ails *thee*, Primrose? Why those Tears?
How does my Father do?

Both Lady Hippish and Belina address Primrose as *thou*, but the use by Lady Hippish of the term *blubbering* (OED: 'generally used contemptuously and in ridicule for *weep*') connotes negative affect in comparison with Belina's usage.

Lady Hippish continues to address Primrose as *thou*, probably as a reflection of social status, since subsequent utterances do not have negative connotation:

Lady Hippish: This is the only time,
Primrose, I ever beheld him with Pleasure.
-- But, come, *thou* must assist me in executing my Design;
and, depend on't, that in serving me, *thou* wilt most
effectually serve *thy* self.

Sir Credulous addresses Agnes, his younger daughter, as *you*. It is apparent from the nature of their exchange that she is a child:

Sir Credulous: Take care *you* tell me the Truth then;
for here's my little Finger that knows all, will tell me if *you* lye.
-- Hold, ay, ay, so, so;
ay, my little Finger tells me that *you*'ve seen
something *you*'ve not yet told me of.
(Putting his Finger to his Ear.)

His emotional address to his older daughter, Belina, on hearing her grief over his supposed death, therefore, seems to connote sentimentality:

Sir Credulous: (Looking for some time scornfully on his Wife, and then running to Belina)
Ah! my dear Girl, come to my Arms, let me embrace *thee*, my Child.
Thou art my own Daughter, my own Flesh and Blood,
and I'm overjoy'd to discover so much Good-nature in *thee*.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Unmarked usage for Sir Credulous Hippish and his second wife, Lady Hippish, is to address each other as *you*. Sir Credulous calls his wife *my love* and she calls him *Child*, *my life* and *my dear*. As Lady Hippish takes her leave, they switch to the more intimate *thou*. This usage is probably formulaic rather than a sign of endearment, since Lady Hippish addresses her husband as *you* in the same utterance and their epithets thus far have been affectionate.

Lady Hippish: Good by t'ye, my Love, for a little while;
I'll see *thee* again as soon as possible.

Sir Credulous: Goodby to *thee*, my Life.

Sir Credulous intends his daughter, Belina, to marry Looby, the nephew of his physician, Dr Mummy. Belina is in love with Beaumont, a young gentleman.

Beaumont conspires with Primrose, Belina's maid, to frighten Looby away. His momentary switch to *thou* in addressing Primrose collocates with a switch from the unmarked address, *Primrose*, to the appreciative epithet *dear, charming, courageous Wench* connoting his gratitude. Then his leave-taking switches back to the conventional format.

Beaumont: Well, but what have *you* for me to do now?

-- But now, Primrose, what have we to go upon next?

Primrose: Why, we have nothing now to do,
but to sow the Seeds of Discord betwixt Husband
and Wife, and the Day's our own.

Beaumont: *Thou* art a dear, charming, courageous Wench,
and shalt be rewarded accordingly.

... Success attend *you*.

Sir Credulous reacts with fury to Primrose's perceived meddling, addressing her as *you* in collocation with abusive epithets:

Sir Credulous: Why, *you* meddling Baggage,

... Will you hold *your* Tongue, Serpent?

I'll make *you* be silent, or I'll --

... Why, *you* tormenting Beast!

(Goes to strike her.)

This switches to *thou*¹³¹ when he reorientates the topic (with the pragmatic marker **but**) from abuse of Primrose to consideration of her proposed strategy to validate Sir Credulous's faith in his wife's affection.

Sir Credulous: -- No, no, I can never bear to hear
the Shrieks and Lamentations she'll make over me;

-- **But**, Primrose, ar't *thee* not afraid that her very
thinking me dead, will break her Heart?

The excessive sentimentality Sir Credulous feels for his wife seems to influence his address to Primrose. His belief that Primrose shares his perception of his wife's feeling for him creates his perception of an affinity between them that motivates the more intimate address term.

¹³¹ Though *thee* is used as a subject cf [4CKILLI 1719] above.

Sir Credulous reveals that he is alive and has heard his wife's abuse of him during his feigned death. He claims to have learned his lesson. Lady Hippish responds with negative affect.

Lady Hippish: 'Tis such a Lesson, Fool, as I shall make *thee* repent having ever got from me. *Thou* shalt pay so dear for *thy* Wisdom, as shall make *thee* wish *thy* self in easy Delusion again.

He threatens to turn her out. Lady Hippish responds to this threat over several exchanges with emotional *thou* in collocation with the negative epithets *Wretch* and *Worm*, yet her questions also express sarcasm:

Lady Hippish: Wilt *thou* so, Man?
... Say'st *thou* so, my Soul?

... And now, *thou* shalt be altogether as great a Wretch;
for I'll so chastise *thee* for this Curiosity!
I'll so trample on *thee*, Worm!
Sir Credulous: Out o' my House, I say

Her switch to unmarked *you* implies that she has regained control of the situation, reverting ironically to the previous patronising epithets *my Dear* and *Child*:

Lady Hippish: Ha, ha, ha! *You* talk wildly, my Dear;
you are light-headed, and don't know it.
-- To bed, to bed, Child, and send for a Doctor and Nurse, in an Instant.

1744 [5CFIELD] Historical Register for the Year 1736

Unmarked Usage

The topic of this text is a play rehearsal attended by Sowrit, a drama critic, accompanied by Lord Dapper. Unmarked usage is *you* with very little use of *thou*. Two examples of *thou* are to colleagues and connote solidarity. Player 2 addresses Player 1:

Player 2: Ay, prithee, what Subject wou'dst *thou* write on?

and Medley, the Playwright, instructs one of the players:

Medley: Get *thee* gone for the prettiest Hero that ever was shown on any Stage.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

The only other example of *thou* in this extract is the ironic comment made after Lord Dapper's exit by the Prompt:

Lord Dapper: ... one does not go to see the Play but the Company
... and therefore I am always ready to countenance good Plays.

Prompt: *Thou* art a sweet Judge of Plays, indeed,
and yet it is in the Power of such Sparks¹³² as these to
damn an honest Fellow, both in his Profit and Reputation.

The motivation for the use of *thou* in this example is not wholly the absence of the addressee. The Prompt's utterance morphs into a pejorative aside, so that *thou* also connotes pejoration.

1747 [5CHOADL] The Suspicious Husband

Unmarked Usage

The characters in this text are of the middling sort, not titled but they include several gentlemen, a lawyer and rich heiresses together with their servants. Unmarked address is *you*. Of note is the usage of Ranger, the lawyer, to the Milliner's young assistant delivering linen to him:

Ranger: Well, Child -- and who are *you*?
... I swear, my Dear, *you* have the prettiest pair of Eyes
-- the loveliest pouting Lips -- I never saw *you* before.
-- The Devil fetch me, Child, *you* look'd so prettily,
that I could not mind one Word *you* said.
... Dear little smiling Angel -- (Catches, and kisses her.)

The use of the terms: *Child*, *my Dear*, *Dear little smiling Angel* imply that she is a young woman. These collocate with *you*, whereas previously [4CMANLE 1696] such terms of endearment collocated with *thou*: an indication that the use of *thou* with this connotation to young women appears to be weakening.

¹³² OED a young man of elegant or foppish character; one who affects smartness or display in dress and manners. Chiefly in more or less depreciatory use.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Jack Meggot greets his old friend, Charles Frankly, as *thou* in obvious banter as the terms ‘Antique’ and ‘these five hundred Years’ connote:

Jack Meggot: Whom have we here? my old Friend Frankly?
Thou art grown a meer Antique since I saw *thee*?
 How hast *thou* done these five hundred Years?

but though they subsequently indulge in banter together, their unmarked usage is to exchange *you*:

Jack Meggot: Pho! prithee! Pox! Charles -- Don't be silly
 -- Well! Charles, what? Dumb?
 Come, come; *you* may talk tho' you have nothing to
 say, as I do -- Let us hear, where have *you* been?

Frankly's comment on the only occasion he addresses Jack as *thou* indicates that they perceive such usage as banter: ‘but to leave fooling’. The pragmatic marker **but** here introducing the change of topic:

Jack Meggot: ... I'll be as secret as a debauch'd Prude --

Charles Frankly: Whose Sanctity every one suspects.
 Jack, Jack, 'tis not in *thy* Nature. Keeping a Secret is
 worse to *thee* than keeping *thy* Accounts.
But to leave fooling, listen to me, both,

There is a similar motivation for the marked exchange of *thou* between the friends, Clarinda and Jacintha.

Clarinda: Hey Day!¹³³ O' my Conscience *thou* art a brave
 Girl. *Thou* art the very first Prude, that ever had
 Honesty enough to avow her Passion for a Man.

Jacintha: And *thou* art the first finish'd Coquet who ever
 had any Honesty at all.

This is banter not to be taken seriously. The OED notes of Clarinda's exclamation, ‘Hey Day’, that it denotes ‘frolicsomeness.’

¹³³ OED an exclamation denoting frolicsomeness, gaiety, surprise, wonder, etc.

Frankly, having fallen in love with Clarinda, extols to his friend Bellamy the superior joys of love to those of friendship.

Bellamy: I shew my Heart is capable of Love, by the Friendship it bears to *you*.

Frankly: The Light of Friendship looks but dim before the brighter Flame of Love.

-- *You* dull, and cold as Earth and Water;
I light and warm as Air and Fire.

reorientating his topic to a protest with the pragmatic marker **why** collocating with *thou*:

Frankly: ... **Why**, Bellamy, for Shame! get *thee* a Mistress, and be sociable.

then switching back to *you* in further comment on Bellamy's demeanour:

Frankly: My Flood of Joy shall not be stopt by *your* melancholy Fists, I assure *you*. (Going.)

At the suggestion that Bellamy may really be in love he switches back with an expression of surprise in a reorientation of topic from Bellamy's demeanour to his character:

Bellamy: Stay, Frankly, I beg *you* stay.
What would *you* say now, if I really were in Love?

Frankly: **Why, faith**, *thou* hast such romantick Notions of Sense and Honour, that I know not what to say.

He makes a further switch to reorientate his topic to satirize Bellamy's use of the term 'confess', introducing this with the pragmatic marker **and**:

Bellamy: To confess the Truth then, I am in Love.
Frankly: **And** do *you* confess it as if it were a Sin?

Their exchange concludes with Bellamy's climactic declaration:

Bellamy: I swear, I am as true an Enamorato as ever tagg'd a Rhyme.

and Frankly's further switch to express his affinity with *thou dear Companion of my Joys*:

Frankly: **And** art *thou* then thoroughly in Love?
Come to my Arms, *thou* dear Companion of my Joys --
(They embrace.)

Frankly's ironic response to Bellamy in their final exchange on this topic later in the text implies that Frankly's dialogue with Bellamy may have been intended as banter.

Bellamy: Oh! Frankly, Ranger, I never felt such Ease before.
The Secret's out, and you don't laugh at me.

Frankly: Laugh at *thee*? -- for loving a Woman of thirty thousand Pound?
Thou art a most unaccountable Fellow.

Mr Strickland, the eponymous Suspicious Husband, discovers a man's hat in his wife's dressing room. His switches from unmarked *you* to *thou* in addressing her correlate with negative epithets: *wretch*, *worst of women*. Even when in a passion as in the stage direction 'Both walk about in a Passion', he uses *you*. It seems that *thou* has negative rather than just emotional connotation in this exchange.

Mr. Strickland: ... Mrs. Strickland! Mrs. Strickland!
How came this Hat into your Chamber!

Mr. Strickland: Speak, Wretch, speak. --
Why dost *thou* not speak?

Mrs. Strickland: Sir --

Mr. Strickland: Guilt -- 'tis Guilt that ties *your* Tongue!

Mr. Strickland: My Fears are just, and I am miserable --
Thou worst of Women!

Mrs. Strickland: I know my Innocence, and can bear this no longer.

Mr. Strickland: I know you are false, -- and 'tis I who will
bear my Injuries no longer. (Both walk about in a Passion.)

1757 [5CGARRI] The Male Coquette

Unmarked Usage

There are characters in this text from several ranks in society: a lord, knights, gentlemen, ladies and servants. Unmarked usage for all of these characters is to address each other as *you*. The social deixis function of the second person pronoun is now assumed by the address term. The hero, Daffodil, is a gentleman. He has a manservant, whom he addresses by his family name, *Ruffle*. There is also a servant who addresses Daffodil as *your Honour* and Ruffle as *Mr Ruffle*. Daffodil addresses

this servant as *Harry*, which suggests that the latter is of lower social status than Ruffle. Both Sir William and Lord Racket address Daffodil as *George*. Daffodil addresses Sir William as *Sir William*. Lord Racket addresses the waiters by their first names. The waiters are on first name terms with each other and address Lord Racket as *my Lord*. To each other the cousins, Arabella and Sophia are: *my Dear ... Bell* and *dear Sophy*. Arabella interprets her cousin's formal leave taking as unfriendly:

Sophia: Since *you* are as little to be convinc'd, as I am to be persuaded -- *your* Servant -- (Going)

Arabella: Nay, Sophy -- This is unfriendly.

Markedness & Markedness Reversal

Daffodil uses *thou* collocating with a negative affective epithet to express his opinion of his manservant, Ruffle, but switches to *you* when speaking of him in relation to others connoting their potential more distant relationship with him.

Daffodil: *Thou* art a most incomprehensible Blockhead --

Ruffle: No great Scholar, or Wit, indeed
-- I had the whole Pack after me --

Daffodil: And did not they catch *you*?

The only other use of *thou* occurs in Mrs Dotterel's exchange with Daffodil. Daffodil amuses himself by trifling with womens' affections, flirting with them until they imagine themselves in love with him and discarding them when they become serious. Mrs Dotterel is one of his victims. She tells Daffodil that she has named her pet dog *Daffodil* but it is apparent that she is aware of Daffodil's duplicity and she switches from her unmarked use of *you* to *thou* in collocation with a string of abuse:

Mrs Dotterel: Could I love and esteem any Thing, and not call it Daffodil? -- What a Wretch! (Aside.)

Daffodil: My Passions are now tearing me to Pieces,
and if *you* will stay, by Heav'n I will not answer for the Consequences.

Mrs Dotterel: Consequences! What Consequences!
Thou wretched, base, false, worthless Animal!

Daffodil keeps up the pretence:

Daffodil: *You* do me Honour. (Bowing)

but Mrs Dotterel is not convinced and continues her abuse:

Mrs Dotterel: Canst *thou* think that I am so blinded by my
Passion, not to see *thy* treacherous, mean, unmanly Evasions?

Conscious of her reputation when they are interrupted, Mrs Dotterel switches to addressing Daffodil as *you* in an attempt to disguise the emotion of the encounter, yet her utterance still conveys negative affect:

Mrs Dotterel: *You* are a Villain -- I despise *you*, and detest
you -- and will never see *you* more.
(Exit Mrs Dotterel)

Discussion of results for Drama texts

In the earliest text from 1584 the high status characters exchange *you* and the low status characters exchange *thou*. In 1599 *you* is exchanged among social equals in all levels of society but social control is indexed by *thou* to offspring and servants. There is little later use of reciprocal unmarked *thou* within the lower orders with the last examples being in 1623 (included in numbered figures as 1602 where the usage is the same: see figure 5:2). There is also unconventional use of *thou* to social superiors by the host of the inn in this text [1623 2CSHAKE]. This subversion of unmarked usage identifies the host as a comic character. Contexts in which the use of *thou* seems inappropriate implies that such usage is marked. In 1607 an acknowledgement of inappropriate usage to a social superior is expressed by the servant, Butler, in addressing a knight: 'I tell thee (setting thy worsh. Knighthood aside) ... Did they not bind your worships knighthood' [1607 2CWILKI].

Most of the main characters in the drama texts are of the middling sort or drawn from the higher orders. The middling sort use *thou* as an address term within their social group until 1744, though this usage also connotes solidarity, not only of social status but also of semantic field: e.g. a player and a playwright [1744 5CFIELD]. The last use of *thou* down the social scale by the middling sort [1647 3CTB] is in a text that exhibits acute awareness of social difference.

Table 5:1 Unmarked Address of *thou* and *you* in Drama Comedies

- ◄ reciprocal use
 ► use to a social equal
 ▼ use down the social scale
 ▲ use up the social scale
 Does not indicate frequency

Denoting Comparative Social Status												
	Lower Orders				Middling Sort				Higher Orders			
	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲
1584-1599	t y	t	t	y	t y	y	t y	y	y	t y	t y	y
1600-1620	y	t	y	t	t y	t y	t y	y	t y	y	t y	
1641-1660	y					t	t	y	y		t y	
1661-1680						t y		y	t y	t y	t	
1681-1700	y				y				t y			
1701-1720									y	t	y	
1721-1740	y				y		y		y	t	t y	
1741-1760	y				y	t	y	y	y		y	

The higher orders in this text distinguish between the higher status servants, addressing them as *you*, whilst servants of lower status receive *thou*. Master Plush, who aspires to be a gentleman, is alone in addressing Master William, one of the higher ranking servants, as *thou*. Plush is described as ‘a notable humorous Coxcomb’, with presumably insufficient social skills to identify conventional usage. When *you* is unmarked as an address term in a text, the use of *thou* by stereotypical comic characters such as Captain Whit, a stage Irishman, and Justice Overdo in the guise of a preacher also implies that *thou* is marked [1614 2CJONSO]. In a 1675 text [3CWYCHE], *you* is unmarked address within a group of London gallants. Master Sparkish, an outsider, aspires unsuccessfully to be part of the group. He addresses each of them as *thou*. This usage marks him as being outside the group. Sir Fopling Flutter, [1676 3CETHER] whose name denotes his comic status, continues to address Dorimant, a gentleman, as *thou* even when this is not reciprocated. Tegue O Dively, an Irish priest [1682 4CSHADW], described as ‘an equal mixture of fool and knave’, uses variations of *thou* (*dou, dee, ty, dy*). These characters demonstrate social and

linguistic insecurity. They aspire to be part of society but their usage does not conform to the norm. It is marked.

Thou as an unmarked address term seems most common among the higher orders. In 1607 younger higher status male friends exchange *thou*, whilst older higher status male friends exchange *you*. Older higher status characters also address younger higher status characters as *you*. There is use of ‘corrective *thou*’ in 1607.¹³⁴ In 1611 the characters, who are mainly gentry, exchange *you*. Unmarked address within a group of gentlemen friends is *you* in the 1675 text. A newly-married wife greets her husband as *thou* and *thou* is used from a husband to his wife. In 1676 *thou* is used to young women and servants, otherwise characters exchange *you*. Again in 1682 a titled character addresses a young woman as *thou*, otherwise unmarked usage among the titled characters is *you*.

Characters in the 1694 text who are gentry or of similar status exchange *you*. The titled parents and their children in the 1696 text exchange *you* as do a merchant and his wife and the servants. The exception is a young woman who is addressed as *thou* by an old country gentleman. As late as 1723 *thou* is used within this social group by an aunt to her niece, though this may connote the difference in their ages rather than social solidarity [5CSTEEL]. It is used by the higher orders down the social scale to servants as late as 1734 [5CMILLE], though a gentleman in this text addresses his young child as *you*.

In the final text from 1757 the *thou/you* dichotomy appears to have been replaced by naming formats. Characters from a variety of social ranks including servants exchange *you* but there is a wide range of titles, which serve to locate the characters socially. There is still use of affective *thou*.

Writing of dialect literature, Ferguson (1998) coined the term *fictolinguistics* to describe the phenomenon when ‘aspects of the dialect that may seem absolutely inconsistent from the sociolinguistic perspective often have a clear logic when

¹³⁴ 1607 [2CWILKI] page 163 a switch to *thou* to remind one of the lower orders of his social status. A switch to *you* may also have this function. A Lady switches to address her maid as *thou* in appreciation of her wit but reverts to *you* to indicate that her maid is being presumptuous: *you grow impertinent* [1723 5CSTEEL].

viewed from the perspective of the narrative.’ In a similar way, the language of the constructed drama texts is inconsistent with the language of the authentic texts. The development of the narrative takes precedence over authentic usage. It is three times more likely for *thou* to collocate with an address term in the drama texts than in the authentic texts over the 200-year period and 10 times more likely for *thou* to collocate with an affective term in the drama texts. Audience awareness of the significance of a particular usage may cause it to survive long after it has ceased to feature in contemporary exchanges. An example of this is the use of *thou* by Old Bellair, a gentleman, to Emila and to Harriet, who are young gentlewomen [1676 3CETHER]. Old Bellair addresses all the other characters as *you* but his bantering use to Emilia and Harriet in collocation with *sweet Heart* and *sirrah* constitutes what Partridge defines as ‘elderly gentlemen’ being ‘moodily whimsical’ (1969:25). Similarly Sir Rustick Good-Heart, an old country gentleman, addresses the young gentlewoman, Marina, as *thou* and *child* as he declares his love for her [1696 4CMANLE]. Marina finds his declaration inappropriate, suggesting that he is mistaken ‘at your age’. After 1620 the use of unmarked *thou* diminishes in drama texts (table 5, figures 5:1 and 5:2). There is more use of *thou* as a marked address term in drama texts than in other texts. This does not imply that playwrights were unaware of contemporary usage, rather that marked use has an evaluative connotation. It is ‘a species of interpretant’ (Shapiro 1983:15-17). Its use connotes some aspect of the speaker or the addressee to the audience.

With a total of 238,590 words drama comprises approximately 25% of the total text studied. A comparison of the collocation of *thou* and *you* with address terms in drama texts with that in the total of texts studied shows, as expected, a higher occurrence in drama (37% of the CED total), as utterances are directed for the benefit of the audience. There is also a higher occurrence of *thou* in collocation with address terms in drama texts: 23% of address terms compared with 18% in non-drama texts (figure 5:1). It is notable that *thou* is still used as an address term in drama texts in 1747 [5CHOADL].

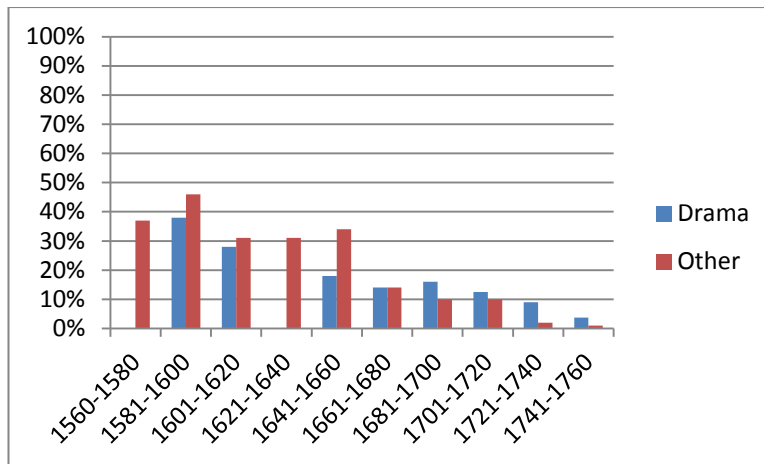


Figure 5:1 Collocation of *thou* with Address Terms in Drama & Other Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

Drama: Mean 17.40% STDEV 12.10% Other: Mean 21.60% STDEV 15.99%

There is a statistically significant high use of *thou* with address terms in both drama and non-drama texts in the period 1581-1600 (figure 5:2), though in non-drama texts the rate of use is fairly consistent at around 30-35% before a sudden fall in 1661-1680 (figure 5:1).

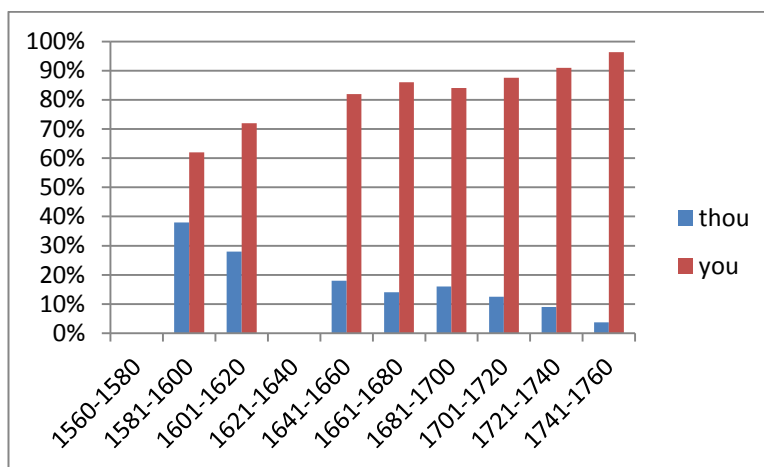


Figure 5:2 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Address Terms in Drama Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

thou: Mean 17.40% STDEV 12.10% *you*: Mean 82.60% STDEV 36.13%

A consideration of the collocation of *thou* with affective epithets shows that this is more common in drama than in non-drama texts (figure 5:3). When this collocation of *thou* with affective epithets is compared with collocations with address terms (figure 5:1), it is striking that drama is the genre of ‘emotional tension’ (Barber 1981:177). There is a far greater use of *thou* with affective epithets than there is of *thou* in collocation with address terms.

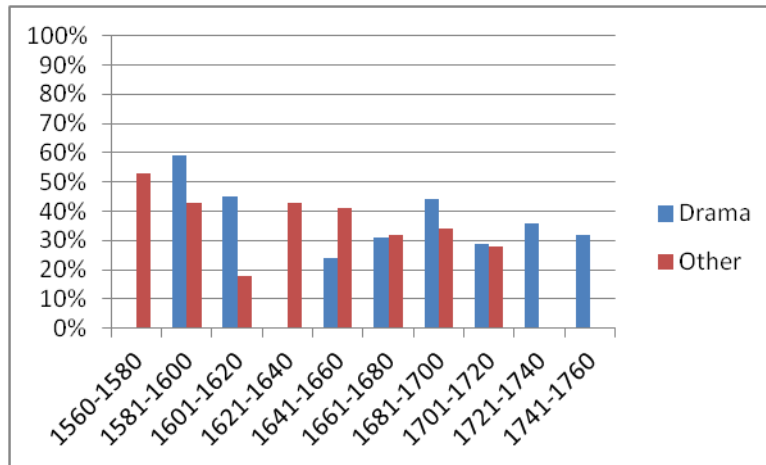


Figure 5:3 Collocation of *thou* with Affective Epithets in Drama & Other Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

Drama: Mean 37.50% STDEV 18.68% Other: Mean 29.20% STDEV 18.10%

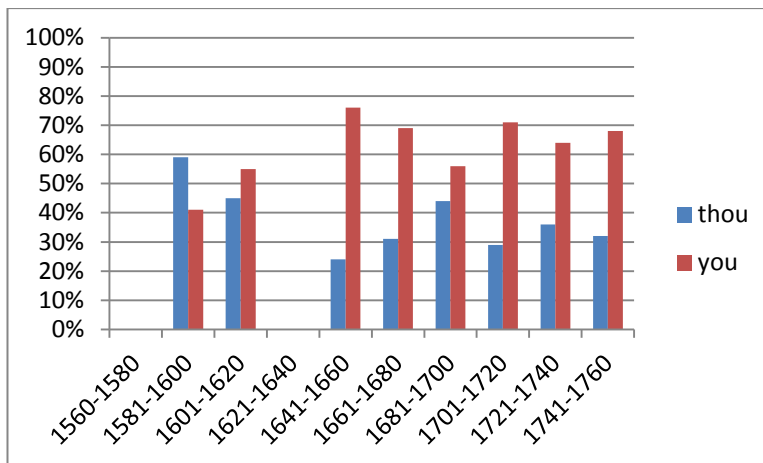


Figure 5:4 Collocation of *thou* & *you* with Affective Epithets in Drama Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

thou: Mean 37.59% STDEV 18.67% *you*: Mean 62.50% STDEV 28.16%

There is a statistically significant high use of *thou* with affective epithets in drama texts in 1581-1600 (figure 5:4). From 1600 affective usage becomes more common with *you* than *thou* in drama texts (figure 5:4). In non-drama texts this change occurs from 1581 (figure 5:5).

Over the whole period affective epithets collocate with *thou* and *you* in drama texts in a ratio of 38:62 (figures 5:6 and 5:7). *Thou* collocates with negative affect to a statistically significant degree in drama texts in 1581-1600 but after that date *you* collocates with negative affect to a greater extent (figure 5:6).

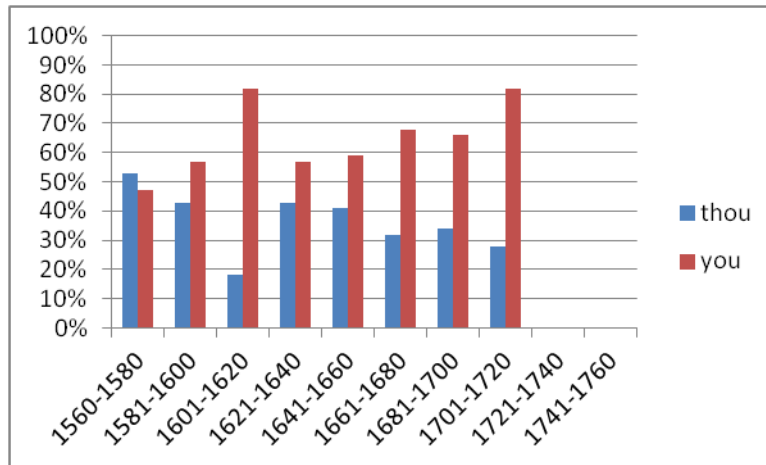


Figure 5:5 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Affective Epithets in Non-Drama Texts

thou: Mean 36.50% STDEV 18.10% *you*: Mean 64.75% STDEV 29.40%

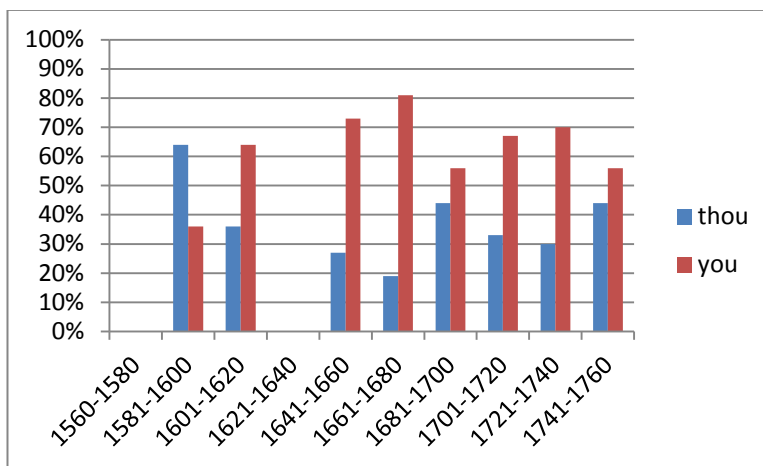


Figure 5:6 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Negative Epithets in Drama Texts

thou: Mean 37.125% STDEV 19.78% *you*: Mean 62.875% STDEV 29.14%

In non-drama texts positive epithets collocate predominantly with *you* throughout the whole period (figure 5:8). Positive affect in drama collocates equally with *thou* and *you* until 1641 when there is a noticeable change to *you*-collocation (figure 5:7), though the use of *thou* in collocation with address terms also begins to diminish at this point in drama texts (figure 5:2). In non-drama texts *thou* in collocation with an address term falls significantly after 1660 (figure 5:1). It is more frequent in drama texts but is never as high as it is with affective epithets (figures 5:2 & 5:4). *Thou* continues to be used with positive affect in drama texts until the end of the period [1757 5GARRI]. The final example found in non-drama texts is in didactic texts [1703 4HOMEMB].

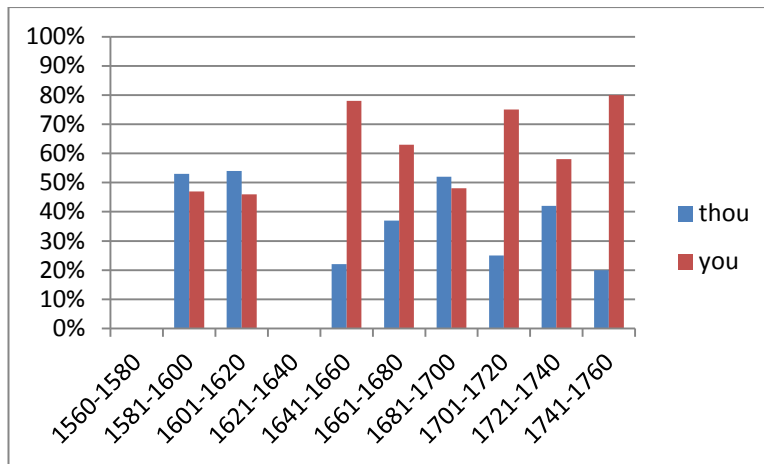


Figure 5:7 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Positive Epithets in Drama Texts

thou: Mean 38.125% STDEV 20.46% *you*: Mean 61.875% STDEV 28.99%

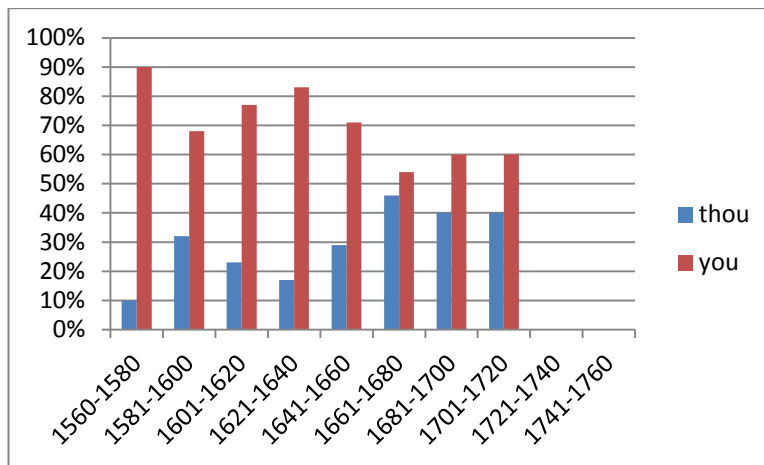


Figure 5:8 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Positive Epithets in Non-Drama Texts

thou: Mean 29.625% STDEV 16.60% *you*: Mean 70.375% STDEV 31.62%

Towards the end of the period [1747 5CHOADL], *thou* appears to function as a mitigating factor for the exchange of negative epithets between two friends in one drama text, as Clarinda switches to a marked *thou*:

Clarinda: Hey Day! O' my Conscience *thou* art a brave Girl.
Thou art the very first Prude, that ever had Honesty enough
to avow her Passion for a Man.

Jacintha: And *thou* art the first finish'd Coquet who ever
had any Honesty at all.

This is potentially banter but a third character does not interpret it as such:

Mrs. Strictland: Come, come! You are both too good for either of those Characters.

Other use of *thou* in this text in a pragmatically negative utterance does appear to be interpreted as banter:

Jack Meggot: Whom have we here? my old Friend Frankly?
Thou art grown a meer Antique since I saw *thee*?
 How hast *thou* done these five hundred Years?

Frankly: Even as you see me; well, and at *your* Service, ever.

Other semantically negative *thou* in this period [1757 5CGARRI] can only be interpreted as negative:

Mrs. Dotterel: Consequences! What Consequences!
Thou wretched, base, false, worthless Animal!

This is much later than the use of negative affect *thou* in non-drama texts (figure 5:9) where the final occurrence found was in the satirical didactic text [1703 4 HOLUCI].

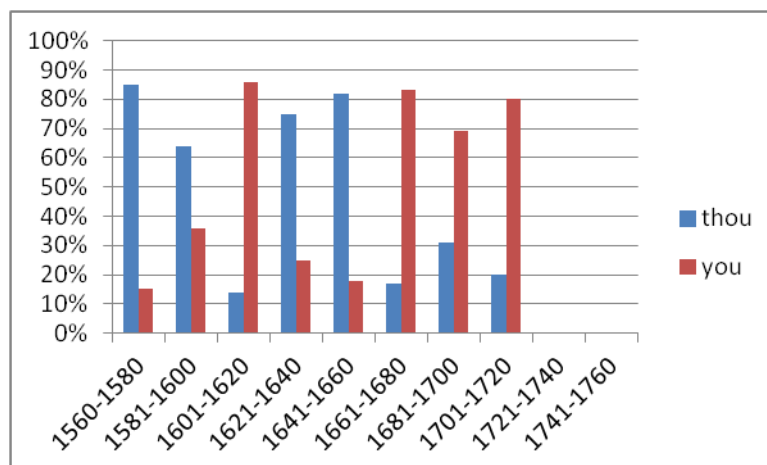


Figure 5:9 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Negative Epithets in Non-Drama Texts

thou: Mean 48.5% STDEV 32.30% *you*: Mean 51.5% STDEV 32.37%

Drama depicts a fictitious world that has to be sufficiently realistic for the audience to interpret. The text may not represent authentic usage but it has to resemble contemporary usage sufficiently for the audience to be able to perceive marked and unmarked usage and to be able to perceive the implications. It is likely that the numbers of switching in dramatic texts are higher than those in authentic texts but it is also likely that such switching was significant to the audience.

Chapter 6 Data Analysis of Didactic Works, Language Teaching & Miscellaneous Texts

Unlike drama texts didactic and language teaching texts are primarily intended to be read. They may have the same features of characterisation as the drama texts but tend to have less plot development with less change of topic and change of stance. They are texts invented by the author with little narratorial intervention. Their purpose is to instruct or inform. Argument or information is presented as a dialogue as if between master and student (Kytö & Walker 2006:23).

A) Didactic Works

1568 [1HOTILN] Flower of Friendshippe

Master Pedro discusses duty in marriage with a group of ladies and gentlemen. They exchange mutual *you*. There are rare uses of *thou*. Master Gaulter, *a merie gentleman*, cites the utterance of a wise man to a friend who has asked his advice:

Nowe choose, which of these foure [wives]
thou canst best content thy self

As an address to a friend, this can be seen as intimate, informal address. The address by Master Pedro, the instructor, to Master Gaulter begins with generic *you* (= *one*) and shifts to the specific reference that seems to connote affinity in the fellowship of men against shrewish women:

Tushe,¹³⁵ they [women] bee shrewes all,
 and if you giue the simplest of them
 leaue to daye to treade vpon your foote,
 to morrowe she will tread vpon *thy* head

1579 [1HOBEZA] Little Catechisme

This text is translated from the French. It is religious instruction in the form of question and answer. The addressee is addressed as *you*. Many of the responses are not in the form of finite sentences. The questioner is not directly addressed.

¹³⁵ OED an exclamation of impatient contempt or disparagement.

1579 [1HONICH] Lady Called Listra, and a Pilgrim

This is a dialogue between the Lady Listra and a poor pilgrim, who ‘was a man well growne in yeeres’, who encounter each other on the road. They address each other as *father Pilgrime* and *Good Madam* and exchange *you*.

1580 [1HODW] Certaine Godly Instructions

This text is set out in question and answer format and describes the rubric to be adopted by the minister of religion in assessing the preparedness of young people to receive Holy Communion. Initially he addresses the group as *you* and then the individual as *thou*. The format of the text indicates that this is formulaic usage.

Question: Whiche bee the outwarde signes in this Sacrament?

Answer: Bread and Wine.

Question: How doest *thou* receiue the outward signes?

1593 [1HOGIFF] Dialogve Concerning Witches

This is a dialogue constructed by a minister of religion concerning the Devil’s strategy in leading witches and others astray. M.B. and Dan, the participants, address each other as *you*.

Formulaic *thou* is used in addressing the Devil, as Dan reports to M.B.:

Dan: [a]s to say we command thee in the
name of God, that *thou* tel vs who sent thee.
Who sent thee? who sent thee?

and in the speech of non-human beings. Another speaker, Sam, reports that a spirit appeared to a confessed witch and addressed her:

Spirit: *thou* hast confessed and bewrayed¹³⁶ all,
I coulde teeme it to rend *thee* in peeces

Goodwife R. tells M.B. the formula for driving a witch out of the cream:

Goodwife R. :Some thinke she is there,
& therefore, when they thrust in the spitte
they say, If *thou* beest here haue at *thine* eie.

¹³⁶ OED malign, defame.

Use of *thou* among human speakers in this text seems to reflect social status. Sam recounts how a *woman* suspected of being a witch is admonished by a *gentleman*:

Gentleman: Looke yonder same is *thy* spirit.
[a Weasill or Lobsterre looking euen vpon them]

to which she replies:

Woman: Ah maister (said she) that is a vermine, there
be many of them euery where.

The significant terms here are the indicators of social status, *gentleman* and *woman*. She is not a *lady*. The gentleman addresses her as *thou* and she calls him *master*. Another witch then confronts her, addressing her as *thou* in collocation with the negative epithet *beast*.

Another witch: Ah *thou* beast, what hast *thou* done?
thou hast bewrayed vs all.

This seems to connote opprobrium rather than social intimacy.

Sam's use of *thou* as a term of address to his wife does seem to indicate social intimacy:

Sam: Wife why diddest *thou* say that he sayd
the good wife R. is a witch?

1594 [1HOOB] Questions of Profitable & Pleasant Concernings ... to Cure if it were possible, the Principle Diseases wherewith this Present Time is Especially Vexed

This is a dialogue between 'two old seniors' one of whom is 'an ancient retired gentleman' and 'the other a midling or new upstart frankeling'.¹³⁷ They dispute the concept of the possibility of creating a gentleman: one of the principal diseases of the title being the social aspirations of the lower orders.

Huddle is apparently the *gentleman*. He addresses Dunstable as: *neighbour Dunstable*. Dunstable, the new upstart frankeling, addresses Huddle as: *Sir, your maistership, your worship*. They address each other throughout as *you*.

¹³⁷ OED a freeholder, in 14th-15th c. the designation of a class of landowners, of free but not noble birth, and ranking next below the gentry.

1601 [2HOMAXE] New Instruction of Plowing and Setting

A discussion between a ploughman and a scholar of the latter's newly-published book, *God speede the Plough*. The ploughman disputes the scholar's recommendations but the discussion is amicable. They exchange *you* and address each other as *Sir*.

1601 [2HOCHUR] Concerning Churching of Women

The *woman* in this dialogue protests to her cousin, the Chancellor, that she has been served with a citation by his apparitor¹³⁸ for not having presented herself for churching after childbirth. His stance switches during their exchange from annoyance at her presumption in dealing with matters beyond her concern to conciliatory address terms but they exchange *you* throughout.

1607 [2HONORD] Surveyors Dialogue

The objective of this text is to explain the function of the surveyor. It opens with a dialogue between the surveyor and the tenant farmer. They are hostile to each other but maintain exchange of *you* and *Sir* throughout.

Sample 2 of the text concerns the exchange between the surveyor and the lord of the manor. The lord's address of *Friend* to the surveyor connotes ingratiation. He considers that he could benefit from the surveyor's services but preserves social distance with the use of *you*:

Lord: Friend, of late I met with a Tenant
of mine, who told me *you* are a Surueyor of Land.
... I haue at this time some occasion to vse
the ayd of one of *your* faculty

It may be the realisation that the surveyor is merely another domestic servant that motivates the lord to address him as such with *thou*. When the lord asserts that he knows the extent of his holdings but does not have the necessary skill to interpret the legal implication of this, however, he switches to *you* in acknowledgement of the surveyor's superior knowledge:

¹³⁸ OED an officer of an ecclesiastical court.

Lord: *Thou* sayst true in *thy* comparison: **but**
 for my part, although indeed I haue Land, and I
 know how many Mannors I haue,
 ... I needed not *your* seruice, as of quantities
 ... relate vnto me what *you* can say
 of the definition of a Mannor,

At the conclusion of the long technical exchange in which the surveyor explains the legal niceties of tenancy law, the lord switches to *thou* following the pragmatic marker **well** as he switches from the topic of the discussion to comment on the surveyor's presentation of his argument. The social deixis changes as the persona of the surveyor changes from that of expert to that of potential employee:

Lord: **Wel**, I haue heard all *thy* discourse with patience:

In the final segment the farmer takes the surveyor to the first manor to be surveyed and misinterprets an apparently critical comment made by the surveyor, who hurries to correct him, then, in a remark introduced by the pragmatic marker **but**, the surveyor switches to *thou* in a move from the specific to the general. It is as if he maintains formal usage in exchanges that may be recorded but feels able to use a more familiar term in 'idle communication':

Surveyor: The house is beautifull and faire: I deride it
 not, *you* doe *your* selfe wrong in attaching mee,
 ... **But** to tell *thee* by the way, (for this is but idle communication)
 that I haue obserued in nothing more sudden and serious
 repentance, then for building.

1610 [2HOSNAW] Looking Glasse for Married Folkes

The descriptions of the four women in this text indicate how they are to be assessed and the names *Abigail* and *Xantip* would presumably serve as character clues to contemporary readers:

Abigail,¹³⁹ *the fathers ioy*
Eulalie, *wel-spoken*
Xantip,¹⁴⁰ *a scold*
Margerie, *a proud malapert*

¹³⁹ OED A lady's maid; a female servant or attendant.

¹⁴⁰ OED allusively An ill-tempered woman or wife, a shrew, a scold.

The writer approves of the first two but not of Xantip and Margerie. Xantip is the only speaker who does not use *thou*. Abigail is, to employ an anachronism, a prig,¹⁴¹ but, as ‘the father’s joy’, is intended as an admirable character. The motivation for some of her address term switches is problematic. Some of her apparent switches may indicate a change of addressee. Xantip states that she would have modified her language had she been aware of Abigail’s presence:

Xantip: Where were *you* that we saw *you* not before not?

Abigail: Little had *you* thought that I had bene
so neare *you*, till *you* saw me.

Xantip: No, for if I had, I would not haue sworne so, as I did.

Abigail: Alas I heard *thee* with grieve,
and thought to haue told *thee* of it at
time conuenient: **but** were *you* not
afraid lest God should see *you*, and heare
you sweare so horribly.

Xantip refers only to herself as swearing. The first part of Abigail’s reply in the singular may be to Xantip alone and the second plural part may be addressed to them all. This would mean that they were all swearing. If this is not the case, Abigail changes the reference mid-utterance with the pragmatic marker **but** introducing a reorientation from her own viewpoint to that of Xantip’s viewpoint.

Abigail chastises the others for expressing an interest in their appearance rather than in God. Margerie suggests that this makes her sound like a Puritan, to which Abigail objects and addresses the ‘proud malapert’ Margerie as *you*:

Margerie: What shall wee haue of *you*? a Puritane?

Abigail: I pray *you* Margerie, vse no
more such scoffing speeches.

She also addresses the ‘well-spoken’ Eulalie as *you* and this can have only singular reference, since she speaks privately to Eulalie:

Abigail: I will make my case knowne vnto *you* in *your* eare.

¹⁴¹ OED one who cultivates or affects a propriety of culture, learning, or morals, which offends or bores others; a conceited or self-important and didactic person.

This *you* is problematic, as Abigail has previously addressed Eulalie as *thou*:

Abigail: A lacke Eulaly, *thou* art an
honest ciuill woman, I must needs say, but
yet *thou* speakest very carnally

As Abigail's main function is to instruct the other women in their 'behaviours toward God and their husbands', much of her discourse concerns religion. In general when relating their behaviour, she addresses them as *you* and when commenting on how she regards such behaviour, her usage becomes *thou*:

Abigail: *You* haue uttered too much of *your* own euil disposition;
... I dare assure *thee*, it doth grieve me at the heart;

but this is not consistent:

Abigail: O neighbour Eulalie, if *you* would but practise
that which *you* know, I should loue *you* better then
euer I did: for then I hope *you* would be a Christian indeed.

Unmarked usage for the 'well-spoken' Eulalie, the other character of whom the writer approves, is *you*. She switches to *thou* in criticising Xantip's preoccupation with their new gowns and in finding fault with her husband:

Eulalie: Well Xantip, well, I pray *thee* be contented;
and if *thou* louest me, nay if *thou* louest God or *thy* selfe,
marke well what our good neighbour Abigail hath said
out of the Apostle Paul, that the woman ought to be
in subiection to her husband.
... O terrible mannish woman!
I did not thinke that *thou* hadst bene of such a peremptory spirit.
Thou doest not remember that he hath power ouer *thee*,
and that *thou* shouldest let *thy* desire be subiect to *thy* husbands.

It seems that for Eulalie *thou* connotes negative affect. Later she tells Xantip:

Eulalie: Truly Xantip it is as I say, and therefore
cry Christ mercy for *thy* cursed blasphemy,
and study to agree with *thy* husband henceforward
by appluing *thy* selfe vnto his qualities.

having first formally sought Xantip's permission for some plain speaking:

Eulalie: I pray *you* good neighbour hold *your* tounge,
and giue me leaue to speake my mind a little to *you*.

to which Xantip agrees, since they have been best friends since childhood:

Xantip: *You* say true. For truly we haue bene play-fellowes
from our cradles; and of all that euer I had,
there was none that I euer loued better then *you*.

The other participant, Margerie, the ‘proud malapert’, sympathises with Xantip
whose husband spends all her marriage portion:

Margerie: If I were as *thou* art, I would haue better things,
or else the house should be too hot for him

and who threatens her with violence:

Xantip: Hee got vp a great cudgell, and shaked it at me,
threatning me with thundering speeches.

Margerie: Wast *thou* not afraid then Xantip?

Her sympathy turns to admiration, however, on hearing how Xantip reacted. Her
switch to *you* here connotes Xantip’s masculine persona (‘your manly courage’) in
resisting her husband’s aggression. This contrasts with Eulalie’s negative reaction to
the same perception: ‘O terrible mannish woman!’ For Eulalie (above) this
collocates with *thou*.

Xantip: Afraid? no: on the other side, I tooke vp the treuit;
and if he had but touched me with a finger, he should wel
haue seene and felt, that I would haue laid about me lustily
with both my hands.

Margerie: I promise *you*, I commend *you* for *your* manly courage;
... did he, when *you* stood so stoutly to him,
leaue off to threaten *you* blowes?

Unmarked usage for Margerie is to address Abigail and Eulalie as *you* but she greets
Xantip with *thou* and resumes this usage after this switch, expressing positive affect
and affinity with the other apparent non-conformist:

Margerie: It was well done Xantip;
hold him out still at staues end, yeeld
him not an inch, lest he take an ell:
let him not crow ouer *thee*.
... What does hee, I pray *thee*, whilst *thou* art scolding?
... I am sure, this behaiour of his angers *thee* to the heart.

There is no reference to social status in this text. The participants address each other
by name or as: *woman*, *gossip*, *neighbour*. For both Xantip and Eulalie *thou* may
connote affect, the nature of which is determined by their perception of the topic.

1615 [2HOHOBY] Cvry-Combe for a Coxe-Combe

This is a response by Sir Edward Hoby, written under the pseudonym Nick Groom, to a libel against him by Jabal Rachil. Unmarked usage among the characters in this text: Nick, groom to Sir Edward, the mayor and to a minister of religion is *you*. The mayor and the minister of religion, who are of higher social status than Nick, switch to address him as *thou* when he utters one word of Latin. This seems to impress his interlocutors, who comment favourably on his social status: ‘thou art true bred’ and demeanour: ‘thou art a merrie grigge.’¹⁴²

Nick: I will ferret his sides till he crie Flebo

Minister: I perceiue *thou* art true bred;
such a Whelp is fittest for this game:
But how camest *thou* by *thy* Latin?

Maior: On my soule *thou* art a merrie grigge.
I would not for the price of a good Breake-fast haue
wanted *thy* companie in the reuiew of this discourse.

They both immediately revert to *you*, then the Mayor switches to *thou* again in approbation of Nick’s further use of Latin:

Maior: Gra-mercy Nick, I perceiue *thou* hast not left
all *thy* Latine shreads at home.

Nick may not be of equivalent social status to the others but his knowledge of Latin accords him prestige, which motivates these expressions of approbation.

1640 [3HOTJ] Vpright the Shoemaker

This is a dialogue between two craftsmen who initially address each other as *Sir* and *Master* collocating with family name. They do not seem to be close acquaintances but their exchange descends into mutual sniping initially expressed by *you*:

Pattent, the Smith: how many of the Kings Subjects
have *you* put in the stockes¹⁴³ without authority
not vagrants and Beggars, but Gentlemen, Marchants,
Citizens, with their wives and daughters.

¹⁴² OED an extravagant lively person, one who is full of frolic and jest.

¹⁴³ OED *the shoemaker’s stocks* (jocularly): tight boots.

Vpright, the Shoemaker: I vnderstand *your* wit:
you meane that I have made their shooes too little for them.
 ... They had better be in the Shoomakers stacks,
 then be so gauled¹⁴⁴ by Pattents¹⁴⁵ as they have beene.
 Pattent; I doe not thinke but *you* have dranke *your*
 Mornings draught in Wormewood Beere Mr. Vpright.
 ... *You* fall so bitter vpon me:

Vpright: I shall be bitterer ere we part Master Pattent.

Pattent, the smith, switches to *thou* with negative affect stripping his interlocutor of title and name, addressing him only by his occupation:

Pattent: Doe *thy* worst Shoomaker.

But Upright has worse opprobrium to heap on Pattent than criticism of his workmanship. He recalls a past event that Pattent remembers with amusement, motivating his switch to *you* to Upright in anticipation of the positive affect of shared amusement:

Vpright: doe *you* remember when *you* were Constable Master Pattent,
 when *you* tooke me in *your* watch on Crispine
 and Crispianus Night, and carried me to the Counter.

Pattent: Ha ha ha, yes I doe, I doe.

Vpright: Doe *you* laugh at it.

Pattent: Yes faith, I remember *you* went beyond *your* Last then.

Upright, however, did not consider this an amusing anecdote and switches to *thou* in collocation with a string of negative epithets and phrases:

Vpright: I remember *thou* wer't the troublesom'st
 tyrannicall Constable that ever knock'd down
 iniquity with a painted staffe:
 ... **And** what had *your* Loggerhead to doe with Mr.
 Logwood the Dyer; *thou* wilt vndertake to teach
 people to dye well, and *thy* selfe could'st never live well.

¹⁴⁴ OED chafed.

¹⁴⁵ OED a kind of overshoe or sandal worn to raise the ordinary shoes out of mud or wet.

The switch to *you* in this utterance introduced by the pragmatic marker **and** functions as an aside then Upright resumes his criticism of Pattend with a switch back to *thou*. Pattend's reply is an appreciation of Upright's puns:

Pattend: Very good.

but Upright switches the topic back to a discussion of the consequences of the behaviour of *you*, Pattend, in the role of *thou*, constable:

Vpright: **Not** very bad sir, 'tis *you* I am talking off,
doe *you* heare Pattend, the Spanish Marchant
Don tobacco vowes a revenge upon *thee*, and I
much feare he will take *thy* life:

The ensuing exchanges switch between *you* and *thou* as the pair abuse each other. Terms of opprobrium may collocate with either address term:

Pattend: *you* Dunstable¹⁴⁶
... *ye* Pantoffle¹⁴⁷
... *you* vagrants

Vpright: Yes *you* paper Kite¹⁴⁸
... *thou* lack in a boxe¹⁴⁹
... *you* puppie¹⁵⁰

Of the two, Upright switches address terms more frequently. The Latin motto in the title of the text may explain this: 'Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam' ~ Let the Cobbler Stick to his Last. It is when Upright complains of Pattend's other persona as constable that he switches to *thou* of opprobrium:

Vpright: *thou* wer't the troublesom'st tyrannicall Constable
...**when** *you* traded in sheepskins and Lambskins
oh *thou* wer't a precious Woolfe in Lambskinne

The one reference to address terms is made by Upright who objects when Pattend addresses him as *goodman Shoomaker*. The term *goodman* is defined in the OED as: 'prefixed to designations of occupation, prefixed to names of persons under the rank of gentlemen, a man of substance, not of gentle birth; a yeoman.' Upright interprets

¹⁴⁶ OED plain-speaker.

¹⁴⁷ OED slipper, loose shoe, sandal.

¹⁴⁸ OED term of reproach or detestation.

¹⁴⁹ OED name for a sharper or cheat.

¹⁵⁰ OED applied to a person as a term of contempt.

this as a slur on his social status and retaliates with distinct social deixis: ‘I am a Gentleman ... thou art an Upstart’

Pattent: But heark ye goodman Shoomaker.

Vpright: Goodman Shoomaker, I deny and defie the title.
I am a Gentleman, my gentility is of Antiquity,
thou art an Upstart; Shooes were made when *thy*
villanous Pattents were not thought on.

1641 [3HOTRAV] Dialogue betwixt Three Travellers

Factious Wrest-Writ, the puritan in this dialogue, appears to address Crucy Cringe, the papist, stereotypically as *thou*. Both Crucy Cringe and Accepted Weigh All, a member of the Church of England, use only *you* in addressing the other participants. Their names refer to their personae. Only Accepted Weigh All is moderate. The others are extremists whose ‘errors’ are discussed in the text.

The use of *thou* by Factious is not, however, indicative of his Puritanism but collocates with his abuse to Crucy:

Factious: Out of my sight, *thou* Idolator;

... Down Dagon,¹⁵¹ down, I hate *thee* Cringe;
I hate *thee* and *thy* late disputed doctrine of the reall
presence in the Sacrament,

1641 [3HOPOET] Dovvnefall of Temporizing Poets

This text is described as ‘a very pleasant dialogue, printed merrily’, suggesting it is intended as a comedy. The protagonists are: Light-foot, the Mercury, who sells pamphlets and newsbooks in the street, Suck-bottle, the Hawker, who sells books and the Moderator between them, Red-Nose, the Poet. Encountering his rival, Light-foot greets him with *you* then switches to *thou* in reorientating the topic to answer his own enquiry. This gives his utterance the structure: question, statement, directive and moves it from his viewpoint to that of Suck-bottle:

¹⁵¹ OED an idol, or object of idolatrous devotion

Light-foot: How now Suck-bottle, how goes the world with *you*?
 me-thinkes *you* are growne very wist of late,
 ... Tell me the cause of *thy* dejected countenance.

This apparent expression of sympathy switches to negative affect with *you* in collocation with the negative term *Sirrah*, in response to Suck-bottle's curse:

Suck-bottle: A pox on *you* Lightfoot, if it had not beene
 for *you* I might have beene now merry and frolicke

Light-foot: Sirrah Suck-bottle, doe not *you* lay
 the cause of *your* downfull upon me,

Suck-bottle's subsequent switch to *thy* is problematic. When he tells Light-foot,

Suck-bottle: Light foot, cease *thy* rayling,

it is not immediately apparent if this indicates abuse or banter, since 'rayling' may imply either [OED]: 'uttering abusive language or jesting or bantering'. Red-Nose, the poet, entering at this point has overheard them. He has interpreted their exchange as negative affect:

Red-Nose: me thinkes yee should rather deplore one anothers
 late misfortunes, than to deride at each others misery.
 ... *You* Master Light-foot call Master Suck-bottle Knave,
 and Master Suck-bottle calls *you* Knave, and as for my
 part, I thinke yee are both Knaves.

Lightfoot turns on the poet:

Light-foot: Master Poet, *your* tongue runnes before *your* wit,
you tell us of our faults, but never looke upon *your* own.

Suck-bottle becomes conciliatory:

Suck-bottle: Master Poet, let me desire *you* to cease,
 I have heard *you* thus long with patience, let us all three bee Friends.

The poet agrees to be placated on condition that their reconciliation is confirmed in the Tavern:

Poet: Well spoken Sim Suck-bottle,
 I were not worthy the name of a Poet if I would not condescend to be friends,
 so the band of amity were made in an Ale-house or a Taverne.

Light-foot raises a problem:

Light-foot: Have *you* any money Poet?

Throughout these exchanges with the poet in which the stance has switched from opprobrium to conciliation, the address term *you* has been used consistently. In addressing Light-foot, the poet switches to *thou*. The pragmatic marker **come** reorientates the topic with an implied stress on *thou* to indicate that poets are unlikely to have money, whereas 'I know thou hast' and it does no harm to imply affinity in addressing a possible source of funds.

Poet: Money? I wonder when *you* ever see Poets
have money two dayes together,
... **come**, I know *thou* hast money Light foot.

The final addresses to the poet form a poetic couplet whose structure licences the formulaic poetic use of *thou*:

Light-foot: *Thy* fall O Poet, makes poor Light foot mad.
Suck-bottle: *Thy* fall O Poet, makes Suck bottle sad.

1641 [3HOCARE] Cowntry-Mans Care

This is an encounter between two strangers, a countryman and a city dweller, who discuss the prospects of advancement for the countryman's son. They address each other as *Sir* and exchange *you*. The countryman is not a peasant, since his son is educated and understands Latin but he defers to the citizen:

Countryman: Alas sir! I wonder *you* should so earnestly enquire newes of mee, that live in the Countrey, whenas we receive all our newes from *you*.

The text is a satire¹⁵² on the chaotic nature of the times. The citizen advises the countryman against the conventional careers for a young educated man:

Citizen: if *you* intend to make a Divine of him,
he must have a great care least the
Arch-Bishop doe not cut of his eares
... Did *you* not heare that most of the Iudges
are to be judged under other Iudges,
yea and they'le hardly escape hanging too.

The text concludes with the citizen offering to take on the young man as an apprentice, telling the concerned father:

Citizen: I am a Vintner by my Trade.

¹⁵² 'verbal humour which draw[s] on a particular kind of irony for the design of stylistic incongruity... satire has an aggressive element ... satirical discourse ... requires a kind of ironic twist or distortion in its textual make-up.' (Simpson 2004:46-47)

Of interest is the exchange of address terms. Both speakers are of the middling sort. As strangers they are unable initially to place each other socially and rely on the use of neutral *you* as unlikely to give offence.

1641 [3HOSTAR] Star-Chamber Epitomized

In this text Inquisition, a newes smeller, is interviewing Christopher Cob-Web, a keeper of the records for the Star-Chamber. The structure of the exchange as question and answer means that Inquisition makes more use of the second person pronoun than Cob-Web. He greets Cob-Web familiarly:

Inquisition: My old friend Christopher Cob-Webbe
how goe all things at *your* Office.

The *you* in this utterance is probably generic, since he continues with an address of *thee* to Cob-Web and an obvious generic reference to ‘your High Court’.

Inquisition: Why I pray *thee* tell what is the matter,
J hope the Parliament doth not meddle with so great a Court
as *your* high Court of Starre-chamber.

Cob-Web addresses Inquisition as *Sir* and uses only *you* to him. Inquisition switches sometimes to ask a formal direct question:

Inquisition: Why are not Lawyers so honest as other men?
Doe *you* know any thing to the contrary?

and switches back with a collusive *thou* to ingratiate himself when it seems as if Cob-Web is about to reveal some scandal and to encourage him to continue until all the details have been revealed:

Inquisition: *Thou* now tells me of a thing more then ever J heard of;
is it possible ... Surely ... How J pray did they squeeze their Cliants?
That is impossible sure ... This was intollerable exaction,
but I pray *thee* proceed.
... But J pray *thee* to what use was the money taken,
and how was it imployed?
... I pray *thee* proceed?
... But I pray *thee* explaine who were these two Clarkes.

1641 [3HOSPIR] Spirituall Courts Epitomized

This is an exchange between two proctors lamenting their loss of business in the Spiritual Courts under the contemporary Parliament. It is mainly in the first person as they reminisce singly and together. Despite having the solidarity of employment in the law and addressing each other as brother, they exchange *you*.

1653 [3HOCOLE] Ingrossers of Coles

This dialogue is between two merchants whose objective is to hoard coal in order to sell it at inflated prices. They greet each other amicably as *brother* and *cozen* whilst exchanging *you*:

Chandler: How is it with *you* Brother Stop-coale?
Woodmonger: Why so, deare Cozen Hoord-coale?

then Chandler reacts with disparagement to Woodmonger's concern that commissioners may be appointed to investigate their dealings, switching to *thou* at his colleague's negativity and then back to *you* to elaborate his suggestion that they can collude to bribe any investigators.

Chandler: Tush, what's the, matter?
doest *thou* not know the old Proverb?
(Knaves have better luck then honest men)
cannot we joyne and make a purse?
and *you* know, silver bags will worke,
especially with good store of Wine,
and a rich Feast;

Here *you* seems to connote affinity and positive affect.

The pair discuss how they cheat their customers with Chandler advising the less-successful Woodmonger, who switches to *thou* in approbation:

Woodmonger: Oh rare policy! surely *thou* hast mightily
incouraged mee to kepp up mu [my] mystery;

Chandler invites Woodmonger to share his strategies and both exchange *you*:

Chandler: I would hear now what devices *you*
use to squeeze *your* Customers.

Woodmonger: Why I would not have *you* thinke that we
doe not equalize, but rather exceed these stratagems;

Woodman's next switch to *thou* connotes negative affect. He embeds in his dismissal of Chandler's claim to outdo him: 'Pish ... I tell thee plainly' a nest of explanatory subordinate clauses addressed to *you* and introduced by the pragmatic marker **for**:

Woodmonger: **Pish**¹⁵³ man, if that Art should faile,
we use another;

for *you* must know we deale with a Fleet of
Colliers as Hunters do with their Hounds etc.

... I tell *thee* plainly, that by this onely trick we have
gotten twenty bushels of coales cleare to our selves out of
three chaldron; and is not this a thriving Trade?

Woodmonger's final switches seem to connote solidarity in adversity as he labels them both foxes. The reversion to *you* introduces a new money-making scheme as Woodmonger switches from reflection to proposed action.

Woodmonger: Truly I know *you* to bee good furtheres of our gaines
... **but** to disclose some deeper craft in our dealing yet,
I tell *thee*, Brother Hoord-Coale, wee know that wee are hated
and cursed of every man, but then we Foxes fare best;
... **except** the wisdom and Justice of a Parliament,
or a Counsell of State interpose and hinder us by stinting our number
... I tell *you* Brother, there is such a generall
exclamation of people of all sorts against us
... I confesse, that I doubt our best dayes are past

1679 [3HOYARR] Coffee-House Dialogue

This is a coffee-house discussion of the Exclusion Bill of 1679 which sought to exclude the Duke of York, the illegitimate son of Charles II, from the succession. The discussion ends opprobriously but the participants have exchanged *you* throughout. The closing comment directed at the captain is the first ad hominem attack in the exchange.

P, a Young Barrister: in truth *you* do not know so much as *you* have spoke
... I begin now to be weary with *your* Impertinence
... Well, I see *you* are an obstinate, prejudic'd Man, therefore I'll take my Leave. (Farewell).

¹⁵³ OED an exclamation expressing contempt, impatience, or disgust.

1680 [4HOEP] Piper and Captain

This text is a discussion by Tom the Piper and Captain Crackbrain of a pamphlet that took the form of a dialogue between Cit and Bumpkin. The text opens with Crackbrain addressing Tom as an acquaintance with a familiar *thou*.

Captain Crackbrain: On my Soul, that's Tom the Piper
that sits so gravely there: He is a notable Knave,
I'll acost him, pretend acquaintance,
and get something out of him;
How dost *thou* Tom? I think there is no
body left in the House but us two,
if *thou* wilt I'll sit down by *ye*.

Crackbrain's familiar address is explained by his pretended acquaintance. Not knowing Crackbrain, Tom addresses him with formal *you*:

Tom Piper: Sir, may I beg the favour of *your* Name?

After this initial approach, Crackbrain switches to *you* and the pair exchange *you* in discussing the pamphlet.

Captain Crackbrain: But lets
Talk now of other matters, and
because I hear *you* to Be Book learned,
I'll ask *you* what *you* think of the
Dialogue 'twixt Cit and Bumpkin.

Where Crackbrain uses *you*, he is asking Tom's opinion of events.

Captain Crackbrain: But what say *you* to all the Phanaticks so
cordially joyning in it
... But what think *you* of the discovery of a new
Plot, in case the Petition had gone on;

When he poses a question to *thou Tom*, he is asking Tom's opinion about the writer's style. Perhaps this motivates the usage. In switching to the proximal pronoun he is seeking to persuade Tom to the writer's viewpoint.

Captain Crackbrain: But what thinkst *thou* Tom, to page 26.
is it not an excellent facetious discourse,
displaying Villalany in its proper colours?

The third participant, Make a Noise Tom, the Pudding-Pie Man, enters towards the end of the discussion. His relationship to Crackbrain, whom he addresses with a disparaging epithet, *Captain Crackfart*, in collocation with unmarked *you*, contrasts

with his relationship to Tom to whom he adopts an intimate address telling him how Crackbrain was cashiered from the Army and assumed the title of Captain.

Make a noise Tom: What *you* Captain Crackfart turn'd Advocate;
... I tell *thee* Tom Piper, how this fellow
came by the doughty name of Captain,

He then switches usage in the same utterance in a change of topic introduced by the pragmatic marker, **but as to**, to address Crackbrain as *thou*.

Make a noise Tom: **But as to** the discourse,
I tell *thee* Old Souldier; that he or *thou*,
or any body that wears a head,
God bless the king, should have call'd,
or shall call me by the contemptible name of
Cit (though I be but free of the Porters Company) I
would and will, if ever it be any mans ill luck so to do,
all to be pudding pie his Calves head: What Cit.

The construction, 'I tell thee', seems to be emphatic (rather like the Modern English usage 'Let me tell **you**'). It has a similar connotation in *Ingrossers of Coles* [3HOCOLE 1653]. The implication in this text is that Make a Noise Tom objects strongly to being referred to by the 'contemptible name of Cit'. His claim concerning the unacknowledged role played by the schismatics in the restoration of Charles II is similarly emphatic:

Make a noise Tom: I tell *thee* Crackbrain,
had the King had no better friends than the Papists,
he had never seen the English shore again.

Exchanges revert to *you* after this with just one more *thou* in Make a Noise Tom's comment on Tom's recital of a passage from a play:

Make a noise Tom: **but thou** hast a plaguy memory to remember
all this stuffe, I wonder how *thou* dost it, I can
hardly remember the Lords Prayer.

Tom's self-deprecatory reaction implies that he interprets this as amicable usage:

Tom: Nature always supplies Fools and blind men with
a special gift that way.

1681 [4HOTREA] Treason Made Manifest

In this text the participants introduced simply as Richard and William discuss recent treason trials. They address each other as *neighbour* and exchange *you*. There is no indication of their social status.

1681 [4HOSAM] Sam, the Ferriman

Unmarked usage of the three boatmen, Tom, Will and Sam, in this text is to exchange *thou*. On the rare occasions when *you* is used this connotes banter. Tom refers to Will as *poor Rogue* and *Whelp* and relates how he has eaten ‘half a Stone of Beef today’. Will denies this and adds that ‘not one mouthful of Mutton was to be seen’. To this Tom retorts:

Tom: Sirrah, one word more of Mutton and off *you* go;
you cannot forbear *your* Roguery.

Will’s retort to Tom’s claim to have been ‘press’d once into the Service when the Duke [of Monmouth] was our Amral’,

Will: Pox on *you* Rogue, *you* staid but one Bout and run away;

produces further discussion of the Duke but no perception of any slight on Tom’s part.

On those occasions when the participants do speak disparagingly to each other, they use the term *thou*. This occurs when correcting a misperception rather than when commenting on behaviour.

Sam: Why, I thought no man living durst have medled with
any of the Blood Royal.

Will: *Thou* art a Fool, did not they behead
the last King, and kept this banished a long time?

and later:

Tom: Pray *thee*, who were these Noblemen
that Petitioned?

Will: I cannot tell *thee* who they were
by their Names; but he that was
the Rump's first General delivered it.

Sam: He! *thou* art a Fool Will. he is dead
at least thirty years since:

An example of *thou* connoting downward social status occurs in reported speech from a Member of Parliament to a boatman, though this may have also some connotation of affinity since this text is contemporaneous with the Exclusion Crisis when there was a move to exclude the king's brother and heir from the succession because he was a Roman Catholic. The Member of Parliament, presumably a supporter of the move, had been lecturing his boatman during their trip down the river. The boatman being deaf had nodded in apparent agreement from time to time, at which the Member of Parliament concludes that the boatman may keep the change from his fare:

Member: I see *thou* art a right English man, a good Protestant, and, I dare say, hates the Popish Successor with all *thy* heart, and therefore I will give *thee* the whole Six pence.

Another example of reported speech features a Member of Parliament angry at what he considers 'an unusual fare' telling a waterman that he will introduce legislation to restrict their numbers and compelling them to display licences. The waterman responds 'civilly' that he hopes, as a freeman of Waterman's Hall, he could not be compelled to take a licence. The Member of Parliament takes umbrage at this as the appellations *Sirra* and *sawcy Rogues* connote:

Member: *Sirra*, for *your* sake, and such sawcy Rogues
as *you* are, we will have that Watermans-Hall pulled down,
so that *you* here collocates with terms of negative affect.

The other example of reported speech that may be status-related concerns two foot-boys fighting in the Palace Yard. The defeated boy, who was the servant of a Member of Parliament, threatens to send for the other's master to have him arrested for employing such a rogue as would dare to commit such a breach of privilege in beating him. The victor, however, reveals himself as a servant of the King of France and tells him:

French footboy: Go bid *thy* Master,
and the House of Commons send a Serjeant
at Arms to fetch him over.

This use of *thou* seems derogatory. Money the boys had wagered on the outcome was held by a waterman who was threatened by the defeated boy,

English footboy: Sirrah, give it him if *you* dare, if his Master be the King of France, I'll make *you* answer it before the House of Commons.

Sirrah and *you* collocate with negative affect.

1685 [4HOKATE] Honest John and Loving Kate

This is a discussion between John and Kate of their approaching marriage.

Unmarked usage for Kate is to address John as *you*. She addresses him as *thou* on two occasions: in commenting on John's proposal that they should run an ale house together:

John: how dost *thou* like such an employment?

Kate: Very well truly if it will not make *thee* an ill Husband
and in expressing her reluctance to dance with the guests at the wedding:

Kate: I'd rather dance with *thee* John, than with them all.

Kate: *You'd* best wet *your* whistle first, for I see *thy* Pipes are stopt

John's use of *thou* in collocation with a multiplicity of terms of endearment connotes positive affect: *my dear Katy*, *Dear heart*, *Pretty heart*, *Sweet soul*, *Pretty soul*, *honey*, *my dear*, *Poor heart*, *my Birds-ny*,¹⁵⁴ *my sweet love*, *pretty Pig-ny*,¹⁵⁵ yet he uses similar terms with *you*.

John: God be with *you* sweet one, my Duck my
dear, my Pig's-ny, when we do meet to morrow,
we will conclude all more firmly; **here**, take my
heart and a hundred kisses besides with it, and keep
them till I see *thee*.

'Here' appears to be deictic as he draws her to him or gestures towards her motivating a switch to *thou*. Similarly, it seems that *thou* relates to their personal relationship and *you* is used when discussing an outside agent, for example:

John: Who told *you* these stories,
truly I never kiss any one but in mirth,
for I will never marry any but *thee* my love.

¹⁵⁴ OED an obsolete vulgar term of endearment.

¹⁵⁵ OED sweetheart.

but later the same question has *thou*:

John: I shall shun both Maids and widdows,
unless in *thy* sight to make *thee* sport:
but who tells *thee* these stories?
prethee Kate tell me,

It may be that *thou* connotes persuasive force as in the switch in these consecutive utterances:

John: Be not in such a passion, 'ile tell *you* how it was.
Kate: I shall not hear *you*.
John: Dear heart, hear me, by this kiss ile tell *thee* truth.

and later:

John: I wish *you* would believe me, and not be thus jealous,
pray be not so cruel to torment me thus,
no whore of them all shall entice me from *thee*,

Some of John's uses of *you* seem to connote his authority as Kate's prospective husband in contrast to his persuasion as a lover. When Kate objects to John's proposed inn sign of 'three fair maids', he responds curtly,

Kate: Why man they'd think surely we kept a bawdy house.
John: What then shall we have, do *you* tell me?

He reassures Kate when she expresses embarrassment at the thought of being the centre of attention at their wedding but seems to lose patience when she seeks further reassurance:

Kate: but good lack how shall I do to behave my self at that time amongst so many;
I shall be so ashamed I shant know what to do.

John: No matter for their looking,
'ile warrant *thee* who ever sees *thee* will wish her self in the same condition, who are not married already.

Kate: Will they think *you*.
John: I faith i'l warrant *you*.

Since John's unmarked usage to Kate is *thou*, the address term *you* and John's complacent response to Kate's concern serve to remind her of his impending social superiority as her husband and *Master*.

John: ... my Master he is angry too, but faith I fit him for it,
for when he begins to chide, I get me out of doors, and come no more in that night.
Kate: *Youl* serve me so I fear.
John: Ay if *you* chide.

When Kate is concerned that her mistress will be angry that she is late, neither of them views as ironic John's response that he will soon assume the role of her social superior,

Kate: my Mistriss will be very angry with me.

John: So shall [I]if *you* go yet, *you* must learn to humour me now.

though this is ameliorated somewhat by his change of topic and usage introduced by the pragmatic marker **come**:

Kate: *You* do not think how impatient I am with staying

Oh my Mistriss, my Mistriss.

John: *You* shall have a Master shortly worth ten of her,

come stay a little, i'll sing *thee* a fine Song of my own making.

1695 [4HOROGU] State Rogue

Unmarked usage here may indicate relative social status. The Member of Parliament, Mr State Rogue, addresses Mr John Undertaker¹⁵⁶ as *thou* and *Jack* and receives *you* and *my dear State Rogue* from him.

Jack's switch is provoked by the reorientation of the State Rogue's reaction from polite interest to ridicule of Jack's proposed scheme to wage single-handed war against France. The pragmatic marker **Now** introduces Jack's switch from an explanatory discourse to his confusion at State Rogue's response:

Jack Undertaker: **Now** can't I, for the Soul of me,
understand where lies this merry Conceit;
nor what in the Name of Fate it is that *thou* laughest at.
I ask *thee* where's the Difficulty in my Undertaking,
and *thou* fallest a Laughing

The derogatory nature of the explanation introducing John's next utterance could imply that his switch to *you* is deprecatory but it is more likely to be a move back to unmarked usage following his puzzlement at State Rogue's laughter:

John Undertaker: **Shaw, shaw,**¹⁵⁷ *you* talk like an Apothecary.

¹⁵⁶ OED one of those who in the reigns of Jas. I, Chas. I, and Chas. II undertook to influence the action of Parliament, esp. with regard to the voting of supplies. This seems to be the likely interpretation in this context despite the late date.

¹⁵⁷ OED an exclamation expressing contempt, impatience, or disgust.

John's next switch echoes the syntax of the State Rogue's utterance, which seems to emphasize his own argument, especially if the stress of Jack's question falls on *thee*:

State Rogue: What, in the Name of Pharaoh,
should make *thee* imagine that the Parliament should
give *thee* such vast Sums of Money for no Service;

Jack Undertaker: **And** what, in the Name of Jupiter,
should make *thee* approve of their actually giving it
a Dutch Man, for the very same Non-service?

the pragmatic marker **and** here indicating a change of orientation from Jack's viewpoint to that of State Rogue.

The State Rogue switches twice to *you* in addressing Jack in the phrase *look you*. This phrase seems to have become a fixed expression in the seventeenth century. It is attested eleven times in the OED from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The form 'looke thee' is attested only from the *Shepherd's* address to his son, the Clown, in *The Winter's Tale* (1611). The use of 'look you' does not, therefore, seem to constitute markedness switch.

The State Rogue's unmarked use of *thou* to Jack may connote a difference in their social status, though there is no evidence of this. Jack is described as 'his old acquaintance'. The epithets State Rogue uses suggest that he regards Jack as something of a character. He describes Jack as: 'a rare Fellow, old Boy, my true honest English Man' and laughs at his proposal to defeat France single-handedly:

State Rogue: Ha, ha, ha, by my troth *thou* makest me laugh;
a most incomparable Project! O rare Mr. Undertaker!
But *thou*'rt not in earnest sure Jack?
... Why the Devil's in *thee* sure to talk at this rate.
... prethee leave off this Boffoonery, and be serious.

He is finally persuaded that the project may succeed and agrees to persuade his fellow-rogues to finance it with the objective of personal profit. Ultimately, Jack is revealed as a patriot and the State Rogue as interested only in financial gain. Possibly his use of *thou* to Jack is an over familiar approach motivated by his previous experience of the success of Jack's schemes but this suggestion is speculative.

Jack's one use of *thou* is formulaic in his apostrophe to England:

Jack Undertaker: O England! unhappy England!
betray'd by *thy* own Children!

**1696 [4HOTWO] A Dialogue between Two Young Ladies lately Married,
concerning Management of Husbands**

This text replicates one of the themes of the Snawsel text (1610) *A Looking Glasse for Married Folkes* [2HOSNAW]. As the titles imply, this later text concerns the management of husbands, whereas the earlier text concerns not only this but also behaviour towards God. The participants are reduced to two in this text, so that we are presented with a dialogue without the third-party commentary of the 1610 version. Eulalie, the *wel-spoken* character from 1610 becomes Amy, who advises and castigates the former Xantip, 'the scold', who is now Lucy. Their dialogue also incorporates some of that spoken in the earlier text by Marjorie, who tends to sympathise with Xantip. Some of the religious discourse attributed to Abigail, 'the father's joy' (and Puritan), in the first text remains. There is no *thou* usage in this later text, though unlike the earlier text where Eulalie greets Xantip as *neighbour*, the protagonists greet each other as friends:

Amy: Welcome, my dear Lucy!
I have long'd to see *you*.

Lucy: Sweet Amy! I have had no less
impatience for *your* dear Company.

A comparison of the two texts to investigate how the connotation of *thou* in the earlier text is expressed in the 1696 version suggests that the later text is less emotive. The comment on the mistreatment of Xantip/Lucy by her husband seems quite unfeeling:

1610 Margerie: I am sure, this behauour of
his angers *thee* to the heart.

1696 Amy: This enraged *you*.

Similarly the reaction to the claim by Xantip/Lucy that she would have retaliated had her husband assaulted her provokes horror in the earlier text and sorrow in the later text:

1610 Eulalie: O terrible mannish woman!
I did not thinke that *thou* hadst bene of
such a peremptory spirit

1696 Amy: Alas, alas, my Lucy, this is not the way.

When Xantip/Lucy asks for advice on how to reform her husband, the first reply criticises her for not applying what she has learned. The repetition of her name emphasises the speaker's exasperation. The reply in the second text suggests that she lacks the confidence to apply her knowledge:

1610 Eulalie: Xantip, Xantip, *thou* art like vnto
those women which the Apostle speakes of,
that are alwaies learning, and are neuer taught:
... *thou* remainest still ignorant

1696 Amy: *You* need no Teacher, the Art is *yours* already,
you only want a Will to use it.

1697 [4HORIDP] Jack and Uuill

This is a discussion of the Lord Mayor's attendance at a Conventicle¹⁵⁸ preceded by his ceremonial sword; the implication of which is that he attended in his official capacity, thus giving it official approval. Jack disapproves of this but Will seems deliberately obtuse in appearing not to understand Jack's concern.

Jack: I'm sure I have a piece of ill News to tell *you*.
Did not *you* hear that my Lord Mayor went to Salters-Hall on Sunday last,
with the Sword carried before him?
Will: To Salters-Hall, what to do? to a Play, or a Ball there?

Jack appears to be annoyed but acknowledges that Will is deliberately misinterpreting his news and Will does not take offence at Jack's apparent opprobrium:

Jack: Pox on ye for a nump-skull'd Fellow, to a Play or a Ball on Sundays!
... Come, come, Will; *you* love to play the Rogue;
... Plague on ye, leave off *your* Banter,

¹⁵⁸ Conventicles were not illegal after 1689 but the term came to be considered as especially fitted to express disapprobation.

Jack finally switches to an affective *thou* in response to Will's banter, then reorientates the topic back to discuss his original news with the pragmatic marker **and** together with the address *you*:

Jack: Prethee leave off *thy* fooling, and let's discourse the Point in good earnest; *thou* always pretendedst to be a true Church-of-England-man **and** don't ye think that the Lord Mayor's going to a Conventicle with the Sword is an Injury to the Church of England?

Initially Jack acknowledges and colludes with Will's banter but eventually reorientates the topic to serious discussion.

The disparaging comments they do make relate to the style of argument and neither of them takes offence:

Jack: *Thou* talkst like a mad Man;
 Will: Prethee don't rage so:
 Jack: Prethee let *your* Stories alone, and come to the matter.
 Will: *Thou* art in a grand Mistake, Jack.
 Jack: How strangely do *you* talk?
 Will: Nay Jack, *you* talk strangely, and not I.

Having initially addressed Jack as *you*, Will then echoes Jack's *thou* in his response to the topic of his religious affiliation:

Will: Pish, what is that *your* ill News?
 ... **Why** truly Jack, whether *thou* believest it or not,
 I am as much for the Church of England as any Man alive.

The banter resumes as Will asks:

Will: Why prethee Man, if the Sword be all, no matter if it had been burnt a dozen Years ago:
 ... why *dost* make all this pother about a wooden Sword?

Jack resumes *thou* in response to Will's continued banter:

Jack: *Thou* talkst like a mad Man;
 it's not the very individual Sword that I mean,
 but it's the Badg and Ensign of Authority that is carried away from the Church to a nasty lowzy Conventicle:

Will seeks to calm Jack and then with the pragmatic marker **but** introduces a change of topic and address to ask Jack's motive in discussing the Church:

Will: Prethee don't rage so: *thou* hast been so out of Humour
 ... **But** after all the doe and stir *you* make about the Church,
 I believe I may say to *you* as the little Boy said to his Mother,
 (Mother, what need *you* talk so much of the Church?
you don't go so often to it).

Topic reorientation continues throughout the discussion:

Jack: That's nothing to *you* Will: do *you* make out *your*
 Assertion, **and then** I'll say something to *thee*.

Will: Have **but** Patience, and I will. [=just have patience}
Thou knowest that the Dissenters are allowed
 their Meetings by Act of Parliament,

Jack: Prethee let *your* Stories alone, and come to the matter.

Will: *Thou* knowest also that that Liberty is allow'd them

Jack: **Nay but** *you* mistake the Matter. The Meetings have only
 a Liberty ... they don't observe all those Modes and Forms which
 by our selves are accounted indifferent.

Jack: How do *you* mean indifferent?

Will: *Thou* art in a grand Mistake, Jack.
 ... the Church of England hath altered her Mind since.

Jack: How! the Church of England alter'd her Mind?
 What? d'ye make her akin to Mahomet?

Will: **Nay** Jack, if *you* be so forgetful, I'll tell *you*:
 Jack: *Thou* hast said a great deal to convince me;

Jack: How strangely do *you* talk?

Will: Nay Jack, *you* talk strangely, and not I.

1703 [4HOLUCI] English Lucian

As the three dialogues in this text are categorised as Lucian,¹⁵⁹ it is to be expected
 that they are satirical.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN RALPH MIXINGTON, A CITY VINTNER, AND JENNY HIS WIFE

Ralph, the city vintner and his wife entertain themselves with banter. They begin by
 addressing each other very formally as *Mr Mixington* and *Madam* but this appears to

¹⁵⁹ OED the name of a celebrated writer of Greek dialogues (c160 A.D.); *allusively*, a witty scoffer.

be sarcasm, as they bicker over money. Jenny, Ralph's wife, complains that he has no ready cash, to which he replies:

Ralph: I can tell *your* wealthy Ladyship, that all Lombard-street can't fill a Money Bag without a Bottom

and Jenny comments sarcastically on her husband's attempted humour:

Jenny: Oh my Heart (Cries) Soh! To the Misery of approaching Poverty we must have, aiming at Wit, come in for an additional Plague.

They switch to *thou* to address each other opprobriously:

Jenny: **And yet** without this Help-mate *thou* had'st been as wretched a Stair-Ambler as ever carried a Role after an Oyster-woman.

Ralph: **And** without this, Stair-Trotter, *thou* hadst been still in an Eighteen-penny Lodging in the noble White-Fryers.

Throughout the text, they switch address terms. There is no consistent pattern of usage with both *thou* and *you* collocating with terms of abuse.

Jenny: Ungrateful Wretch as *thou* art!
... Foul Mouth, *you* measure others by *your*
Heathenish self, and Paganly Companions.
... Brute -- *you* had been low enough but for some of them;

Ralph: I think too, *thou* Ape, that *thou* hast Wit,

Their next exchange demonstrates that they perceive this switching and abuse as a game and appreciate each other's skill.

Ralph: *thou* hast Wit, tho' *thou* wert plaguy
silent before I had *thee*

Jenny: *You* took me for my Beauty ... and if *you* find some Wit and Sense besides,
it's more than expected, and above the bargain.
Jenny appreciates Ralph's rueful response

Ralph: Ay Jenny, 'tis more, as the Witch covenants
with the Devil for Wealth, and has Damnation into the bargain.

Jenny: Well express'd,

then reorientates their discourse:

... **but** come Rafee (stroaks him) no more Satyr.

They reveal to each other how business is improving using a conciliatory *thou*:

Ralph: Well Jenny, no more Swaggering nor Uneasiness,
and to satisfie *thee*, things are better than *thou* think'st;

Jenny: Now Rafe, to satisfie *thee*, things are better than *thou* think'st.

Jenny concludes by addressing Ralph with jocular and affectionate *thou*:

Jenny: *Thou* fool of a Wit; employ *thy* Sense in *thy* Profession to get Wealth and
Pleasure at other Peoples Expence, and joyn with me in carrying on our
Happiness, and in order to it, I will ever be Loving to *thee* and Easy.

**A DIALOGUE BETWEEN MR.NEHEMIAH TRAP, A REFORMER OF MANNERS, AND CAPT.FLOURISH, AN
OFFICER IN THE GUARDS**

This is the second dialogue under the heading English Lucian. The opening exchange demonstrates its sarcastic style. Nehemiah Trap, a reformer of manners, appears oblivious, however, to the captain's witticism:

Nehemiah Trap: Well Captain, I am glad of the Honour of *your* Company
to this Choice Glass of Wine. I wish I had as good Company to Entertain *you* with,
as *you* had when *you* Treated me at the Tower.

Captain Flourish: Thank *you* Landlord; then send for *your* Wife.

The social distance between them is indicated by their address terms rather than by variation in the second person pronoun. Trap addresses Flourish as: *Captain*, sometimes as *dear* or *good Captain* and sometimes as *Sir* or *dear Sir* but always as *you*. Captain Flourish addresses Trap variously as: *Landlord*, *Landlord of mine*, *Mr Trap*, *Fool*, *Gossip*, *Mr Jew* (with reference to the Protestant Reformers' strict keeping of the Sabbath), *Trap* and *Mr Occasional* (with reference to Trap's intermittent Church of England attendance and frequenting of Schismatical Meetings). None of these collocates with *thou*, though they seem to range from positive to negative affect. None of them raises any objection from Trap, who calls Captain Flourish a *notable Satyrical Wit*.

When Captain Flourish does switch to address Trap as *thou*, this involves some element of contrast, a reorientation of persona, topic or reference. The pragmatic marker **when** here contrasts the occasional drunkenness of the soldiers with Trap's habitual drunkenness:

Captain Flourish: But if a poor Officer that can't say his Life's his own for 3 Months, gets a Glass Extraordinary ... then it's, O the Debauchery of these Soldiers! ... **when** Landlord, *thou* art sensible, I know *thou* comest home well loaden five days in the Week from the Tavern.

He reorientates his discourse to elaborate the implication of *well loaden*:

... **That is** just on this side of Reeling, with 3 Bottles in *your* Guts, a grave Look, and a Hickup, and perhaps a Knavish Bargain in *your* Pocket-book.

Similarly there is the persona Trap presents to the majority of his acquaintances which contrasts with the flawed persona that Captain Flourish sees:

Captain Flourish: *You* may seem another Man to *your* Brethren, who won't know *you*; or *your* Bubbles,¹⁶⁰ who don't know *you*; or *your* Subjects who dare not know *you*. **But** my dear Landlord, Here's to *thy* own Reformation and Health. I do know *thee*.

Trap complains of his wife's criticism of him:

Trap: This is Uncharitable.

to which Flourish comments on Trap's reformist beliefs:

Captain Flourish: **Nay** Trap, I'll commend *thy* Zeal, rather than Charity, that will sooner give five Shillings to have a poor Devil Whip'd or Stock'd, than six pence to Relieve a poor Starving Family.

He adds a further comment to Mrs Trap's conclusion, again addressing Trap in the persona of reformer as *thou*.

Mrs Trap: By my Life, Mr. Trap, *you're* worsted. Come, take our Advice, Live like an Englishman, a good Natur'd Man, and a Gentleman, reform *your* self.

Captain Flourish: **And** if a Preacher in Red¹⁶¹ that desires to be *thy* Friend, may be believ'd, *thou* wilt find an easy Temper, a clear Conscience, a sound got Estate, much more comfortable than the Applauses of Villains, indirect Dealings, and the Cries and Curses of the Oppress'd.

Trap's unmarked usage to his wife is informal *thou*. He greets her with the hypocorism *Nelly*, later switching to *you* to address her in the persona of the judge of their argument:

Trap: Nelly, *thou* art to be Judge between the Captain and I about Reformation of Manners ... What say *you* to our Argument?

¹⁶⁰ OED *Bubble* = dupe, gull. One swindled, cheated.

¹⁶¹ Church of England as opposed to a Reformer?

He rebukes her as *thou*:

Trap: *Thou* art to Censorious

then later as *you*:

Trap: *You* are a Fool, forsooth; What care People for Satyr when they have Money?

She addresses him as *you* and accords him the negative epithet *Mr Inquisitive*. She refers opprobriously to his:

Mrs Trap: Noble Campaign to Trappanning, Jayls, Whippings, and Robbing at the Head of *your* Mirmidon Informers, and Catch-Poles

and tells him when he speaks disparagingly of women:

Mrs Trap: Foul Mouth, hold *your* scurvy Tongue.

She does not think highly of her husband's debating skill, telling him:

Mrs Trap: Hold, Sir, none of *your* Fustian¹⁶² till after Supper, it may chance to vex me.

but she reserves her invective for his persona as reformer and this collocates with the term *thou*:

Mrs Trap: The Name [Reformer] makes me sick and choaks me with the Spleen.
... Leave off that odious Practice, or by my Life, I'll peach *thee* my self tho' I starve.
... What was *thy* Chief End in making *thy* self a Publick Nuisance,
that is such a kind of Reformer?

In delivering her judgement on his argument with Captain Flourish, Mrs Trap switches to *you* in proposing that her husband reconstruct himself as an Englishman and a Gentleman:

Mrs Trap: By my Life, Mr. Trap, *you're* worsted.
Come, take our Advice, Live like an Englishman,
a good Natur'd Man, and a Gentleman, reform *your* self.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN CHARLES CLASSICK, A MASTER OF ARTS OF ONE OF THE UNIVERSITIES, AND MRS. MARY TOPPING, A LADY'S WOMAN.

The final text of the trilogy is a dialogue between two strangers who encounter each other on a journey. They are of similar social status. As might be expected, they

¹⁶² OED inappropriately lofty language; high-sounding words and phrases; bombast, rant.

exchange *you*. The satire is directed not against the participants but against the concept that an expensive classical education can lead to gainful employment.

1703 [4HOMEMB] Member of Parliament

This dialogue involves six participants who all exchange *you* as unmarked usage. The farmer and the freeholder, who are tenants of the Member of Parliament, greet him as *Your Worship* and both address him as *Master*. Along with the shopkeeper, the lawyer and the divine (priest) they also exchange *Sir* as a term of address. They discuss contemporary political events with particular reference to Parliament. The epithet *honest*, applied to the freeholder by both the Member of Parliament and the lawyer connotes condescension towards an addressee of lower social status who supports the speaker's argument. As such, it collocates with *thou*:

Freeholder: God be praised, we have now as good a Government,
as our hearts can wish, and I hope *you*'ll neither Lead,
nor be Mislead to change it for any other,

Member of Parliament: *Thou* art an honest¹⁶³ Fellow,
and a true English-man, no honest Jack, I am entirely
of *thy* opinion, for preserving the Establisht Government,
and the Established Succession, in the Protestant Line,

Freeholder: I am resolved to follow my own poor Judgment
at last, and not to be led by the Nose blindfold.

Lawyer: *Thou* art an Honest heart I'll warrant,
... I wish all our Senators of both Houses were of *thy* mind;
but what will *you* say,
if men resolve to stand by one another right or wrong,
and in a manner Subscribe their names to it?

The pragmatic marker **but** introduces the switch in the lawyer's utterance from his assessment of the freeholder's present persona to the uncertainty of the freeholder's unknown future persona. The freeholder's response:

Freeholder: I think they that do so, ought to have but one Vote amongst them all

¹⁶³ OED as a vague epithet of appreciation or praise, esp. as used in a patronizing way to an inferior.

meets with the lawyer's approval and he switches to condescend once more to the freeholder's complaisant persona:

Lawyer: *Thou* hast certainly pass'd a very good Sentence,
if it were possible to be put in Execution.

The freeholder meets with similar condescension from the Member of Parliament, who also switches when referring to the freeholder's current and potential future personae:

Freeholder: pray Sir, who are our great
Officers in all the high stations?

Member of Parliament: *Thou* hast a mind to be a States-man,
I am afraid *you* will be as great a Politician as *your* Ploughman,

When the farmer attempts to support the freeholder:

Farmer: pray give him a little Instructions,
for he is a leading Member in our Parish ...
and will baffle a Whigg Justice very handsomely.

the Member of Parliament does not welcome advice from the lower orders and puts the farmer in his place addressing him as *thou*:

Member of Parliament: Prithee leave of *thy* Old distinctions of Whigg and Tory,
I know no distinction but one, and that is between an Honest Man and a Knave.

1736 [SHOJS] Gentleman and a Broker

This dialogue between a gentleman and his broker concerning investment advice has a formal style involving exchange of *you*.

1737 [SHOBAPT] Baptist and a Churchman

The Baptist in this religious discussion addresses the Churchman as *Friend* and he replies with *Neighbour*. They exchange *you*. The exchanges sometimes become unharmonious but they remain formal and polite.

1748 [SHOGILP] Dialogue upon the Gardens

In this dialogue a gentleman shows his friend around his country estate. They discuss the layout of the grounds and the style of the statuary. They exchange *you*.

1750 [5HOWILL] Christian Education of Children

This is a series of dialogues in which parental care is used as a model for religious education. Terms of affection are used from parent to child: *my Dear, my Child, Child, my dear Child*, and from child to parent: *my dear Father, My dear Papa*, and on one occasion: *Sir*. Unmarked *you* is exchanged throughout.

Discussion of results for Didactic Texts

Table 6:1 Unmarked Address of *thou* and *you* in Didactic Texts

- ◄ reciprocal use
- use to a social equal
- ▼ use down the social scale
- ▲ use up the social scale
- Does not indicate frequency

Denoting Comparative Social Status												
	Lower Orders				Middling Sort				Higher Orders			
	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲	►◄	►	▼	▲
1560-1580					y	t y	t					
1581-1600		t			y							
1601-1620					y		y				t y	
1621-1640					y							
1641-1660					y							
1661-1680					y	t y						
1681-1700	t	t y			y	t y	t y					
1701-1720				y	y			t				
1721-1740					y							
1741-1760				y	y			y				

The final non-drama usages of *thou* in the CED are in didactic texts, which are constructed texts intended to be read rather than heard. These are the satirical *English Lucian* [1703 4HOLUCI] concerning a domestic argument and [1703 4HOMEMB] a political discussion in which a freeholder is addressed with kindly condescension by a Member of Parliament and a lawyer. *Thou* is used both as an address term in

collocation with a name and as an affective term in collocation with epithets until 1703.

As ‘prospective dialogues’ (Jucker 2007), didactic texts are proposed as exemplars of usage. They are intended to ‘instruct or inform’ and ‘present the argument or information in a dialogue as if between “master” and “student” (Kytö & Walker 2006:23). It is notable that there is little use of *thou* in collocation with address terms. In the first text [1568 1HOTILN] ladies and gentlemen exchange the address term *you*. *Thou* is used formulaically with reference to the supernatural. In most of the texts most of the participants are of the middling sort. In a 1593 text, a gentleman addresses a woman as *thou*, that is as a sign of social status. In a 1680 text a speaker uses *thou* in collocation with a name to connote familiarity to an addressee of similar social status. When this is rebuffed, the exchange continues with *you*, though *thou* is still used affectively.

Members of Parliament address London boatmen as *thou* in 1681 and the three boatmen exchange *thou*. The only other contemporary unmarked use of *thou* as direct address among colleagues from a similar social group occurs in depositions in 1662. A Lancashire country fellow, though, opens a dialogue with a witch by addressing her as *yeo* in a 1682 drama. His use of dialect functions to locate him socially. This may be the case with the usage attributed to the boatmen.

After 1680 *thou* with an address term seems to connote kindly condescension in texts [1685 4HOKATE], [1695 4HOROGU], [1697 4HORIDP] and [1703 4HOLUCI]. It is not apparent why this does not occur in the earlier texts. It may indicate that *thou* was now regarded as a marked term. *Thou* collocates with 12 different positive epithets in a conversation in which the speakers discuss their wedding plans [1685 4HOKATE]. Loving Kate, to whom Honest John addresses these, tells him, ‘you flatter me’. Perhaps such effusive usage is intended to connote insincerity. Loving Kate addresses Honest John as *you*.

Usage in a 1695 text does seem to relate to social status with the Member of Parliament addressing his old acquaintance, Jack, who appears to be of the middling sort, as *thou* and receiving *you*. A discussion of contemporary events in a 1703 text

involves participants of mixed social status from a land-owning Member of Parliament to a freeholder. All exchange *you* except the freeholder, who is addressed as *thou*. In the remaining didactic texts all participants exchange *you*.

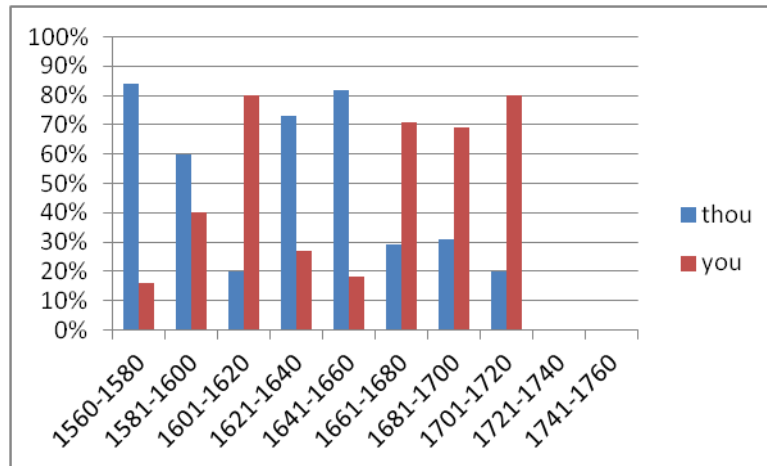


Figure 6:1 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Negative Epithets in Non-Drama Texts

thou: Mean 39.90% STDEV 32.30% *you*: Mean 40.01% STDEV 32.37%

High usage of *thou* with negative epithets in non-drama texts in 1641-1660 (figure 6:1) is attributable in part to a didactic text concerning a contention for pre-eminence between Wit and Wealth [1647 3MWIT], that is, like deposition texts, the discourse is confrontational. The lower orders may have exchanged *thou* in 1681 [4HOSAM]. There is insufficient evidence in the CED to determine, though their use of *you* in collocation with negative epithets demonstrates that switching was perceived as deictic.

B) Language Teaching Texts

These texts appear in the Corpus as translations. I have consulted the original French texts (EEBO) to discover if there are any instances where the second person pronoun usage does not coincide with that of the original.

1573 [1HFDESA] The French Schoolemaister

This bilingual text is directed at English speakers who wish to learn French. In his preface Holyband warns the reader not to expect the elegant use of English nor to pay particular attention to the use of English:

musung not at ... the English of my booke, take the French with such good will as I doo give it thee.

The reader is addressed in the singular form in both texts with the English translation of the dialogues corresponding to the French usage. The didactic part of the texts concentrates on the pronunciation of French. Although Holyband offers

some rules of grammar for thy greater ease and solace,

there is no reference to the usage of the second person pronoun, which suggests that this is perceived as the same in both languages.

FAMILIAR TALKES FOR TO SPEAKE IN ALL PLACES

The dialogues are presented as continuous discourse in a variety of contexts and between various interlocutors who are not distinguished from each other. For clarity I have attributed utterances to the most likely participants.

Margerite and Peter appear to be servants to Fraunces, a young schoolboy.

Reciprocal unmarked usage is *you*. The switch to *thou* by Fraunces when addressing the servants with negative affect seems licensed by his superior social status.

Margerite: Your mother will chide mee if you go to schoole without your cleane shirt.

Fraunces: I had rather *thou* shouldst be shent,¹⁶⁴
then I should be either chid, or beaten:

Peter retains *you* even when his utterance seems very critical:

Peter: Can *you* not wash in the baason? shall you haue alwayes a seruaunt at *your* tayle? *you* are to wanton.

Fraunces: Wilt *thou* that I wash my mouthe and my face, where I haue washed my handes, as they doo in many houses in England?

There is formulaic usage in the father's blessing to his son, who is otherwise addressed as *you* even with negative affect:

Father: Are *you* vp? is it time to rise at eight of the clocke? *you* shalbe whipt: go, and kneele downe, and say *your* prayers: God blesse *thee*.

A master and servant exchange has unmarked *you* with a switch in the master's usage apparently motivated by his scepticism at his servant's excuse. The pragmatic

¹⁶⁴ OED scolded.

marker **yea verely** indicates the master's topic reorientation. The term *lackey* does not appear to have a negative connotation of servility in this usage.

Master: Lackey, come hither ... Where haue *you* been so longe?

Servant: My maistris hath sent mee on two or three arands.

Master: *You* haue played by the way, and then *you* bryng to mee these feare scuses.

Servant: No forsoothe, Sir, if it doth please *you* to aske of N. *you* shall know the truth, for he was with mee.

Master: **Yea verely**, I shall aske of *thy* fellow, which is as great a liar as *thou* art: is *thy* maistresse at home.

An exchange apparently between a steward and a kitchen servant of lower rank has fairly consistent *thou* to the servant collocating with terms of abuse: *great lubber*, *vile gallowes*, and with threats of beating and *you* to the steward in response even with the socially-inappropriate retort: 'go your selfe'.

Steward(?): What, is not the childrens table couered yet? what doest *thou* there great lubber?¹⁶⁵ why goest *thou* not and serue the children?

The one inconsistency is the steward's reaction when the servant denies having sampled the dishes. This is a direct translation of the French form, which does not include the equivalent of 'go your wayes'. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the precise implication of the use of *you* in this context. This utterance is followed by the steward's distancing reference to the servant in the third person before he resumes unmarked *thou*. It may be that usage in this dialogue, in which the original French usage is reproduced in the English translation, is just an indicator of social status.

Steward: who hath drawen the lard out of these rabbets?

Servant: It is not I.

Steward: *You* lie: go *your* wayes, *you* are lickerish.¹⁶⁶

O Lorde, he hath supped vp all the brothe of this mince pie, I would not be in *thy* skinne for twentie crownes of golde.

Steward: Wilt *thou* go lay the table clothe vile gallowes? what dost *thou* marre here?

Servant: What can I tell where it lieth, go *your* selfe.

The switch from unmarked *you* to *thou* in an exchange between two singers is an expression of affinity implying a concomitant obligation for the addressee to respond.

¹⁶⁵ OED a big, clumsy, stupid fellow; esp. one who lives in idleness.

¹⁶⁶ OED greedy.

Singer 2 offers singer 1 a generous exchange for his recipe for quenching thirst: 'thou shalt haue two quartes'. This becomes derision when singer 2 hears the recipe: 'one must drinke often, and longe draughtes' but he interprets the exchange as good-humoured banter concluding: 'Truelie he is a merie fellowe'.

Singer 1: and among vs singers, wee haue a good recepte for to be neuer drie.

Singer 2: What is it I praye *you*? I wold faine learne it.

Singer 1: I will teach it vnto *you* for a quarte of wine, is not that good cheape?

Singer 2: Truly *thou* shalt haue two quartes, and geeue it mee in writyng.

Singer 1: You neede no writing in that: *you* will remembre it well enough by harte.

Singer 2: Say then I pray *thee*.

Singer 1: For to quenche well the thirst, one must drinke often, and longe draughtes.

Singer 2: Is that *thy* receite? go, go with a morion.¹⁶⁷ I know that aboue ten yeeres a go.

Singer 1: I could not geeue *you* a better phisicke then the same which I take for my selfe.

Singer 2: Truelie he is a merie fellowe.

FOR TO ASKE THE WAY,BUIE & SEL: WITH OTHER FAMILIAR COMMUNICATIONS.

Thou in this extract is addressed by travellers to servants at inns but the host is generally addressed as *you*. This suggests that *thou*-usage is an indicator of relative social status.

Servant: dooth it please *you* now to come to supper?

Traveller: *Thou* sayest well: *thou* art a good fellow: go too, let vs go: I am readie.

Traveller: Boy, bryng some light: make some fier, that wee may rise.

Go, go: kindell the fier, *thou* wilt make vs as sloughish, and as good husbandes as *thou* art:

Traveller: Hold, ther is some to drink, as I haue promised *thee*, to the end that *thou* maiest remember me an other time.

1586 [1HEBELL] Familiar Dialogves

This text does not have the formulaic use of *thee* in a parental blessing that featured in the earlier text [1573 1HFDESA]:

The Father: God blesse *you* my sonne.

AT THE TABLE

This text is intended as a guide to pronunciation for French learners of English. In the French version the manservant is addressed by his master in the second person

¹⁶⁷ OED punishment inflicted on soldiers.

singular form of the imperative, which differs from the plural form. The form employed indicates their relationship. This is not the case in English, where the addition of the personal pronoun would be required to indicate relationship. A close translation of the French may not necessarily reveal the social relationship in the English version.

va dire à mon voisin [singular *thou* form of the imperative]
 → *go tell my neighbour* [no indication of number]
t'en va prier → *go thou desire*

In this example the nature of the master/servant relationship has been indicated by changing the use of the servant's given name *Richard* to the nickname *Dicke*:

The Maister: Dicke. [Richard in the French version]
 Richard, the Man Servant: Anone forsoth. What is *your* pleasure.
 The Maister: Goe tell my neighbour roper, that I pray him to come to morow to dine with me:
 And fro~ thence. Go *thou* desire my sonnes schoolemaister, to beare vs co~paignie.

AT PLAYING

Unmarked usage among the schoolboys is *you*.

UPON THE WAY

In the French translation the gentleman addresses the serving man as *Edward* and uses the singular imperative. The English original text with an imperative unmarked for number has *Nedd* as the address term. This suggests that in the French translation use of the singular form connotes relative social status, whereas the English text has to employ a hypocorism to convey this:

The Gentleman: Neadd bring hether my horse

Later he addresses the serving man:

The Gentleman: Nedd, take *thou* the candell

which renders the French: 'Edouard pren la chandelle', in which the relationship of the participants is again indicated only by the form of the verb.

Exchanges between all other participants have unmarked *you*. *Thou* is addressed only by the gentleman to his own serving man. In both the French and English

versions the gentleman addresses a ploughman encountered on the way as *you*. Since the ploughman is presumably of similar or lower social status than the serving man, the gentleman's usage to the latter presumably connotes familiarity in addition to social status.

1605 [2HFERON] The French Garden

This is a translated French text intended for the English speaker who wishes to learn French. In his address to the reader the author states that his 'chiefe ayme hath beene to furnish English Ladyes and Gentle-women with such conference and familiar talk as is incident unto them specially'. Under *The Rules of Grammer* he gives a usage note for the second person pronoun:

Note that when we speak to our superiors, equals or courteously (though we speak but to one) yet we say *vous*, and not *tu*: as *vous etes le bien venu*, you are welcome.

This seems to imply that the author considered this not to be the case in contemporary English.

Unmarked usage in dialogues between adults in this text is exchange of *you* even when the page is being addressed disparagingly by the lady. The one use of *thou* from Joly, the waiting gentlewoman is addressed to Prudence, the chambermaid, who is of lower social status. It is an appeal for help, however, in collocation with a term of endearment, after which Joly reverts to *you*:

Joly: I pray *thee* sweet heart,
help me a little to put on my gowne

A lady bestowing a blessing on her school-aged children addresses them each as *you*. Only the baby in a different dialogue receives *thou* and a term of endearment in blessing from his lady mother:

Lady: ô my little hart! God blesse *thee*,
... *y=e=* art prety & fat my litle darling,
[i.e. *thou art*, thorn in original]

This switches to *you* in collocation with comments on the baby's behaviour:

Lady: ah little knaue, *you* will showe that *you* haue a yarde

... doe *you* kicke sirha?

and reverts to *thou* and further endearment as the mother concludes her blessing:

Lady: God send *thee* good rest my little boykin.

In another dialogue featuring a lady and her school-aged children the children's boy (servant) Richard is chastised by their mother with usage in a direct translation of the French:

Lady: Richard Neuf-a-bien*, haue *you* made cleane their shooes to day.

*'signifieth never to do good'

Richard Neuf-a-bien: Yea Madame.

Lady: Truely so it seemes, come hether *you* brasen-facte lyer,
art *thou* not ashamed to affirme so apparant a lye before me?

The myre and durt sticke on them yet.

Seest *thou* not that they are all durtie?

[Of lying] Truely I will teach *you* how to lye,
or rather how *you* should not lye.

I will not leaue such a vice vnpunished.

It is difficult to account for the specific instances of switching. The overall intent is obviously pejorative.

FOR TO CHEAPEN (i.e. Bargain)

In this dialogue the lady addresses the shop assistant, Atire-gain:

Lady: Now my friend, haue *you* any faire Holland?¹⁶⁸

Attire-gain: Yes forsooth Madame, and the fairest lawne that euer *you* handled:

Lady: *thou* speakst a proud word, what knowest *thou*,
what lawne I haue ha~dled? it may be that
I haue had better then any that is in all *thy* shop

This is a rebuke addressed to one of lower social status but, when the shop assistant stands her ground, the lady withdraws, albeit rather condescendingly, and they continue their dialogue by exchanging *you*.

Atire-gain: I doe not say to the contrary Madame, but so it is notwithstanding, that
I haue as good & as faire as euer was made.

Lady: Well, well, *you* doe but *your* duetie.

¹⁶⁸ OED a linen fabric.

In these last two dialogues in which a lady addresses one of the lower orders, *thou* seems to be applied almost as a corrective. The social inferior is reminded of their place, then *you* is resumed.

1625 [2HFWODR] The Marrow of the French Tongve

This text appears to be a teach-yourself book for both English and French, claiming:

THE MEANEST CAPACITY EITHER FRENCH OR ENGLISHMAN, THAT CAN BUT READE, MAY IN A SHORT TIME BY HIS OWNE INDUSTRY WITHOUT THE HELPE OF ANY TEACHERS ATTAINE TO THE PERFECTION OF BOTH LANGUAGES

Use of *thou* in this text can be readily explained as a misreading of the originals: ‘nettoyez bien mon grain/ make very clean my grain’, has been reproduced as ‘make very clean thy grain’, which does not fit the context.

A DISCOURSE BETWEENE THE BURGUER AND THE YEOMAN

The burger (townsman) addresses both the yeoman (countryman) and his wife with the polite *you* of equal social status.

THE GREAT ORCHARD OF RECREATION: COMPOSED & GATHERED OUT OF SUNDRY DUTCH AUTHORS, AND AFTERWARD TRANSLATED, AND DIUIDED INTO TWELVE CHAPTERS, BOTH IN FRENCH, AND ENGLISH

The other instances of *thou* feature in a sample of text translated into French and English from Dutch. It is unclear how closely they follow the original.

THE RISING IN THE MORNING, THE CLOATHING, AND GOODS OF THE CHAMBER, AND SOME OTHER BUSINESSE PARTAINING TO THE SAME. BETWEENE NALANO, TORQUATO: AND RUPSA SERVANT.

THE FIRST CHAPTER

In this Rupsa, the servant is consistently addressed as *thou* by his master, who terms him *Boy*. The French usage *Valet* specifies his status more precisely.

A DISCOURSE OF FAMILIAR SPEECH (VPON THE WAY IN THE MORNING) WITH AN OTHER PRETY DISCOURSE OF THE TENIS, BETWEEN THREE FRIENDS: TO WIT, HENRY, IOHN, AND PECENIE THEIR SERUANT - THE SECOND CHAPTER

Pecenie, the servant in this extract, is also addressed as *thou* and *Boy*. He may be younger than the servant in the previous extract, as he is also addressed as *Child*.

**A MOST PLEASANT DISCOURSE ... BETWIXT IAMES AND HIS SERVANT LIPPA.
THE EIGHT CHAPTER**

James consistently addresses his servant, Lippa, as *thou* and *Child*.

1653 [3HFMAUG] The True Advancement of the French

THE FIFTH DIALOGUE, BETWEEN TWO FRIENDS THAT ARE PURPOSED TO TRAVELL INTO FRANCE

Speakers are not identified in this text. It is necessary to decide who they may be from the context. The only use of *thou* in this text appears to be addressed to a pot-boy by a traveller arriving at an inn:

Traveller: Prithee honest friend, draw us a pint of the best Claret *thy* Master as in his Cellar.

This agrees with the finding in other CED texts that *thou* seems to have been used routinely to waiting staff for far longer than to other addressees.

1667 [3HFEST] A New and Easie French Grammar

This text is designed to teach English speakers French. There is no reference to the pragmatics of *thou* or *tu*. The implication seems to be that the English speaker would be aware of this.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SEVERAL GENTLEMEN THAT GO TO BE MERRY ABROAD

In a dialogue concerning a gentlemen's day out again it is only the drawer or pot-boy who is addressed as *thou*. The landlord, although presumably of lower social status than the gentlemen, is addressed as *you*. This seems to connote affinity, since, according to one gentleman, the landlord:

Gentleman B: ... is a man of good company too.

He is invited to socialise with the gentlemen:

Gentleman B: Sit *you* down there,
Landlord, and eat a bit with us.

In the French version the drawer is addressed by one of the gentleman with the *thou*-form of the verb, which is not apparent in the English:

Gentleman A: Drawer, go and draw us of the same white wine.

Drawer: I will, Sir.

Gentleman A: Make haste.

and the landlord addresses him as *thou*:

Gentleman B: This Drawer is long a coming.

Landlord: He would be fit to fetch death.

Why dost *thou* make us stay so long?

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO GENTLEWOMEN

The gentlewomen exchange *you* and address each other as: *My Dear, Lady Mary, Madam*. Possibly these two more formal address terms license the use of *you*. This contrasts with the following dialogue:

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO GENTLEWOMEN, WHEN IT IS NECESSARY FOR WOMEN TO BE LEARNED

In this two gentlewomen address each other as *My Dear* and exchange *thou* throughout, which may connote a greater intimacy than in the previous extract.

1685 [4HEMIEG] Nouvelle methode

This text is written for speakers of French to learn English. There is a usage note on the change in progress of the third person singular present tense ending (p81). The interchangeability of *shall* and *will* is also noted (p84). There is no comment on *thou/you* usage. This implies that the usage is the same in both languages and that the reader is expected to know what this is.

A DIALOGUE, TO LIE IN AN INN

This concerns a traveller arriving at an inn. He first instructs a boy on the care of his horse by means of a series of directives. The pronoun of address is not used. The French verb forms are in the second person singular *thou* form but, as there is no distinction in the English singular and plural imperative verbs, there is no connotation of unequal social status in the English version. In the ensuing dialogue the traveller addresses the other characters as *you*.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRAVELLER AND THE COACHMAN

The traveller's switch from *you* to *thou* in addressing the coachman, when the coachman suggest driving to Hell 'with a full gallop', collocates with the epithet *wretched Charon*, an allusion to the mythological ferryman to the Underworld.

The French version continues with *thou*-address and singular forms of the imperative. The English version switches again:

Traveller: Go strait to the Garden.
 There I'll shew *you* what Place we must go to.
[Là je t'indiquerai où il faut que nous allions]
 Coachman: 'Tis well enough.
 Sir, we are at the Garden.
 Which way must I go now?

Traveller: Go into the Street which is just over against us.
 And, when I bid *you* stop, be sure to stop.
[Et, quand je (0) dirai Arrête, ne passe pas plus avant]

Hold, hold, this is the Place.
 How much must *thou* have?

This is problematic. The text is translated from English to French. If the translator intended the switches to be significant, there would presumably be an explanation for this discrepancy. It may be that the distinctive form of the singular imperative in French has prolonged the use of *tu* after *thou* had been replaced by *you* in many contexts in English.

If it is the case that the switch in the English version is motivated, it may be that *you* connotes the traveller's less emotive utterances in which he gives directions after his *wretched Charon* outburst. The concluding question about the fare switches their relationship back to that of hirer and hired, which may account for *thou* as an indicator of comparative status.

The remaining dialogues in this text involve a traveller and various people he meets on his journey. All of the speakers exchange *you*.

1694 [4HFBOYE] The Compleat French-Master

This is a French Grammar for the use of English speakers ‘to learn with ease and delight the French tongue, as it is now spoken in the court of France’, that is: formal usage. The English dialogues are translations of the original French. Utterances are not attributed, so I have again given what seems to be the most likely attribution. Address to servants uses the same form in both the French and English versions.

TO MAKE A VISIT IN THE MORNING

To another’s servant on arrival:

Where is *thy* Master?

THE GENTLEMAN AND HIS VALET DE CHAMBRE. TO DRESS ONES SELF

To one’s own valet:
You have done well.

AT DINNER

To server at table in a private house:
Boy, give the Gentleman some drink

There is no address pronoun but the *plural* imperative in the French.

TO MAKE AN EXCHANGE

In this exchange one speaker accuses the other of trying to cheat him in progressively more opprobrious language: ‘you jeer me, you tell me fine stories, I am not so easie to be imposed upon, I am not such a Fool, Look for your Cullies¹⁶⁹ somewhere else’. In both the French version and the English the term of address is *you*.

BETWEEN TWO COUZENS OF VISITS

From the French version of this text it is apparent that the cousins are female (*cousines*). This may account for the first speaker’s use of *tu*. The English version, though, has *you* here and subsequently both versions have only *you*.

How now, Cozen, is no body come to visit *you* to day?

¹⁶⁹ OED one who is cheated or imposed upon (e.g. by a sharper, strumpet etc.).

On being told that she has a further visitor, the lady of the house complains but, despite her anger evidenced by the negative epithets directed at the maid servant, *that block-head, little Booby*,¹⁷⁰ *beast*, she addresses the maid as *you* in both language versions:

Lady: Oh Lord! what a Visit!
... Quickly, go and tell that I am not at home.

Maid Servant: They have told her already, that *you* were.

Lady: Who is that block-head as told so?
Maid Servant: 'Tis I, Madam.
Lady: Deuce take the little Booby,
I'll teach *you* to make Answers of your own self.
Maid Servant: Madam, I'll go and tell her
that *you* have a mind to be gone out. –

Lady: Stay, beast, and let her come up,
since the Folly is done already.

DIALOGUE OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN A FATHER AND HIS DAUGHTER

A father tells his daughter that he has arranged for her to marry a rich old man. She objects. They exchange *you* throughout until, in the original French version, the father makes an appeal to his daughter, when he switches to *tu*. This remains as *you* in the English version. The *tu/vous* distinction remains to the present day in French. The translator of this text appears to acknowledge that by 1694 the distinction had been lost in prescribed English usage.

Daughter: I'd rather throw my self into a Nunnery,
than to marry (S. N.) since a Marriage cannot
be happy where there is no inclination.

Father: Will *you* yield to your Brothers Judgment?

1731 [5HGBEIL] A New German Grammar

There is no use of *thou* in the text. The dialogues are similar to those in previous texts mainly involving a gentleman and various tradespeople. A hackney-coachman is addressed as *you*. There is a conversation with a landlord at an inn but no serving

¹⁷⁰ OED clown.

Language teaching texts are ‘prospective dialogues’ (Jucker 2007). In these the language ‘may be particularly contrived for didactic purposes’ (Kytö & Walker 2006:23). These texts are intended for non-native speakers. They are formal translations following the lexical and grammatical norms of the source texts and designed to teach formal usage ‘as it is now spoken in the court of France’ [1694]. The texts tend not to be discursive nor even coherent. They are bilingual texts of which some are translated from English and some from French. Their principal objective is to enable the reader to learn vocabulary.

- ◄ reciprocal use
- use to a social equal
- ▼ use down the social scale
- ▲ use up the social scale

Does not indicate frequency

[illegible]

Speakers generally exchange *you*. *Thou* is used only twice to address a named addressee. In 1586 a gentleman addresses his servant Nedd as *thou* [1586 1HEBELL]. This is an original English text. There is no address pronoun in the French translation but the singular form of the imperative is used and elsewhere in the French text the servant is addressed with the singular pronoun. In [1625 2HFWODR], which is translated from Dutch, a servant, Rupsa, is addressed as *thou*.

The choice of pronoun to servants seems inconsistent:

Wilt *thou* go lay the table clothe vile gallows?
Lackey, from whence come *you*? [1573 1HFDESA]

but this is a feature of the French original.

There are few affective epithets, presumably as these are difficult to judge pragmatically in a foreign language. Some reflect social status:

ô my little hart! God blesse *thee*, blesse *thee*,
y=e= art prety & fat my litle darling,
[i.e. thou art, modified thorn]
God send *thee* good rest my little boykin.
[1573 1HFDESA] Mother>infant

I pray *thee* sweet heart, help me
[1605 2HFERON] waiting gentlewoman>chambermaid

My Dear [reciprocal thou]
[1667 3HFEST] Dialogue between 2 gentlewomen

Most are to servants:

thou art a good fellow
[1573 1HFDESA] >Inn servant

honest friend, draw us a pint of the best Claret *thy* Master as in his Cellar.
[1653 3HFMAUG] >drawer

V [presumably 'traveller']: God forbid, *thou* wretched Charon.
Carry me to Covent-Garden .
[1685 4HEMIEG] >coachman

Most speakers in this genre are from the middling sort. This is presumably that sector of society that feels a need for self-help books. The texts are designed to teach correct usage in a foreign environment. It is notable that the only mutual use of *thou* is between two gentlewomen in 1667. The prospective dialogues offered in

these texts are to be addressed to strangers, so the lessons feature the use of *thou* only to social inferiors and even then *you* is also used in this context from the first text in 1573.

C) Miscellaneous Texts

These are mainly fictional dialogues which resemble didactic works, but seem to be intended as entertainment or complaint rather than being informative/instructional (Kytö & Walker 2006:24).

1593? [1MBARRO] Examinations of Henry Barrowe (etc.) (authentic account written after the event)

Henry Barrowe was a follower of John Greenwood, the Puritan Separatist leader. This is his recollection of his various examinations ‘*AS NEERE AS MY MEMORIE COULD CARY*’. On being brought before the Archbishop, Barrowe refuses to swear the oath. The Archbishop first addresses him as *you* but switches to *thou* with negative affect when agreeing with Dr Cussins that Barrowe is ‘clamorous’ and a ‘schismatic’:

Archbishop: Why know *yow* what *yow* say?
know *yow* what book it is?
it is the Bible.

Barrowe: I wil sweare by no Bible.

Dr Cussins: Scismaticks¹⁷¹ are clamorous alwayes.
it is a perpetual note to know them by.

Archbishop: Mr. Dr. Cussins saith true
such were the Donatistes¹⁷² alwayes in the counsels
and such art *thow* and al other scismatiks such as *thow* art.

He switches back to *you* to repeat his request for Barrowe to take the oath.

Barrowe: Say *yowr* pleasure God forgiue *yow*:
I am neither scismatike nor clamourous:
I answer but *yowr* demandes if *yow* wil I wil be silent.

Archbishop: Wel wil *yow* lay *your* hand on the
Bible and take an oath.
Barrowe refuses to swear the oath.

¹⁷¹ OED One who promotes or countenances schism or breach of external unity in the Church; one who is guilty of the sin of schism.

¹⁷² OED a Christian sect.

The Archbishop's reaction was to hurl abuse at Barrowe though in collocation with *you*:

Archbishop: *Yow* are a scismatick / a recusant¹⁷³ / a seditious person / [etc. with many such like.]

SAMPLE 2 EXAMINATION OF BARROWE CONTINUES AT A LATER DATE

The Lord Treasurer begins by addressing Barrowe as *you*

Lord Treasurer: Why wil *yow* not goe to church?

Barrowe: My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

There follows an examination by the Lord Treasurer in which he addresses Barrowe as *thou*, whilst remaining calm and unabusive. He uses *you* only as the plural to refer to Barrowe and his co-accused.

It is difficult to assess the mood of the exchanges in this text, since they are reported by Barrowe. He gives the impression that he was the most abusive speaker.

Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on the Archbishop's peremptory denial:

[Then requested I conference againe / and that in writing: which was againe by Cant. very peremptorie denied. He said that he had matter to cal me before him for an hereticke.]

His description of the Archbishop of Canterbury as a Beast spoken of in the Book of Revelation seems to have been received very mildly with the Lord Treasurer politely asking Barrowe to show the Court chapter and verse.

Lord Chancellor: What is that man? (pointing to Cant.)

Barrowe: [The Lord gaue me the spirit of boldnes / so that I answered:]

He is a monster / a miserable compound / I know not what to make him: he is neither Ecclesiastical nor ciuill / euen that second Beast spoken of in the Reuelation.

Lord Treasurer: Wher is that place / shew it.

1595 [1MDANDO] Maroccus Extaticus

This text involves a dialogue with Marocco, a performing horse. Bankes greets the horse as *you* and the horse addresses Bankes as *you* throughout. Subsequently, Bankes's addresses to the horse switch between *you* and *thou*.

¹⁷³ OED a person, esp. a Roman Catholic, who refuses to attend the services of the Church of England

Marocco suggests that any horse can whinny and wag his tail as he has been instructed but Bankes demands that Marocco should have the nobility of spirit [ingenuitie] to acknowledge the kindness, care, and attention he has had lavished on him. His switch to *thou* here seems to imply rebuke as Bankes reminds Marocco of his status and his obligation to Bankes

Bankes: ... so must *thou* if *thou* haue so much ingenuitie,¹⁷⁴
 confesse my kindnes,
thou art not onely but also bound to
 honest Bankes, for teaching *thee* so
 many odde pranks. I haue brought
thee vp right te~derly, as a Bakers
 daughter would bring vp a Cosset¹⁷⁵ by hand

Following their discussion of tradesmen who have cheated them Bankes is of the opinion that they should not create a fuss. Marocco disagrees, saying that he will substantiate his master's claims and that he has no sympathy for young gentlemen who will not defend their rights:

Horse: Why maister of whome should *you* bee
 afraide, I am able to iustifye as much as *you*
 say. Indeed those be the young men that neuer
 sawe the Lyons.¹⁷⁶
 ... He that will thrust his necke into the yoke,
 is worthy to be vsed like a iade.

This shocks Bankes who switches to *you* to comment on Marocco's opinion:

Bankes: **Why how now** Marocco. O ye are too sowre.
 Dare *you* tell mee of my splene agaynst the Sadler, and
 bee so bitter against the young gallantes of our age.

In the middle of this outburst, when he realises that he is addressing Marocco as if he were a man, he corrects himself to address the persona of a horse, then switches to introduce a negative epithet: not a *horse* but an *asse*.

Bankes: What man, **nay** horse rather, nay asse as *thou* art,
 to become odious to the flower of Englande with *thy* foule manners.

¹⁷⁴ OED nobility, generosity.

¹⁷⁵ OED A lamb (colt, etc.) brought up by hand; a pet-lamb.

¹⁷⁶ OED In early use, to have seen the lions often meant to have had experience of life.

Banks make a further switch in commenting on Marocco's opinion, possibly to imply yet another persona: Marocco does not have the judgement of a mature horse but that of an immature colt.

Banks: **Why** colte then, *youle* take vppon *you* I see?
Doo *you* not heare what they saie that scarce
vouchsafe *you* an answere?

As their discussion continues, Banks' switches in usage correlate with his switches in stance. He agrees whole-heartedly with the next point Marocco makes.

Banks: ... and I were as plaine as I will bee,
I should crie out-right, **for** in this I agree with *thee*,
and with *thee* the world agrees

Marocco intersperses his utterances with samples of verse and Latin quotations. Banks comments on one of these, switching his reference from Marocco's argument to his style:

Banks: Ho, ho, good Marocco,
I see **now** a dozen of bread dooes as much with *you*,
as three pipes of Tobacco taken in an odde alehouse, to a weake braine.

Again a change of topic by Banks to comment on the content of Marocco's argument motivates a switch in usage.

Banks: *Thou* speakest of mallice against some
or other Marocco, and perhappes *thou* meanest
that drabbe that the last daie when shee sawe
thee heere doo *thy* trickes, sayd *thou* wert
a deuill & I a coniurer.

Even with a willing suspension of disbelief that one of the participants in this text is a horse, there are so many snippets of verse, Latin quotations and examples of word play that it cannot be evaluated as authentic conversation. It does, though, illustrate the correlation between pragmatic markers and pronoun switching, where the switch of the pronoun of address connoted thematic discontinuity. A further example of this occurs in the same utterance, as Banks warns Marocco, speaking of:

Banks: ... this beastly beast that I thinke *thou* meanest.
But speake not so loude, for and if her landlord heard *you*,
hee would aunswere for her.

After several more uses of *thou* in a further discussion, Banks concludes with the peremptory dismissal to ‘referre the rest till another time’. The use of *you* to Marocco contributes to the distancing force of this utterance.

Banks: Tis almost supper time Marocco, I heare mine host call,
you haue done pretily well for two pointes,
 referre the rest till another time.

1615 [2MWORKE] Worke for Cvltlers

In this text three metal weapons who provide ‘worke for Cutlers’ quarrel about which of them is the most effective. Unmarked usage in their discussion is *you*. The use of *thou* occurs when the dialogue implies physical movement in the form of a dare or challenge.

Sword: Nay Rapier, come foorth, come forth I say,
 Ile giue *thee* a crowne, though it be but a crackt one:
 what wilt not? art so hard to be drawne forth Rapier?

Rapier: S'foot *thou* shalt know that Rapier dares enter:
 nay Backe-Sword.

When they discuss logistics, they switch to *you*:

Rapier: shall I get *you* out Sword alone, that I may haue *you* Single-sword.

Sword: Yes if *youle* be single Rapier too.

Dagger attempts to intervene but Sword is not to be pacified:

Sword: Hang him, I defie him base Spaniard

which provokes abusive *thou* from Rapier:

Rapier: Defie me? sirrha Sword, Rapier spits i'*thy* face:
 dar'st meete mee i'the fields, crauenly Capon?

Dagger attempts to conciliate Sword with *thou* of positive affect:

Dagger: Why any man may see that *thou* art well caru'd Sword;

Sword responds calmly to Rapier's challenge, switching to *thou* in collocation with a conditional clause:

Sword: **Well** Rapier,
 /if *thou* goest into the fields with me,/
 Ile make a Capon of *you* before I haue done with *you*,
you shall nere come home vncut Ile warrant *you*.

It may be that this connotes Sword's construction of Rapier as the cowardly opponent who was previously 'so hard to be drawne forth' and is therefore unlikely to go 'into the fields'.

Subsequently the participants exchange *you* except for one utterance addressed to Sword by Dagger who, in his persona of Justice of Peace, attempts to pacify them with the threat of legal action. Sword's scornful rejection of this suggestion seems to frustrate Dagger's attempts at diplomacy. He rebukes Sword with a face-threatening reference to his past status, so that *thou* in this utterance connotes negative affect.

Sword: What talke *you* of Law? Sword scornes to haue any other Law then Martiall law
 Dagger: Away Sworde, the Time was indeed when *thou* wast a notable Swash-buckler, but now *thou* art growne olde Sword.

Dagger resumes his role as mediator attempting to flatter them both as *Gentlemen* and defusing the situation with a switch back to *you*.

Dagger: *You* are a craftie Foxe Sword: It were well if *you* knewe howe to keepe *your* friendship too, for Gentlemen and Friendes should not fall out.

1641 [3MSTAGE] The Stage-Players Complaint

Two actors perform in a play as Quick and Light in order to express their grievances. Their unmarked usage is *you*.

Quicke: *You* have without doubt some great cause of alacrity, that *you* produce such eloquent speeches now. Prithee what is't?

Light replies with indignation addressing the other character as *thou*:

Light: How? Cause of alacrity? S'foot I had never more cause of sorrow in my life: **And** dost *thou* tell me of that? Fie, fie!

Quick: Prithee why?

He reorientates his stance:

Light: **Nea** *you* know this well enough

Quick: For i'me perswaded that there's never a 'What lack you Sir' in all the City, but is sensible of our calamity too

His emphatic agreement connotes affinity. Then a further reorientation as he reassures Quick:

Light: I beleeeve *thee*: therefore I thinke, they may well commisserate our cause with their own ... **wherefore** let not that thing trouble *you* so much.

When Quick reflects on:

Quick: the brave times which wee have had heretofore ... But (alas) we must looke for no more of these times I feare

Light tries yet again to reassure him with a friendly *thou* followed by a switch to *you* in an expansive reorientation:

Light: Dost *thou* thinke because a cloud sometimes may cover and obnubilate the Sun, that it will therefore shine no more? **Yes** I'll warrant *you*, and that more bright too: so never feare Boy, but we shall get the day agen for all this.

Quick: But i'll assure *you* 'tis to be feared

Light begins to lose patience:

Light: **Pish**, I can show *thee* many infallible reasons to the contrary: ... **Pish**, a thousand more Arguments I could adde, but that I should weary *your* patience too much:

Light: But Prithee how comes it to passe that *you* act Tragedies every day.

Quick then switches to emphatic usage and addresses Light as *thou* in pouring forth his grievances.

Quick: How? I'll tell *thee*: my purse each day perisheth most Tragaedically: and now J may be taken for a Scholler, since J've no money, but because I cannot speake true Latine, I'me afraid, I shall be taken for a Lawyer.

Light: What do's Lawyers then speake false Latin?

He resumes his unmarked usage to finish the dialogue:

Quick: As if *you* know not that!

1641 [3MCOUNT] The Counters Discovrse

The three participants in this dialogue form a team of fraudsters who seek out wealthy debtors with the intention of parting them from their wealth whilst pretending to hide them from their creditors. It is Spyall's job to locate the debtor.

Unmarked usage among the three conspirators is *you*. Tenterhooke, referred to by Catchall as ‘our Grand-Seignior Master Tenterhooke’, is the sergeant and Catchall is his assistant.

Spyall’s greeting to Catchall connotes solidarity

Spyall: How now mad shaver¹⁷⁷

and Catchall replies in a similar style, addressing Spyall as *thou* in collocation with a description of Spyall as:

Catchall: one that standest in no need of perspective glasses,
for *thy* eyes are as piercing as a Hawkes, and as dangerous as
a Basiliskes, *thou* putttest a prodigall spend-thrift to
as many turnings as a Woodcock hath windings ...

Spyall interprets Catchall’s greeting as raillery, saying, ‘Poxe of your jesting for me’ and they subsequently exchange *you*.

When Catchall asks,

Catchall: Is not this Man-catching a brave trade?

Spyall shifts to *thou* in addressing Catchall, which connotes solidarity in collocation with the expressed intent to deal plainly:

Spyall: Ile deale plainly sirrah with *thee*,
we in our offices must be like theeves upon the high-way side,

In a rare expression of solidarity Tenterhooke the sergeant, who has previously addressed his helpers singly as *you* and jointly as *my two Harpies, my nimble villaines, you Varlets, old Rogues*, shifts to *thou* to equate himself with Spyall.

Within their own group, Tenterhooke has superior status but he acknowledges that in the face of higher authority they would be equally disparaged.

Tenterhooke: I am afraid of the worst,
if such a Leather-fac'd fellow, as I or *thou* art,
should but be brought into question,
our very downe-looks would halfe hang us,

¹⁷⁷ OED mad shaver: a roysterer, a noisy and boisterous reveller.

Catchall's shift of address denotes a change of stance in a move to flatter Spyall as he explains why he asks Spyall's help.

Catch-all: but sirrah Spy-all, what shall *you* and I doe?
thou mayest have as good an head to advise well
 as *thou* hast eyes to spie well.

The response does not please him and he shifts back to *you* and a derogatory epithet:

Catch-all: And what will *you* doe *you* mad slave?

1647 [3MWIT] VVit and VVealth

Wat Witty-Pole and Davy Rich discuss the relative importance of wit and wealth. They exchange *thou* throughout what appears to be an affable dispute. Walt addresses Davy as *fool* and *a meere Dody-Pole* (fool) but neither speaker appears to be angry. There is only one switch to *you*:

Walt: what can be more cleare?
 a ha Davy? have I taken *you* tardy¹⁷⁸ ath' last?
 come yeild, yeild.

This may connote Walt's feeling of superiority when he feels that he has won the dispute.

1648 [3MWOMEN] Women Will Have Their Will

In this text Mistress Newcombe, a victualler's wife, visits Mistress Custome, who is decorating her house for Christmas. Mistress Newcombe addresses Mistress Custome as *you* throughout. One feature that may be of significance in this text is Mistress Custome's age. She is 'fourescore and one years old'. Mistress Newcome's age is not mentioned but, since her husband is a soldier, she is presumably much younger.

Mistress Custome greets her visitor as *you* then switches to *thou* when reminiscing about past Christmases. Her change of stance is introduced by the pragmatic marker **nay** when she refers back to her youth:

¹⁷⁸ OED caught you out.

Mistress Custome: **nay**, if *thou* hadst ever seen the Mirth and Jolitie that we have had at those Times when I was young, *thou* wouldst blesse *thy* selfe to see it.

This switches to *you* as she reverts to the present day:

Mistress Custome: Didst *thou* never heare of my Grand-father?
... 'tis very strange *you* never heard of him.

There seems to be formulaic use in the set phrase:

Mistress Custome: Ile tell *thee*;

then, under the apparent influence of Mistress Newcome's obvious disapproval,

Mistress Newcome: it would make the stander by ashamed to see what the feeder devoures, and what gods they make of their bellies

Mistress Custome is chastened and addresses Mistress Newcome as *you* for several exchanges,

Mistress Custome: Indeed all this as *you* speake is true;

when Mistress Newcome's recital of an old saying appears to motivate Mistress Custome's switch to *thou*,

Mistress Newcome: It is an old saying, and true,
That which is bred in the bone, will seldome or never out of the flesh.
Mistress Custome: *Thou* sayest true.

The dialogue concludes with a switch by Mistress Custome to a *thou* of negative affect. Realising that the authority of Parliament will not persuade Mistress Custome to abandon 'this Romish Beast Christmas', Mistress Newcome threatens her that 'some other sharper and more rigorous power must'. Mistress Custome takes offence at the the term 'must' but in her response, although abusive, she retains the address *you*:

Mistress Custome: Must, doe *you* say? How now, *you* said *you* did not come to Scold, but I see *you* will Scold before *you* goe: I see now by the Masse, there is no making hony of a Dogs-turd ... must make me?

It is Mistress Newcome's claim of support by 'the honest godly partie of the Armie of which societie my Husband is a member' that provokes Mistress Custome into an expression of contempt and motivates *thou*. Reference to anonymous powers such as Parliament and the Army provokes uncertain resistance from Mistress Custome

but with a reference to Master Newcome, she is on firmer ground. She knows that he merits opprobrium.

Mistress Custome: As for the Armie, no doubt but there may be some honest men amongst them, but all the world knowes what *thy* Husband was, a poore man which ran out of his Countrey for debt ... Devill, doe *thy* worst.

1661 [3MWHORE] The Wandring Whore

In this text Magdalena, a bawd, Julietta, a whore, and Gusman, a pimp, collude to persuade Francion, a rich gallant, to marry Julietta. Unmarked usage for the three conspirators is exchange of collusive *thou*.

Magdalena: wee'l make him marry *thee* Julieta,
or make *thee* a good joynture all *thy* life time:

Gusman's usage is problematic, since it is not always possible to determine if he is addressing one or both women when he uses the term *you*. Julietta lists the articles she intends to persuade Francion to sign 'for an Assurance of his future Affections'.

Gusman: They are singular ways to provide horns for his head,
but I would not wish *you* to stand upon such Punctilios,
if he will but marry *thee* Ju,

A similar subsequent example, however, can address only Julietta.

Gusman: well if *you* think to have Francion I hear, and see coming lu,
you must behave *your* self with more discretion,

A close reading of Gusman's addresses to Julietta reveals that *thou* collocates with his advice on how she should comport herself after she has succeeded in marrying Francion. When Gusman addresses Julietta as *you*, it is in reference to their plot to entrap Francion. Gusman seems to distinguish the personae of Julietta his co-conspirator and that of Julietta the whore.

Julietta's affable *thou* in dismissal of Gusman's advice to act with more discretion is instantly followed by her obsequious address to Francion collocating with *you*:

Julietta: Prithee Gusman keep *thy* breath to cool *thy* pottage,¹⁷⁹
but stick close to us in our new found Plots;

¹⁷⁹ OED hold your counsel, keep quiet.

Monsieur Francion, truly devoted of *your* servants salutes *you*, and rejoices at *your* appearance,

The conspirators all address Francion as *you*,

Magdalena: I would advise *you* Sir to marry her,
Gusman: she's resolved to turn if *you*'l marry her.

Francion greets Julietta affectionately,

Francion: *Thy* company's no less to me my sweetheart,
my deer, and my beloved one,

but switches to a distancing *you* at the mention of marriage.

Francion: I thought I had remov'd all scruples in that point,
is the motion of *your* mentioning Julietta?

1682 [4MLAST] Last Words and Confessions (authentic)

The scribe of this text cautions that it contains the last words and confessions of three convicted witches 'as fully as could be taken in a case liable to so much noise and confusion, as is usual on such occasions'. He is more likely to have been concerned with substance than form, so recording of the second-person pronoun variable may be less reliable than in other texts. What is probably significant, though, is the scribe's apparent expectation of usage. Mr H asks similar questions of Mary Trembles and of Temperance Lloyd concerning their relationship with the Devil. In most of these, he addresses them as *thou*, which suggests that this is formulaic usage (numbers added):

Mr H To Mary Trembles

- 1) In what shape did the Devil come to *you*?
- 2) Did he give *thee* any Gift, or didst *thou* make him any Promise?
- 3) Had he any of *thy* blood?
- 4) Did he come to make use of *thy* Body in a carnal manner?

Mr H To Temperance Lloyd

- 2) Temperance Lloyd, Have *you* made any Contract with the Devil?
- 3) Did he ever take any of *thy* blood?
- 1) How did he appear to *thee* first
- 4) Had he ever any carnal knowledge of *thee*?
- 5) What did he do when he came to *thee*?

Similarly, Mr H's usage switch within one utterance to Mary Trembles appears to be motivated by a switch to the higher register of Biblical reference:

Mr H: Mary Trembles, Was not the Devil there with Susan when I was once in the Prison with *you*, and under her Coats? the other told me that he was there, but is now fled;

(I take this reference to *the other* to indicate that *you* here has singular reference)

... *Thou* speakest now as a dying Woman, and as the Psalmist says, I will confess my iniquities and acknowledge all my sin. We find that Mary Magdalen had seven Devils, and she came to Christ and obtained Mercy: And if *thou* break *thy* League with the Devil, and make a Covenant with God, *thou* mayst also obtain Mercy. If *thou* hast any thing to speak, speak *thy* mind.

Discussion of Results for Miscellaneous Texts

Table 6:3 Unmarked Address of *thou* and *you* in Miscellaneous Texts

- ◄ reciprocal use
- use to a social equal
- ▼ use down the social scale
- ▲ use up the social scale

Does not indicate frequency

[illegible]

The miscellaneous texts form a group because the compilers of the corpus considered that they do not readily fit any of the other text types (Kytö & Walker 2006:24). They form 2.7% of the total texts studied and do not cover the whole period of the corpus, so cannot be taken as representative. It is notable, though, that the opening and closing texts both seem to show *you* as unmarked. They are both accounts of legal examinations. The first, published c1593, is a recollected account by the accused of a speech event which occurred in 1586 [1593 1MBARRO]. The last text was recorded under the ‘noise and confusion’ of a witches’ trial [1682 4MLAST]. Allowance must be made for the fact the particular use of address terms may have been forgotten in the first account and not clearly heard in the last but it seems likely that the respective scribes will have written what they would have expected to hear. Actual or expected unmarked usage in both texts is *you*.

Chapter 7 Analysis of the collocation of the forms *thou* and *you* with address terms and epithets

Tables in Appendix 4 give a pragmatic analysis of reference terms, address terms and epithets in collocation with *thou* and *you* for each of the text types studied. The categories used were assessed as follows:

Address Terms

Social Status terms connote the speaker's perception of his specific social relationship with the addressee. They function as a kind of metaphor. To address an unrelated man as *brother* is to map onto the speaker's relationship with a colleague or associate the familiarity of a kinship relationship. Similarly, *cousin* may connote a distant family relationship. *Father* may connote age or veneration in address to an old person or to a priest:

Now father God be *your* speed [1595 1CPEELE]

Mother may connote age but not always respect. It is the title given to the eponymous Lancashire Witches [1682 4CSHADW]

Child rarely denotes offspring but usually refers to a young woman of high social status i.e. not a *girl* or a *wench*, though it is used as a term of endearment by a woman to her husband:

I can't guess, Child: Not *you*, to be sure, my Dear -- one should think not [1734 5CMILLE]

Other terms in this category seem to imply the speaker's perception of his addressee as being of similar social status to himself. *Neighbour* and *Gossip* imply that the addressee is known to the speaker, if only slightly, whereas *Friend* suggests that the addressee may be unknown to the speaker but is addressed as though of similar social status. The OED notes such usage as 'kindly condescension'. It is used in this way to witnesses by Court Officials:

L. Ch. Just.: Look *you* here Friend, *you* are not to be sworn;
[1681 4TCOLLE] >William Shewin, witness

It may connote cajolery:

Edgworth, a Cutpurse: Friend, let mee ha' the first, let mee ha' the first, I pray *you*.
[1614 2CJONSO] > Nightingale, A Ballad-singer, stranger

The connotation of social distance in the term *Friend* is implied by Saleware's suggestion to his wife, whom he addresses as *thou*, that they should address each other as *Friend* in order to seem more sophisticated:

Saleware, a Citizen: Troth, and I'll call *thee* friend, and I prethee, let that be our familiar and common compellation: friend it will sound daintily, especially when *thou* shalt appeare too gallant to be my Wife. [1653 3CBROME] >his wife

The term *Man* may be categorised as Social Relationship when it connotes impatience. Menechmus urges Peniculus, his parasite, to stop talking of food and to flatter him as he asks:

Menechmus: Tush, say as I bid *thee* man.

Peniculus in turn loses patience with Menechmus, his benefactor, though addressing him with the appropriate formal *you*:

Peniculus: I warrant *ye* man.

Menechmus' wife, Mulier, loses patience with him when he prevaricates, addressing him as *Man*:

Mulier: My cloake man, why do *ye* blush?

and he parallels this by addressing her as *Woman* in response:

Menechmus: Why what aile *ye* woman?

This is not his usual address to her. It seems to have been provoked in response to her use of the term *Man*, suggesting that this usage is marked. He reverts to unmarked *Wife* in conciliation:

Menechmus: Tell me wife, hath any of *your* seruants abused *you*?
... Good wife come hither. [1595 1CWARN]

Man may function as a term of social status:

Archbishop: Lay *your* hand vpon it man.
[1593[1MBARRO] >accused directed to swear oath

but in the CED it functions more frequently in transient usage to denote the social relationship of speakers in a specific situation.

A woman may be addressed as: *Dame, Gentlewoman, Girl, Huswife, Lady, Madam, Mistress, Wench, Woman*. Speakers categorise their addressee in relation to their own perceived social status. This is demonstrated in a language teaching text in which the waiting gentlewoman, Jolye, addresses her employer, the lady, as *Madame* [1605 2HFERON]. The lady addresses this servant by her given name, *Jolye*. The chambermaid, being of lower social status than the waiting gentlewoman, addresses her as *Mistress Jolye*. All of these women exchange *you*.

There are fewer male social status terms. The most enduring of these is *Sir*, which may contrast with *Sirra* as an indicator of superior social status:

Lord Moren: Sirra in this *thou* maiest highly pleasure me, let me haue *thy* place to beare a torch, that I may look on my wife, and she not see me,

laques (Inn Keeper's Servant): O sir *you* shall, or any thing that I can do, Ile send for *your* wife to. [1599 1CCHAPM]

Terms denoting social status may be applied pejoratively. Mr Upright and Mr Pattent accord each other their title and address each other as *Sir* [1640 3HOTJ]. Then their discussion becomes heated and they exchange *Sirra*:

Upright: I shall vexe *thy* soule first Sirrah,
vnlesse *thou* canst come off with good Language,
thou wilt suffer many deaths in one,

Pattent: Well sirrah, *you* are a railing fellow, I'll
talke no more to *you*.

There is an indication of a distinction in the following usage in a 1607 drama text where the addressee is not visible to the speaker and his social status is unknown. The speaker hedges his bets by using both *sirrah* and *sir*, which collocate with the inclusive term *you*:

Speaker 2: Sirrah, sir, what make *you* in that tree.
[1607 2CWILKI]

The final examples are from the 1680s. These, addressed by a witch to a country fellow and by Captain Clark attempting to subdue an Election Day riot, possibly connote social status and certainly connote negative affect:

Mal. Spencer [a witch]: Come Sirrah, I have switcht *you* well
I'll tye *you* up now to the Rack.
[1682 C4SHADW] >Clod, a Country Fellow

Captain Clark: 'No King's-man, no Sword's-man', cryed they;
'Sirrah, *you* are a Rascal and a Traytor in *your* heart',
said I, and laid fast hold on him;
[1682 4TPILKI] Election Day Riot

This next example suggests banter. It is from a dialogue among colleagues who frequently exchange *thou*:

Tom: Sirrah, one word more of Mutton and off *you* go;
you cannot forbear your Roguery. [1681 4HOSAM]

I did not find *Sir* in collocation with *thou*.

Composite address terms with the prefix *your* (as *Grace, Honour, Ladyship, Lordship, Worship*) replace *you* in addressing the concept of a person of higher social status. The high-status office is being addressed rather than the person holding the office. This distances the addressee further from the speaker than the use of the prefix *my* and appropriate title (as *my Lady, my Lord*) which addresses the actual person. Most address terms connoting relatively high social status collocate with *you*. There are a few exceptions:

Queen: O pardon me my lord, that I mistake *thy* royall meaning so.
[1599 1CCHAPM] >absent King

Brabo, servant: I prithee Mistris, for all my long seruice,
For all the loue that I haue borne *thee* long,
Do me this fauour now to marry me.
[1602 2CHEYWO] >his mistris proposing marriage

Banckes: Marocco I dare saie it and sweare it to *thee*
... I am vndone, nowe young gentleman
[1595 1MDANDO] >Marocco, his Horse, where *young gentleman* is facetious

Occupation/Description

This category differs from Social Status which connotes the speaker's perception of their comparative status to that of their addressee. It is the description of the addressee which is either given in the introduction to the text or which may be deduced from the content of the text. Names of occupation as address terms generally collocate with *you*. This connotes social distance. The address is to the office rather than to the holder of the office who may be unknown to the speaker. Collocation with *thou* may connote negative affect:

Sacrapant: Yea a Frier indefinit, & a knaue infinit
... Holde *thee* there Friar, [1595 1CPEELE]

Master Pattent, the smith, switches from addressing Mr Upright by title and name in collocation with *you*, as their conversation becomes abusive:

Pattent: Whether insuch hast Mr.Upright; *you*
looke as if *you* did not know me.
... Doe *thy* worst Shoomaker [1640 3HOTJ]

Pattent knows his addressee's name but distances himself socially by denying Upright's individuality and categorising him as a type, addressed as *thou*. This has a deictic function by reinforcing the negative affect of his utterance. A similar kind of switch in a didactic text connotes banter. The title of the text suggests how it is to be interpreted: *a very pleasant dialogue ... printed merrily*:

Light—foot: Master Poet, *your* tongue runnes before your wit
... *Thy* fall O Poet, makes poor Light foot mad.
Suck.bottle: *Thy* fall O Poet, makes Suck bottle sad.
[1641 3HOPOET]

The collocation of *thou* and *what* in a drama text [1595 1CPEELE] connotes Anticke's uncertainty whether the apparition before him is human:

Anticke: In the name of my own father, be *thou* Oxe or Alfe¹⁸⁰
that appearest, tell vs what *thou* art.

When he is reassured by the smith:

¹⁸⁰ OED elf.

Smith: What am I? Why I am Clunch the Smith,
what are *you*, what make you in my territories
at this time of the night?

Anticke responds with self righteous indignation and addresses Clunch as *thou* and
Smith:

Anticke: What doe we make dost *thou* aske? why we make faces
for feare: such as if *thy* mortall eyes could behold,
would make *thee* water the long seames of *thy* side slops, Smith.

unlike his colleague, Frolicke,, who adopts a conciliatory tone with a respectful term
of address collocating with *you*:

Frolicke: And in faith Sir vnlesse *your* hospitalitie doe releeeue vs.

Careless greets Closet, Lady Thrivewell's old nurse, formally but switches to *thou*
Nurse as he attempts to cajole her into colluding with him to seduce Lady
Thrivewell:

Carelesse: And *you* have brought me, what sweet Mistris Closet?
... Cannot all *thy* art, and her cost finde helpe for
my Unkle, think'st *thou*, to get a child?
... Still *thou* mistak'st me Nurse. [1653 3CBROME]

This following example is from didactic texts labelled *English Lucian*
[1703 4HOLUCI], which implies that they are satirical. In most of their exchanges
Captain Flourish addresses Nehemiah Trap as *you Landlord*. The Captain's superior
social status seems to license the satire he directs to the landlord:

Landlord: Well Captain, I am glad of the Honour of *your* Company to this Choice Glass of
Wine. I wish I had as good Company to Entertain *you* with, as *you* had when you Treated
me at the Tower.

Captain Flourish: Thank *you* Landlord; then send for *your* Wife.

which the landlord appear not to recognise as satire:

Landlord: O dear Captain, Would she were here, I'm sure she'd go all over the Town to wait
on *you*;

On two occasions the Captain switches to *thou Landlord*. The motivation for this is
explained in one of these utterances:

Captain Flourish: *You* may seem another Man to *your* Brethren, who won't know *you*; or *your* Bubbles, who don't know *you*; or *your* Subjects who dare not know *you*. But my dear Landlord, Here's to *thy* own Reformation and Health. I do know *thee*. [1703 4HOLUCI]

The landlord has two personae. The Captain's use of *you Landlord* connotes 'another man', known to the world in general, whereas *thou Landlord* addresses the real man known to Captain Flourish. The contrast expresses spatial deixis with *you* as the distal and *thou* as the proximal form.

Name

This includes given names and given names plus family name collocating with *thou* and *you*

Title+Name

This category includes titles such as *Master*, *Mistress*, *Sir* followed by a name.

Unmarked usage is collocation with *you*.

Title+Occupation

I found only one example collocating with *thou* in this proposed classification, so it is not shown in the tables:

Knight: sirra Bailie, I will answere the poore
mens debts, and come home to me for *thy* fee anon
[1594 1CKNAVE]

The knight's unmarked usage to social inferiors is *you*. The usage here of *sirra* and *thou* may connote his distaste for the attempt to defraud the poor man. The use of a title to the bailiff seems ironic.

Collocations with *thou*

Although functioning as titles, the terms *Fellow*, *Sirra* and *Mother* preceding a name connote familiarity, so it is not remarkable that they collocate with *thou*:

Anticke: How nowe fellowe Franticke, what all amort?
Doth this sadnes become *thy* madnes?

Fantasticke: Syrrha Frolicke, I am sure *thou* art not without some
round or other, no doubt but Clunch can beare his part.
[1595 1CP EELE]

Lemot: Sirrah, Catalian , while they are playing at cardes, *thou* and I will haue some excellent sport
[1599 1CCHAPM]

Demdike: And make *thee* Mother Madge a Witch
[1682 4CSHADW]

All of the characters in the drama *Bartholomew Fayre* address Grace Welborn as *Mistress Grace*. Her betrothed Cokes's unmarked usage to her is *thou*. His usage to the other characters varies. His address to her seems to acknowledge the high social status evidenced by his use of her title and his affection for her as his betrothed evidenced by *thou*:

Cokes: Come, Mistresse Grace, pre'thee be not melancholy for my mis-chance; sorrow wi' not keepe it, Sweet heart.
... I ha' gold left to gi' *thee* a fayring, yet,
1614 [2CJONSO] >his betrothed

I found two examples of an addressee of high social status being addressed with *thou* of negative affect. One of these in the deposition texts is reported speech. Sir Richard, a priest, is addressed as *you* and subsequently abusively as *thou*:

JAMES WALTON "What maks *you* so hye, S=r= Richerd?"
"*thou* droucken horemonger preist?"
[1573 1WDURHA] >Sir Richerd, priest

In the drama, *Ram Alley*, Captain Puffe, whose name connotes his bombastic character, addresses both a knight and a justice as *thou*:

Captain Puffe: Sir Oliuer Smal-shankes,
Know my name is Puffe, knight, *thee* haue I sought,
To fright *thee* from *thy* wits.
... I tell *thee* Iustice Tutchine, not all
Thy Baylifes, Sergants, busie Constables,
Defesants, warrants, or *thy* Mittimusses,¹⁸¹
Shall saue his throte from cutting
[1611 2CBARRE] >Justice Tutchine,>Sir Oliver Smalshankes

Justice Tutchine thinks him mad:

Justice Tutchine: Nay good Sir Puffe ,
Wee haue too many mad men already.
[1611 2CBARRE] >Captin Puffe

¹⁸¹ OED writs.

Non-Predictability of Collocation

With abusive epithets

It is not the case in the CED that certain epithets always collocate with *thou* or *you*. An investigation of the collocation of vocatives in the CED does not coincide with Barber's findings in *Richard III*. Barber assesses usage from the First Folio of 1623. Assuming the first performance date of this play to have been 1592-3 (Maslen 1994:743), I have compared Barber's findings with drama texts in the CED in the period 1580-1640. He finds that certain abusive vocatives 'always collocate with *thou*, never with *you*' (1981:174). I have investigated those abusive vocatives noted by Barber that also feature with negative affect in the CED drama texts. These are: *fool*, *knave*, *slave*, *villain* (Appendix 2). Barber considers them only as address terms (vocatives) and concedes (1981:175) 'in most cases the figures are too small to be considered reliable ... we need statistical information on such collocations from a larger body of Shakespeare's plays.' I am not concerned that there may be insufficient statistical data to draw quantitative conclusions, since my study is essentially qualitative. My objective is to discover why speakers in the CED used *thou* as they did.

Barber notes that the vocative *Brother* collocates only with *you* in *Richard III* (Barber 1981:175). This is not the case in the CED drama texts where collocation varies according to context (Appendix 2). In neither of my categories, address terms or negative epithets, do the abusive vocatives cited by Barber consistently collocate with one form of the pronoun to the exclusion of the other, thus demonstrating the need for a pragmaphilological analysis to determine the collocates of *thou*.

In case the collocation of abusive epithets with *thou* is a feature of Shakespeare's idiolect rather than common usage in the Early Modern English period, I investigated the collocation of other abusive epithets in the CED that feature in the analysis tables in Appendix 4. Ignoring those epithets that collocate only with *thou* in one text and with *you* in another, I concentrated on those terms that collocated with both in the same text. This suggested that the choice of pronoun was not determined by the affect of the epithet. There were two epithets, *slave* and *whore*, that collocated with both *thou* and *you* in the same text but these were attributable to reporting discrepancies in deposition texts [1573 1WDURHA] and [1582 1WDARCY]. In

the drama texts, however, *varlet* [1595 1CWARN], *minx* [1607 2CWILKI] and *ass* [1614 2CJONSO] and [1669 3CDRYDE] collocated with both *thou* and *you*. The term *rogue*, which is semantically negative, features as a pragmatically positive term in collocation with both *thou* and *you* in texts from 1669 [3CDRYDE] and 1675 [3CWYCHE], where it functions as a ‘playful term of reproach or as a term of endearment’ (OED). This demonstrates the significance of context rather than collocation alone in determining affect.

With Apostrophe¹⁸² & Personification¹⁸³

Hope (2003:77-79) considers the use of *th*-forms to be ‘almost mandatory’ in Shakespeare plays in the contexts of: absence, apostrophe, and address to animals and spirits. This ‘apparently fixed convention can’, however, ‘be varied according to the affective semantic’. In his study of second-person pronouns in the Shakespeare corpus Ulrich Busse (2002:34) finds apostrophe to be ‘governed by the use of invariant *thou*.’ Although this applies to most of the instances of apostrophe in the CED, there are a few exceptions (Appendix 3). In all of these examples (except for the case of the speaker’s uncertainty of the status of his addressee [1595 1CP EELE]) a strong emotion overrides the unmarked usage. This is at variance with what has been claimed about Russian usage where Mühlhäusler & Harré find (1990:141) that the Russian *ty* is ‘the pronoun of surprise, upset, derangement and strong emotion of every kind, both hate and love, anger and tenderness.’ In Early Modern English such strong emotion may be expressed by pronoun switching in the use of apostrophe.

¹⁸² vocative address to an absent, or dead person, or to an inanimate object or quality as if personified (Wales 2001:27).

¹⁸³ a figure of speech or trope in which an inanimate object, animate non-human, or abstract quality is given human attributes (Wales 2001:294).

Chapter 8 Conclusions

My investigation into the pragmatics of *thou* in Early Modern English dialogues had three interrelated objectives:

- to discover the contexts in which the forms *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference
- to determine the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange or within a single utterance
- to investigate how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets and what this implies about their changing significance in the Early Modern English period

First Objective

to discover the contexts in which the forms *thou* and *you* were used with singular reference:

As far as I am aware, previous analyses of the *thou/you* variants in Early Modern English have been based on some component of the vertical and horizontal axes of status and distance, or like that of Mulholland they have sought a grammatical feature to account for variation. The problem with these approaches is that it limits the analysis so that, if the particular feature investigated cannot be shown to motivate *thou/you* variation, one may be left with the conclusion of Johnson's 1966 study on the basis of rank as a determining factor that the difference between the pronouns of address had become 'meaningless' by the seventeenth century. Johnson found insufficient information to enable her to categorise many of her speakers into her selected 'three social divisions' (1966:263). I assumed that the address term may be significant but unlike Stein (2002:252) did not assume a socially unmarked pronoun for any given pair of speakers. Instead I undertook a close reading of the complete text to establish each speaker's unmarked exchange-based usage to their interlocutor. I thus established a text-internal classification of interlocutors' relative status rather than a text-external one. In the CED texts *you* began to be unmarked in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. *Thou* became inclusive or exclusive. The *thou/you* contrast is one of social deixis.

I considered three text types:

- Deposition and trial texts, which depict authentic use of *thou* and *you*, give some suggestion of authentic usage.
- Didactic and language texts, which depict prescribed appropriate usage.
- Drama texts, which may depict the stylistic effect of subverting these expectations.

In all text types I found that, except for formulaic *thou* in trial texts, the percentage of *thou*-collocation both with address terms and affective epithets measured against that of *you* begins to diminish after 1600. The implication of this is that, as *thou* gradually becomes marked, its use as a form of address or in collocation with an epithet acquires pragmatic significance. The address pronouns *thou* and *you* exemplify Traugott's pattern of semantic change in English in undergoing semantic bleaching and pragmatic strengthening. *You* develops from denoting number to connoting first deference then politeness. *Thou* becomes gradually marginalised as a pronoun expressing singularity, so that eventually its usage is marked.

Jucker notes the first attestation of *you* with singular reference in the second half of the thirteenth century (2006:57). Brown & Gilman also give this date for the 'first uses of "ye" as a reverential singular' and say that it seems to have been copied from the French nobility (1960:265). It seems that 1600, the point by which Partridge claims 'the distinctions [between *thou* and *you*] have become too subtle for the average person to observe' (1969:25), is a significant point in the decline in the use of *thou* in the CED texts. Contributory factors in this decline appear to have been the changing structure of society and growing urbanization. Statistics from the sixteenth century (Turchin & Nefedov 2009:85) show an increase in the numbers of the middling sort, who feature prominently in the constructed texts, and of the higher orders, who feature mainly in the drama texts. This increase followed the dissolution of the monasteries, much of whose land was sold to the gentry during the 1540s and early 1550s, creating the economic basis for the expansion of this sector of society (Stone 1972:154). Rising rents after 1580 benefited this sector, whose numbers increased in the hundred years to 1640.

Turchin & Nefedov (2009:85) give the following figures. In that part of society categorised as 'higher orders' in the CED analyses: the number of aristocratic

families grew from 6,300 to 18,500 between 1540 and 1640. Among the county gentry there were 500 knights in 1524 but 1,400 baronets and knights by 1640. Among the 'middling sort', the number of esquires rose from 800 to 3,000 between 1524 and 1640. The most significant groups, because of their involvement in local affairs, are the parish gentry or armigerous (arms bearing) gentry who grew from 5,000 to 15,000 between 1540 and 1640. This compares with a general population increase of 80% in this period from 2.8 to 5.1 million. In the same period, there was a growth in the number of lawyers and doctors, who are also categorised as 'middling sort' in the CED analyses.

From the mid-sixteenth century there was a trend to reorganise estates away from communally-managed open fields into individually-managed enclosed farms. Between 1550 and 1600 cereal yields rose by about 38% (Wrightson lecture 12, chapter 2). This was accompanied by a fall in real wages, an increase in the number of landless peasants and a growing degree of inequality together with famine during the years 1594 to 1597 (Turchin & Nefedov 2009:100). Regional specialization in agriculture and expanding urban economies attracted both the unemployed and those with produce to sell, creating a 'redistribution of population' (Wrightson lecture 12, chapter 5). This led to a period of rapid urban growth or urbanization of cities such as Worcester and Norwich. The greatest population increase was in London where the population grew from around 70,000 in 1550 to 200,000 by 1600, that is 5% of the national population (Wrightson lecture 12, chapter 3). In a period of rapid social change with a growing population of the middling sort, it may be difficult to locate one's interlocutor socially and safer to hedge one's bets like the speaker in the 1607 drama, *Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, addressing an invisible addressee with both informal and formal address terms:

Speaker 2: Sirrah, sir, what make *you* in that tree.
[1607 2CWILKI]

The equivalent for the second person pronoun of address in case of doubt is to use *you* to avoid giving offence. The increasing uncertainties about relationships in the changing social order may explain the *thou/you* shift.

The contemporary perception of *thou* as marked as an address term to strangers in the mid-seventeenth century is illustrated by Fox's account in his *Journal* of 1651 (see chapter 2 above). Similarly in 1660, Thomas Ellwood, a fellow Quaker, provoked fury when he addressed his father as *thou*, who told him: 'Sirrah, if ever I hear you say Thou or Thee to me again, I'll strike your teeth down your throat' (Bear [1714] 2008). Figure 8:1 illustrates the decline of *thou* as an address term after 1600. After 1721 it is very little used in this way. Figure 8:2 shows that *thou* continued to be used with affective epithets to the end of the period, though after 1600 this use declined in comparison with *you*. Figure 8:3, an amalgam of the two previous figures, depicts the overall progression of declining *thou*-usage after 1600.

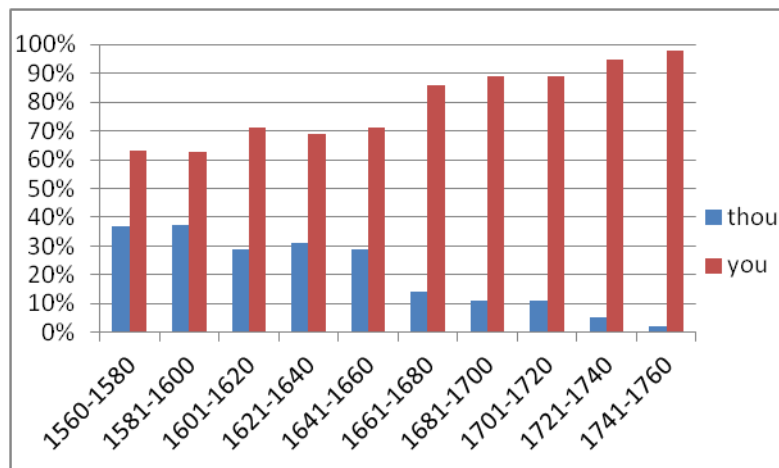


Figure 8:1 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Address Terms in All Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

thou: Mean 20.07% STDEV 13.37% *you*: Mean 76.9% STDEV 18.1%

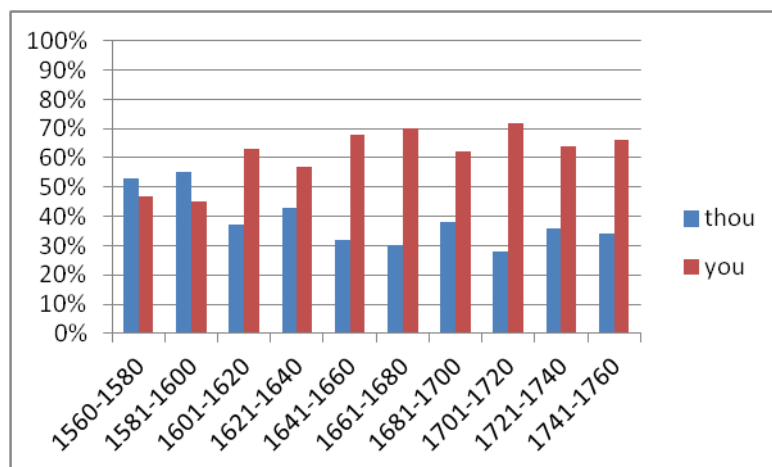


Figure 8:2 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Affective Epithets in All Texts

There are no drama texts for the periods 1560-1580 & 1621-1640

thou: Mean 38.6% STDEV 9.2% *you*: Mean 61.4% STDEV 9.2%

In collocation with affective epithets *thou* as a percentage of second-person pronoun usage is higher both synchronically and diachronically in drama texts than in other text types. *Thou* survives as an address term and as an affective term until the end of the period in drama texts [1757 5CGARRI]. Except for the isolated instances of the Mary Blandy deposition [1752 5WBLAND] and the reported use in a trial text by Mr Elde [1725 5TMACCL], *thou* does not feature either as an address term or in collocation with an affective epithet after 1682 in authentic texts.

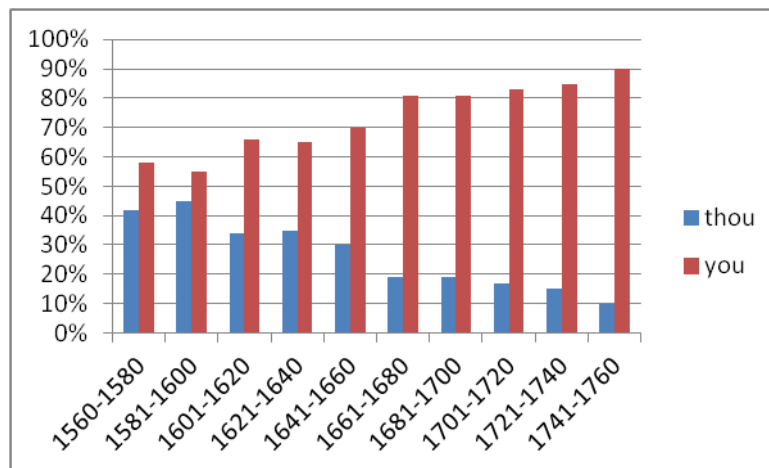


Figure 8:3 Collocation of *thou* and *you* with Address Terms & Affective Epithets in All Texts

thou: Mean 26.6% STDEV 12.16% *you* Mean 73.4% STDEV 12.16%

The use of *thou* survived and was sustained in English by a combination of religious laws in the sixteenth century. The 1549 Act of Uniformity established the *Book of Common Prayer* as the only legal form of worship and the 1559 Act of Uniformity imposed compulsory church attendance. *The Book of Common Prayer* specified that psalms should be read every day for morning and evening prayer and ‘the Psalter followeth the translation of the great English Bible, set forth and used in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth.’ Crystal finds that though the King James Bible influenced the English language with innovative idiomatic expressions’ (2010:261), for stylistic influence Coverdale’s 1535 translation of the Psalms in the *The Book of Common Prayer* ‘is more likely to be remembered, not King James’ (2010:88).

‘By the early seventeenth century the Church as it had been established in 1559 [along with its *Book of Common Prayer*] had sunk deep roots into English popular

culture' (Coward 1996:83). During the Protectorate *The Book of Common Prayer* was replaced by the *Directory for Public Worship* which commended 'the more frequent reading of such scriptures as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the book of Psalms, and such like.' In 1650 all laws compelling attendance at the national Church were repealed. After the Restoration, however, the Prayer Book was revised and the Conventicle Act of 1664 prohibited all assemblies not held in accordance with *The Book of Common Prayer* (Coward 1996:294). Coward finds that there was 'a determined campaign to suppress those sects that would not conform to the restored Church of England' (1996:296). Protestant dissent continued and in 1689 the Toleration Act allowed licensed worship outside the Church of England. It is difficult to quantify Church attendance in the Early Modern period but what is apparent is that anyone attending any denomination of Church service at any time during this period would have encountered the Psalms. Church congregations were thus regularly exposed to the use of *thou* in a formal register throughout the whole of the period under consideration. As *you* took over in natural conversation, *thou* would have progressively come to be perceived as connoting a marked register.

It was perceived as such by de Saussure, a French Protestant, writing in 1729. He says of Quakers that they

form a particular nation of people, quite different from ordinary English citizens, by their language, manner of dressing, and religion. Amongst their other customs, one of which is their use of the pronoun 'thou', is that of never giving any man his titles, whatever his position or worth may be. Quakers make use of a sort of Bible talk, which strikes you more particularly, as it appears to date two hundred years back, no Bible having been printed in England in the fine modern language, the earliest edition of the Holy Book being still in use. (cited in Gibson 1998:223)

Indications are that the use of *thou* as a subject was becoming rarer by the beginning of the eighteenth century. A drama text from 1719, which also features *thou* as a single subject:

Worthy: Townly, *thee* and I will make a Visit [4CKILLI]

implies linguistic uncertainty similar to the confusion in Modern English over the use of case in personal pronouns e.g. *Me and you will make a visit*. Reported speech

in a trial from 1725 seems to express similar uncertainty with *thee* in a compound subject:

Mr Elde: My Lord said, *thee* and I, or *You* and I [5TMACCL].

A drama text from 1734 has *thee* as a singular subject form:

Lady Hippish: What dost *thee* mean by this Blubbering, pr'ythee? [5CMILLE].

The address term *thou* to strangers in the CED texts seems to have survived the longest when connoting the twenty-first century relationship with those who perform a service but are not directly employed by the user such as waiting staff, taxi drivers and other people's servants. Perhaps *thou* in these relationships has been replaced in modern times by the custom of tipping with the same potential for friendly condescension.

In late-seventeenth-century texts *you was* as a variant of *you were* occurs as singular address together with the more frequent *was you* replacing *were you*. This may have exemplified a grammatical trend to specialize *was* as singular and *were* as plural. I have not undertaken a detailed analysis but it is interesting that the one language text in which this usage occurs [1694 4HFBOYE] has the singular form of the verb in an address to a lady by her friend, while the maid retains the established plural form. It may be that linguistic insecurity is motivating the new singular form among the middling sort. I found no such use in deposition texts where there is a preponderance of speakers from the lower orders. Most occurrences are in the trial texts beginning with the Attorney General in 1658 [3TSLING]. Usage is not consistent. Until the end of the seventeenth century some trial texts featured only the plural form. From 1702 [4TSWEND] both forms occur in the same text with speakers (mainly Officials) often using them inconsistently. This may be hypercorrection. The last trial text [1759 5TSTEVE] has only *you were* with singular reference. *You was* features in all the drama texts from 1719.

Second Objective

to determine the motivation for shifts from one form to the other within an exchange or within a single utterance

My approach to my second objective was to identify the phenomenon of switching and then to assess the cause. In this way, I intended to avoid the Fish criticism of

stylistic analysis (1979): that it ‘was always arbitrary, less a matter of something demonstrated than of something assumed before the fact or imposed after it.’ In her study of the CED Walker undertook a micro analysis of samples of texts. As I considered that the relationships of the speakers, their relative social status and distance could only be determined in context, I undertook a close reading of the entire text. In identifying switching usage as potentially significant I did not set out to justify any particular significance. I did not assume that usage necessarily connotes power or solidarity, only that a change in use may be significant in some way. Nor did I follow Calvo in assuming literary merit for any particular version of a text leading to the conclusion that *thou* and *you* must be in ‘meaningless free variation.’ As the markedness and markedness reversal analyses show, shifts in the pronoun of address connote a shift in the speaker’s stance towards the persona of the addressee, a reorientation of the topic, or a change of topic. Shifts are deictic.

Some motivations for shifts to *thou* as expressions of temporary solidarity of purpose¹⁸⁴ or affinity are shown in Appendix 1. These include:

- Perception of potential or actual shared experience;
- Attempt to reassure or console the addressee;
- Attempt to promote intimacy with the intention of obliging a reluctant addressee to respond;
- Persuasion to collude;
- Expression of appreciation of wit.

Brown & Gilman do not account for pronoun switching in Middle English citing Kennedy’s finding of ‘inexplicable fluctuation between T and V in Middle English’ (1960:255). Jucker (2006:69), however, suggests that:

Chaucer’s system of pronouns of address is characterised by retractable choices. In *Canterbury Tales*, the choice of the appropriate pronoun is not fixed for each dyad of interlocutors’ with switches in pronouns ‘depending on the interactional status reached at any given point.’

My investigation of the Early Modern English *Corpus of English Dialogues* replicated this finding. In the CED texts, the *thou/you* variant functions interpersonally as a social deictic to position the speaker in relation to the addressee. This may be determined by: their ages, their sex, their kinship status, their comparative social status, the extent of their acquaintance, their mutual affect. These

¹⁸⁴ See chapter 2 footnote 13 page 26

factors would determine unmarked usage for the interlocutors. When their default usage changes and there is a switch to the other variant, this indicates a change in some aspect of the context of their exchange. This may relate to the emotion the speaker feels to the addressee, to the perceived persona of the addressee, or to textual features such as the topic of the exchange or the location of the exchange. Thus markedness reversal functions as a pragmatic marker in connoting the speaker's attitude to his addressee and in locating the proposition in the context of the discourse. Eventually, as *you* replaced *thou* in most conversational registers, it ceased to have these connotations and became depragmatised.

The amount of pronoun switching varies according to the type of text. The statistics are shown on the next page. It is much more frequent in drama texts than in other texts. As the intended audience has to construct the characters from their dialogue, this may sound artificial because of the unnatural burden of information it contains. There may be time jumps in drama, so changes in stance and topic contribute to plot development. A drama text is unlikely to have a sequence of twenty five questions such as that directed at a witness in a treason trial over discrepancies in his testimony [1681 4TCOLLE]. The most common category of switching is in the speaker's perception of the persona of the addressee, which comprises about 75% of all switches. This contributes to the construction of the characters and may also serve to develop the plot. Speaker change of stance on the topic constitutes about 20% of the total and change of topic around 5%. In 1747 a switch to marked *thou* in a drama text [1747 5CHOADL] appears to function to mitigate negative affect.

Deposition texts have very little switching since they comprise mainly interviews with some reported speech between speakers whose social roles in relation to each other are generally stable. The texts generally comprise accounts by one or more deponents of the same single utterance or short exchange. Many of the utterances in language teaching texts are directives to servants or comments on their behaviour.

What little switching there is denotes mainly the chastisement of servants or the expression of endearment to infants.

Pragmatic Factors motivating *thou/you* switching in different text types

P Change of perception of persona of addressee

S Change of stance on topic

T Change of topic

Drama				
	Total	%P	%S	%T
1560-1580	49	86	2	12
1581-1600	No texts			
1601-1620	66	65	26	9
1621-1640	No texts			
1641-1660	24	96	4	0
1661-1680	39	61	26	13
1681-1700	51	63	31	6
1701-1720	13	77	23	0
1721-1740	14	72	21	7
1741-1760	14	79	21	0

Table 8.1

Depositions				
	Total	%P	%S	%T
1560-1580	6	50	50	0
1581-1600	2	100	0	0
1601-1620	0	0	0	0
1621-1640	0	0	0	0
1641-1660	0	0	0	0
1661-1680	0	0	0	0
1681-1700	0	0	0	0
1701-1720	0	0	0	0
1721-1740	0	0	0	0
1741-1760	2	100	0	0

Table 8.2

Didactic				
	Total	%P	%S	%T
1560-1580	0	0	0	0
1581-1600	0	0	0	0
1601-1620	12	67	25	8
1621-1640	No texts			
1641-1660	22	50	45	5
1661-1680	4	0	0	100
1681-1700	18	17	67	17
1701-1720	12	67	33	0
1721-1740	0	0	0	0
1741-1760	0	0	0	0

Table 8.3

Language Teaching				
	Total	%P	%S	%T
1560-1580	4	100	0	0
1581-1600	0	0	0	0
1601-1620	6	100	0	0
1621-1640	0	0	0	0
1641-1660	0	0	0	0
1661-1680	0	0	0	0
1681-1700	2	100	0	0
1701-1720	No texts			
1721-1740	0	0	0	0
1741-1760	No texts			

Table 8.4

Miscellaneous				
	Total	%P	%S	%T
1560-1580	No texts			
1581-1600	12	67	25	8
1601-1620	7	57	43	0
1621-1640	No texts			
1641-1660	18	44	56	0
1661-1680	3	100	0	0
1681-1700	3	?	?	?
1701-1720	No texts			
1721-1740	No texts			
1741-1760	No texts			

Table 8.5

? unreliable data in [1682] 4MLA
Last Words and Confessions

Discounting the opening and closing legal interviews in the miscellaneous texts, the remainder, which date from 1595 to 1661, have the structure of drama. In the 1648 text *Mistress Custome*, who is 81 years old, switches to *thou* when referring to events in her youth [1648 3MWOMEN]. Presumably *Mistress Custome* would have used *thou* as a term of address to a neighbour in 1590, when she was young. The persona of the speaker seems to influence this switch. Use of *thou* is collusive in the 1661 text [3MWHORE]. Switches to *you* in this text are difficult to categorise. They may connote two personae of one addressee. Other usage in this 1661 text, with *thou* and *you* expressing comparative social status and affect, show that there was still an awareness of the difference in their connotations, even if *thou* was becoming progressively rarer in authentic conversation.

Pronoun switches not signalled by a pragmatic particle but connoting affect comprised 66% of switches to 1660 in the drama texts. This fell to 58% in the second hundred year period. In didactic texts the numbers were 72% and 44%.¹⁸⁵ Occurrences in the other text types were too small to be significant. The highest numbers of both types of switching in the drama texts occurred between 1581 and 1620, which reflects the overall declining use of *thou* shown in figure 8:3. As a consequence of the changing structure of society and growing urbanisation described above this forty-year period is evidently the most significant in the pragmaticalisation of *thou* and *you* in the CED texts.

Usage not explained by Pronoun Switching as Pragmatic Marker Theory

As can be seen, very few of the pronoun switches could not be explained by the switching as pragmatic marker theory developed in this study. There are a few problematic cases.

1610 [2HOSNAW] *Looking Glasse for Married Folkes*

In this didactic text Abigail chastises her friend Eulalie:

A lacke Eulaly, *thou* art an
honest ciuill woman, I must needs say, but
yet *thou* speakest very carnally.

¹⁸⁵ There were no didactic texts for the periods 1560-1600 and 1721-1760 in the CED.

It may be that *thou* here connotes negative affect but Abigail also chastises her friend Margerie, addressing her as *you*:

Abigail: I pray *you* Margerie, vse no
more such scoffing speeches.

Then Abigail switches to address Eulalie as *you* in speaking privately to her:

Abigail: I will make my case knowne vnto *you* in *your* eare.

Abigail's use of switching is not consistent.

1605 [2HFERON] *The French Garden*

This is a language teaching text translated from French. This extract is a lady chastising a servant. It is a direct translation of the pronoun forms:

Lady: Truely so it seemes, come hether *you* brasen-facte lyer,
art *thou* not ashamed to affirme so apparant a lye before me?
The myre and durt sticke on them yet.
Seest *thou* not that they are all durtie?
[Of lying] Truely I will teach *you* how to lye,
or rather how *you* should not lye.
I will not leaue such a vice vnpunished.

It is difficult to account for the specific instances of switching. The overall intent is obviously pejorative.

1685 [4HEMIEG] *Nouvelle method* A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRAVELLOUR AND THE COACHMAN

This is a language teaching text that was translated from English into French. The pronoun forms differ with *you* in English rendered in French either as *tu* or as the singular form of the imperative. There are pronoun switches in the English texts but not in the French. The traveller's switch to address the coachman as *thou wretched Charon* to reject the suggestion that they drive to Hell 'with a full gallop' can be interpreted as a change in the traveller's perception of the coachman's persona. More problematic is the switch in the traveller's instruction:

When I bid *you* stop, be sure to stop.
How much must *thou* have?

since the traveller had opened their dialogue by addressing the coachman as *you*.

1661 [3MWHORE] *The Wandering Whore*

In this miscellaneous text the usage of Gusman, a pimp, is problematic, since it is not always possible to determine if he is addressing one or both women in the dialogue when he uses the term *you*. In addressing only Julietta, a whore, he switches to *thou* with the hypochorism *Ju*:

Gusman: They are singular ways to provide horns for his head,
but I would not wish *you* to stand upon such Punctilios,
if he will but marry *thee Ju*.

It is not apparent why he subsequently addresses her as *you* with the hypochorism *Ju*:

Gusman: well if *you* think to have Francion I hear, and see coming *lu*,
You must behave *yourself* with more discretion.

Third Objective

to investigate how the use of the forms *thou* and *you* collocates with address terms and epithets and what this implies about their changing significance in the Early Modern English period

To the best of my knowledge previous analyses of *thou/you* collocation with nominal address terms have examined Shakespearean plays. Ulrich Busse compiles a list of 36 nominal forms of address for which he finds examples in the Shakespeare corpus. He establishes a definition for the nominal term and investigates how it collocates with the pronoun variant. As my method focuses on the pronominal form, I do not preselect possible address terms but analyse only those nominal address terms and epithets that do collocate with a pronoun of address. The collocation of affective epithets with the form of the pronoun of address is not predictable. A comparison of the collocation of those abusive epithets in *Richard III* that Barber finds always collocate with *thou* (1987:174) does not find the same result in the CED (see Appendix 2). Epithets and pronoun may colour each other but abusive epithets do not always collocate with *thou*. I found that apostrophe and personification do not invariably collocate with *thou* (see Appendix 3). The nature of the addressee is less relevant in determining usage than the context of the address. Strong emotion may provoke the use of *you*. The context of the utterance is the most relevant factor in determining the connotation of the pronoun.

Findings

My findings in deposition texts differed from Hope's finding (1994:143) that 'in those cases where there are multiple accounts of the same conversation, the accounts almost

always preserve identical pronoun forms.’ I found examples of discrepancy in reporting use of the pronoun form in deposition texts (1562, 1582, 1633). These particular cases implied that reporters seemed to attach no significance to the address pronoun. Cusack (1998:97) cites a case from Virginia in 1644 with reporter discrepancy that does connote affect for the deponents who are reporting previous utterances. We need more data in order to be able to account for reporting discrepancies.

Similarly Barber notes the need for more data when he claims that his analysis of *Richard III* (1987:174) found that abusive vocatives always collocate with *thou*. This is contrary to my analysis of the CED.

We also need to bear in mind Ferguson’s warning about fictolinguistics (1998). The requirements of the narrative may override the need for linguistic authenticity. Thus we cannot rely on constructed Early Modern English texts as a representation of authentic Early Modern English usage. More authentic data is needed. The publication of the CED gives the possibility to examine such additional data and this opportunity has motivated the work presented here.

Because of the limitations of the data it is not claimed that they depict a definitive assessment of diachronic change in the use of *thou* in Early Modern English. It is possible though, to say that *thou* connotes affect throughout the period studied. My findings differ from other studies most significantly in my investigation of *thou/you* switching. Contrary to findings in other studies that *thou/you* switching was ‘meaningless’ (Johnson 1966), or ‘entirely a matter of personal preference’ that ‘did not connote much’ (Calvo 1996), I found that it has a deictic function. Switches reposition the speaker in relation to some aspect of the utterance. My investigation for the motivation for *thou/you* switching within the text rather than through the frame of externally imposed norms such as rank established that *thou/you* switching is motivated but not predictable. In social semiotic terms *thou/you* switching is interpersonally, ideationally and textually deictic. *Thou/you* switching functions as an implicit pragmatic marker.

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Witches taken at S.Oses [1582 1WDARCY]

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[12/10/2009]

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Appendix 1

Affinity: Temporary Solidarity of Purpose in which switches to *thou* are motivated by:

A perception of potential or actual shared experience

Master Pedro: Tushe, they [women] bee shrewes all,
and if you giue the simplest of them
leaue to daye to treade vpon your foote,
to morrowe she will tread vpon *thy* head
[1568 1HOTILN]

Isabella: Well, my Dear, I must open my heart to *thee*;
I am so much in Love with this Bellfort,
that I shall dye if I lose him.
[1682 4CSHADW]

Mrs Sullen: Ha, ha, ha, my dear Sister, let me
embrace *thee*, now we are Friends indeed!
[1707 4CFARQU]

Sir Credulous: -- No, no, I can never bear to hear
the Shrieks and Lamentations she'll make over me;
-- But, Primrose, ar't *thee* not afraid that her very
thinking me dead, will break her Heart?
[1734 5CMILLE]

Frankly: And art *thou* then thoroughly in Love?
Come to my Arms, *thou* dear Companion of my Joys --
(They embrace.)
[1747 5CHOADL]

Attempt to reassure addressee who fears he may not be believed:

Quarulous: Yes faith, shalt *thou*, Numps, and *thou* art worthy on't,
for *thou* sweatest for't
[1614 2CJONSO]

or to console addressee:

Sparkish: Come dear Franck, for all my Wife there that shall be,
thou shalt enjoy me sometimes dear Rogue:
[1675 3CWYCHE]

Attempt to promote intimacy with the intention of obliging the reluctant addressee to respond:

Inquisition: *Thou* now tells me of a thing more then ever J heard of;
is it possible ... Surely ... How? but I pray *thee* proceed.
[1641 3HOSTAR]

Sparkish: Here Harcourt, do *you* approve my choice?
... Harcourt how dost *thou* like her, Faith?
[1675 3CWYCHE]

Persuasion to collude

Catalian: ... stop *thou* him there, and I wil meet him here.
[1599 1CCHAPM]

Lemot: Sirrah, Catalian, while they are playing at cardes,
thou and I will haue some excellent sport:
sirrah, dost *thou* know that same Gentleman there?
[1599 1CCHAPM]

Splay: Be rul'd by me and I will make *thee* rich.
[1602 2CHEYWO]

William Smaleshanke:
Now if she chance to question what I am,
Say sonne vnto a Lord, I pray *thee* tell her
I haue a world of land, and stand in hope
To bee created Barron
... Wilt *thou* do this?
[1611 2CBARRE]

Boucher: Stand *thou* propitious, indeere me to my loue
Tafata: ... lend me *thy* eare,
[1611 2CBARRE]

William Smalshanke: Come wench of gold,
For *thou* shalt get me gold ...
By *thy* bare gettings, wentch, by *thy* bare gettings
[1611 2CBARRE]

This utterance from 1653 illustrates the use of marked *thou* to introduce the suggestion of collusion and a reversion to unmarked *you* that functions to mitigate the proposition.

Chandler: Tush, what's the, matter?
doest *thou* not know the old Proverb?
(Knaves have better luck then honest men)
cannot we joyne and make a purse?
and *you* know, silver bags will worke,
especially with good store of Wine,
and a rich Feast;
[1653 3HOCOLE]

Appreciation of wit:

Old Bellair: A Dod sirrah, I like *thy* wit well.
[1676 3CETHER]

Lucinda: *Thou* art a pert merry Hussy.
[1723 5CSTEEL]

Non Predictability of Collocation

A more permanent solidarity of social identity or of membership of a social group such as: age, sex, dialect, kinship, occupation does not motivate the inevitable use of a specific address pronoun. Two proctors employed in the law address each other with a proximal address term, *brother*, and exchange the distal address pronoun, *you* [1641 3HOSPIR], as do two merchants [1653 3HOCOLE]. One of the merchants switches to the proximal *thou* in an expression of affinity and in a metaphorical closing of ranks against external opprobrium:

Woodmonger: I tell *thee*, Brother Hoord-Coale, wee know that
wee are hated and cursed of every man, but then we Foxes fare best;

A similar uniting against 'the Other' is connoted in a switch by a debt collector to address his assistant as *thou* in acknowledging how they would be universally regarded:

Tenterhooke: I am afraid of the worst,
if such a Leather-fac'd fellow, as I or *thou* art,
should but be brought into question,
our very downe-looks would halfe hang us.
[1641 3MCOUNT]

Appendix 2

Comparison of collocation of *thou/you* with selected epithets in the CED¹⁸⁶

fool

Address terms:

[1584 1CLYLY] Psyllus: Why foole, that is all one, for if *thou* cry, *thou* must needes make a noise

[1595 1CWARNE] Menechmus: Out drunken foole, without doubt *thou* art out of *thy* wits.

[1602 2CHEYWO] Fuller: Come my loues foole giue me *thy* hand to lead

[1611 2CBARRE] Throte: I tell *thee* foole

Negative Epithets:

[1595 1CWARNE] Menechmus: If *ye* were not such a brabbling foole

[1614 2CJONSO] Knockhum: Away, *thou* art a foole, Vrs

[1614 2CJONSO] Waspe: A resolute foole, *you* are

knave

Address terms:

[1595 1CWARNE] Menechmus: Peace foolish knaue, seest *thou* not what a sot she is

[1599 1CCHAPM] Host: Hold still *thou* knaue

[1611 2CBARRE] Sir Oliuer Smale-shankes: *Thou* varlet knaue

[1611 2CBARRE] Sir Oliuer Smale-shankes: Peace knaue, whats she *your* wife?

Negative Epithets:

[1594 1CKNAVE] Maid: Go your waies, *you* are a cogging knaue I warrant you.

[1595 1CPEELE] Zantypa: By gogs bones *thou* art a flouting knaue

[1599 1CCHAPM] Maid: Baggage? *you* are a knaue to call me baggage

[1607 2CWILKI] Scarborough: *You* knaue Slaue-trencher-groome

[1611 2CBARRE] Adriana: Whose witty knaue art *thou*?

slave

Address Terms:

[1607 2CWILKI] Scarborough: I *your* coat slaue?

[1607 2CWILKI] Scarborough: Yes goodman slaue, *you* shal be master

Negative Epithets:

[1594 1CKNAVE] Conicatcher: *you* are a slaue indeede

villain

Address Terms:

[1584 1CLYLY] Lays: Downe villaine, or I wil haue *thy* head broken?

[1594 1CKNAVE] Honesty: Good villaine, theres no help for *you*.

[1594 1CKNAVE] King: Now fie vpon *thee* base villaine, lay hands on him

[1623 2CSHAKE] Caius: Villanie¹⁸⁷, take *your* Rapier

¹⁸⁶ Epithets found by Barber (1987:174) in *Richard III* that ‘always collocate with *thou* never with *you*.’

brother

collocates only with *you* in *Richard III* (Barber 1981:175). In CED Drama texts collocation varies according to context:

[1595 1CWARN] Menechmus Traveller: O Brother, Brother, let me embrace *thee*

[1595 1CWARN] Menechmus Citizen: Brother I will intreate ***you*** to performe ***your*** promise to Messenio

[1595 1CPEEL] 2 Brother: Brother remember ***you*** the white Beare of Englands wood

[1595 1CPEEL] 2 Brother: Then brother draw *thy* sword & follow me.

¹⁸⁷ This may be *villain* but I think it is more likely to be *villainy*.

Appendix 3

Comparison of Collocation of *thou/you* with Apostrophe¹⁸⁸ & Personification

Apostrophe + *you*

[1595 1CPEELE]

speaker-Jack

addressee-dead Sacrapant

lack: Oh Sir are *you* gon: now I hope we
shall haue some other coile

Sacrapant has just died as the direction ‘he dyeth’ attests. The motivation here seems to be Jack’s uncertainty over whether Sacrapant is alive or dead.

[1595 1CPEELE]

speaker-Zantypa---

addressee-Celanta, her absent sister--

-Once againe for a husband, & in faith

-Celanta I haue got the start of *you*;

Strong negative emotion seems to motivate the use of *you* here, as Zantypa’s previous usage in addressing her sister indicate:

Zantypa: heere comes Celanta my sweete sister,
... goe thy waies¹⁸⁹ home as wife as thou camst,
or Ile set thee home with a wanion¹⁹⁰

[1599 1CCHAPM]

speaker-Countess Moren-

addressee-absent Lemot

- Nothing els quoth *you*, can there be more?

This seems to be the heightened emotion of the Countess’ expression of outrage at the news Lemot has recounted.

Lemot: indeed it is a shame for your
husband, that contrary to his oath made to you before dinner,
he shoud be now at the ordinary with that light huswife
Martia , which I could not chuse but come and tell you;
for indeede it is a shame that your motherly care should be so
slightly regarded ... Well, there they are: nothing els now, to her
husband go I.

¹⁸⁸ With reference to Hope’s claim that *th*-forms are ‘almost mandatory’ in Shakespeare plays in the context of apostrophe (2003:77-79) and the finding by Ulrich Busse that apostrophe in the Shakespeare corpus is ‘governed by the use of invariant *thou*’ (2002:34).

¹⁸⁹ OED exclamation of derision, remonstrance, or surprise.

¹⁹⁰ OED *wanion* – plague, vengeance.

[1653 3BROME] A Mad Couple Well Match'd
 speaker-Carelesse
addressee- tongue Personification

And for my Unkle were I his heire apparent, I
 rather wish he might live till all this World were weary
 of him, and the next affraid to take him.
 Then I survive him (Tongue, a pox punish *you* for lying)

This is the negative affect of self-reproach, as Carelesse appears to consider that he is indiscreet in his conversation with Nurse Closet. He subsequently remarks:

The Devills in this overrunning Tongue of mine,
 I could finde in my heart to worme him out with my teeth.

[1676 3CETHER] The Man of Mode
 speaker- Mrs Loveit
addressee- absent Dorimant

Again excessively negative affect attested by Mrs Loveit's cumulative negative epithets motivates a marked *you* to an absent addressee:

Wou'd I had made a Contract to be a Witch
 When first I entertain'd this greater Devil,
 Monster, Barbarian; I could tear my self in pieces.
 Revenge, nothing but Revenge can ease me; Plague,
 War, Famine, Fire, all that can bring universal ruin
 And misery on mankind, with Joy I'd perish to
 Have *you* in my power but this moment!

[1747 5CHOADL] The Suspicious Husband
 speaker-Ranger
addressee-His Wig, inanimate object Personification

The Servant's reaction to Ranger's comparison of his 'batter'd' wig with the 'spruce, sober Gentleman' who is the personification of his other wig implies that this is ludic usage. This ludicity may licence the address of *you*. Perhaps it is their genteel status connoted by the epithets Ranger uses that motivates his use of *you*. As this text is near the end of the period, it may simply be that *thou* is not longer used to inanimate objects.

(Enter Servant, with a Wig dress'd)

Ranger: Where have you been, Rascal? If I had not had the Key
 in my Pocket, I must have waited at the Door in this dainty Dress.

Servant: I was only below combing out your Honour's Wig.

Ranger: (Pulling off his Wig) \$] Well, give me my Cap --
 Why, how like a raking Dog do *you* look, compar'd to that
 spruce, sober Gentleman -- Go, *you* batter'd Devil, and be
 made fit to be seen.

Servant: Cod, my Master's very merry this Morning

[1747 5CHOADL] The Suspicious Husband

speaker –Frankly

addressee- Cupid Personification

-- Now, **you** young Rogue, Cupid, guide me directly to her,
as **you** would the surest Arrow in your Quiver.

Here Cupid is not afforded the exalted status of a god, unlike Arcite's address to Mars and Juno in *Canterbury Tales*::

Alas thou fell Mars, alas thou Iuno,
Thus hath your ire our lineage all fordo
The Knights Tale

Frankly's address to Cupid connotes the collusion of two hunters in the chase. Frankly's pursuit of the attractive unknown lady is a speculative venture. If, on further acquaintance, she should prove unworthy, he will 'endeavour to forget her'.

Frankly: as yet, I own, I am but upon a cold Scent
... and when once she is found, the Pleasure of the Chace will
overpay the Pains of rousing her.

Bellamy: But if at last she should prove unworthy --

Frankly: I would endeavour to forget her.

When he does meet her again, however, he falls in love with her and addresses *Love* with reverence:

speaker-Frankly

addressee- concept Personification

Oh, Love! *thou* art a Gift worthy of a God indeed!

In all of these examples (except for the case of the speaker's uncertainty of the status of his addressee [1CPEELE 1595]) a strong emotion overrides the unmarked usage.

Apostrophe + *thou***[1584 1CLYLY]**

speaker-Permenio, one of Alexander's soldiers

addressee-Philip, Alexander's dead father---

O Phillip, wert *thou* aliue to see this alteration, *thy* men turned
to women, *thy* soldiers to louers, gloues worne in veluet
caps in steede of plumes in grauen helmets, *thou* wouldest either
dye among them for sorow, or confound them for anger

speaker-Apelles, painter

addressee-self----

Now Apelles, gather *thy* wittes together: Campaspe is
no lesse wise then faire, *thy* selfe must be no lesse
cunning then faithfull. It is no small matter to be riual
with Alexander ---

[1594 1CKNAVE]

speaker-Earl Ethenwald--

addressee-self---

Now Ethenwald, if Fortune fauour *thee*,
Thou maist prooue happie loue to Alfrida

speaker-Ethenwald---

addressee-self----

Ethenwald, be aduised, the King hath sent to *thee*,
 Nay, more, he means to come and visite *thee*

speaker-Dunston---

addressee-The Devil--- Personification – non human

-I charge *thee* by the eternall liuing God,

[1595 1CPEELE]

speaker-Frolicke-----

addressee-A Smith--- Personification – non human

-In the name of my own father, be *thou* Oxe or Alfe [Elf]that appearest,
 -tell vs what *thou* art.

speaker-Old Man---

addressee-self----

Old man: Now sit *thee* here & tel a heauy tale.
 Sad in *thy* moode, and sober in *thy* cheere,
 Here sit *thee* now and to *thy* selfe relate,
 The hard mishap of *thy* most wretched state.

speaker-Huanebango---

addressee-absent Faire Lady----

Faire Lady, if *thou* wert once shrined in this bosome,
 I would buckler *thee* haratantara.

speaker-Brother 2----

addressee-Delya, his absent sister -

-Sister, where art *thou*? Delya come again-
 -He calles, that of *thy* absence doth complaine

speaker-Brother 1---

addressee-Echo –

Neere, O where, hast *thou* any tidings?

speaker-Sacrapant--

addressee-self----

Then cheere *thy* selfe, this is *thy* destinie,
 Neuer to die, but by a dead mans hand.

speaker -Zantypa

addressee-self----

Laugh, laugh Zantypa, *thou* hast *thy* fortune,
 a foole and a husbande vnder one.

speaker-Corebus--

addressee-self----

So Corebus things haue well hir,
Thou hast gotten wealth to mend *thy* wit.

speaker-Scarapant---

addressee-Self---

-Then Sacrapant *thou* art betraide.

speaker-Scarapant----

addressee-Self----

-What hand inuades the head of Sacrapa~t?
 -What hatefull fury doth enuy my happy state?
 -Then Sacrapant these are *thy* latest dayes,-
 (He dyeth.)

[1595 1CWARN]

speaker-Menechmus, the traveller, counterfeiting insanity--

addressee-Phoebus , personification----

-Doest *thou* bid me Phoebus, to teare this dog in peeces with my nayles?
 -if I laie hold on him, I will do *thy* commandment—

[1599 1CCHAPM]

speaker-Lord Dowsecer -----

addressee-Martia's picture----

-O diuine aspect, the excellent disposer---
 -of the mind shines in *thy* beautie, and *thou* hast not --
 -chaunged my soule to sense but sense vnto my soule, and I desire
 -*thy* pure societie, but euen as angels do, to angels flie. -

speaker-Countess Moren-

addressee-absent Martia

-Out on *thee* strumpet and accurst, and miserable dame

speaker-Countess Moren-

addressee-Self----

- doe something wretched woman, staies *thou* here?

speaker-Labesha-

addressee Concept Personification

O cruell fortune, and dost *thou* spit *thy* spite at my poore life

speaker-Labesha-

addressee-Inanimate Object Personification

O sowre creame what thinkest *thou* that I loue *thee* still?

speaker-Lemot

addressee-Body Part Personification

ake on rude arme, I care not for *thy* paine,

speaker-Queen

addressee-absent King

O pardon me my lord, that I mistake *thy* royall meaning so.

speaker-Colenet

addressee-Deity Personification

O Lord I beseech *thee* no

speaker-Florilla

addressee-Self

Well wench, for this foule shame *thou* putttest on me,
the curse of all affection light on *thee*

speaker- Lemot

addressee concept Personification

Good fortune, be *thou* my good fortune bringer,
And make me amends for my poore bitten finger.

[1602 2CHEYWO]

speaker-Mother Splay

addressee-Future Projection Mary to her dead self

This if *thou* practise, *thou* when I am dead
Wilt say old mother Splay soft laid *thy* head

speaker-Mother Splay

addressee- Deity

God for *thy* passion what a beast am I,
To scar the bird that to the net would flie.

speaker- Aminadab, a Schoolmaster

addressee-weapon and armour Personification

Stand to me bill, and head-peece sit *thou* close,

speaker- Aminadab, a Schoolmaster

addressee absent Mary

As in presenti, *thou* loath'st the gift I sent *thee*,

speaker-Aminadab, a Schoolmaster

addressee death Personification

O death come with *thy* dart, come death whe~ I bid *thee*,

speaker-Aminadab, a Schoolmaster

addressee absent Mary

And my sweet Mary, not these drugges,
Do send me to the Infernall bugges,
But *thy* vnkindnesse, so adieu,

speaker-Young Arthur

addressee poison Inanimate Object

I haue I got *thee*, *thou* shalt goe with me:

speaker-Anselme

addressee-absent Mistress Arthur

So doth my loue on *thee*, but long no more,

addressee -Self

To her rich loue, *thy* seruice is too poore.

speaker-Anselme

addressee-his own heart Personification

Come to *thy* selfe faint heart, she sits vpriht,

speaker-Anselme

addressee-Self

Anselme be bold she liues, and Destinie

Hath traind *thee* hither to redeeme her life.

[1607 2CWILKI]

speaker-Scarborrow

addressee-absent brother

O tis too true, theres not a thought I thinke,

But must pertake *thy* greefes, and drinke

A rellish of *thy* sorrow and misfortune.

speaker-Scarborrow

addressee-concept Personification

O Conscience, how *thou* are stung to thinke vpont,

My Brothers vnto shame must yeeld their blood,

[1602/1623 2CSHAKE]

speaker-Falstaff

addressee Self

Saist *thou* so old lacke go *thy* waies:

[1614 2CJONSO]

speaker-Justice Overdo

addressee-concept Personification

I thank *thee* fortitude

[1647 3CTB] The Countrie Girle

speaker-Abraham

addressee-absent Scolding Sister

Thou't never be two, I think; -- For on my

conscience, there is no man that knowes her,

has valour enough, to come neere her

speaker-Abraham

addressee [unclear but probably] absent Scolding Sister

An scolding were fighting, what a Leader wouldst *thou*

be Gillian? -- *Thoudst* bring 'em on, with a powder

[1677 version]

speaker-Simon

addressee Self

—Well, Simon, well, *thou* art bound to give God thanks,
thou wert not born a Gentleman,—some comfort that.

[1669 3CDRYDE] The Wild Gallant

speaker-Loveby

addressee unknown voice

-I hear a voice, but nothing do I see; speak what *thou* art.

speaker-Loveby

addressee-Satan? Personification

Honest Sathan! well encounter'd! I am sorry with all my
heart it is so dark: 'Faith I should be very glad to see *thee* at
my Lodging

speaker-Loveby

addressee-Satan? Personification

The Devil a cross that I have; or know where to get;
but I must promise well to save my credit:
now Devil, if *thou* do'st forsake me!

[1675 3CWYCHE] The Country Wife

speaker- Pinchwife

addressee absent Sparkish

Well, go *thy* wayes, for the flower of the true Town Fops,
such as spend their Estates, before they come to'em,
and are Cuckolds before they'r married

[1682 4CSHADW] The Lancashire Witches

speaker -Smerk

addressee Love, concept Personification

I feel a flame within me, oh Love, Love, wether
wilt *thou* carry me?

[1694 4CCONGR] The Double Dealer

speaker- Maskwell

addressee-absent Cynthia

Cynthia, let *thy* Beauty gild my Crimes;

[1696 4CMANLE] The Lost Lover

speaker —Wildman

addressee absent Smyrna

Go *thy* ways, for an old Jealous, I wish be-gad, I
could say, Cuckold, but my honest Endeavours
shall not be wanting to make *thee*, that *thou*
believest *thy* self.

[1719 4CKILLI] Chit Chat

speaker-Bellamar

addressee- absent Marlove*Thou* very very -- true Woman!**[1734 5CMILLE] The Mother in Law**

speaker-Lady Hippish---

addressee-widowhood, concept- Personification-Sweet, charming, wanton Widowhood, *thou* only-Recompence for Marriage Slavery! *thou* only End-and Aim of prudent Wives! once more, *thou*'rt

-welcome.---

speaker- Primrose

addressee-absent LoobyBy t'ye, Bubble, and Fortune bless *thee*,for *thou* art one of her own Dotard Brood.

speaker-Lady Hippish

addressee apparently dead husband*Thou* poor, pitiful, credulous Fool, farewell. --

speaker-Lady Hippish

addressee apparently dead husbandAlas! poor Dear, *thou* hast lost, then, thesmall matter of Breath *thou* wer't Master of.**[1747 5CHOADL] The Suspicious Husband**

speaker-Ranger

addressee-Self

Honest Ranger, take my Word for it,

thou art a mighty silly Fellow.

speaker-Frankly

addressee concept PersonificationOh, Love! *thou* art a Gift worthy of a God indeed!**[1593 1HOGIFF] Dialogve Concerning Witches**

reporter-Dan-----

speaker-Dan-----

addressee-M.B.-----reporting Devil Personification

-And what warrant haue we to learne any trueth

-from his mouth? as to say we command *thee* in the-name of God, that *thou* tel vs who sent *thee*.-Who sent *thee*? who sent *thee*?—**[1695 4HOROGU] State Rogue**

speaker Jack Undertaker

addressee concept Personification

O England! unhappy England!

betray'd by *thy* own Children!

Appendix 4

Data Analysis Tables

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Table A1 DEPOSITIONS: Analysis of Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets relating to witnesses and accused in collocation with *thou* & *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are ***emboldened and italicised***

Positive epithets are shown in capitals

* matrimonial ** legal formulaic

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1560 1WDURHA	<i>Roger Doon</i>		<i>poor man</i>			<i>[Roger] Doon</i>	
		Mr. Antony Ratcliff	gentleman		GENT.		Mr. Anthony [Ratcliff]
	<i>Robson</i>					<i>Robson</i>	
	<i>Isabell Jackson</i>			<i>wife of shomaker</i>		<i>Ysabell</i>	
		Elizabeth Blithman		butcher's widow	COMMOTHER	Elizabeth [Blithman]	
c1569	<i>John Waules</i>				<i>maynsworn harlotts</i>	<i>[John] Waules</i>	
		Katherine Reid	Suster Kathren			Katherine Reid	
	<i>Isabell Hynde</i>	Isabell Hynde	wench	<i>Maid</i>		<i>Isabell [Hynde]</i>	
		Elizabeth Frisell you*/ <i>thou</i> *				Elizabeth Frisell	
	<i>Henry Smith</i>	Henry Smith you*/ <i>thou</i> *				Henry Smith	
		Janet Pentland				Janet	
	<i>Janet Steilling</i>			<i>Steiling's wife</i>	<i>noughtie pak noughty hoore</i>	<i>Steilling/Steilling's wyffe</i>	
		Margaret Bullman		Bullman's wife		Bulman's wife	
	<i>Isabell Robson</i>	Isabell Robson			<i>giglott</i>	Isabell	
		Raffe Wilson				Raffe [Wilson]	
	<i>Horsfall</i>				<i>theffe</i>	<i>Horsfall</i>	
		Sir Robert Brandling	knight				Sir Robert
		wife of Henry Branding		wife of Henry Branding			
		Sir Thomas Keye		priest			Sir Thomas
c1570		William Melmerbye		priest		William Melmerbye	
	<i>George Allenson</i>					<i>George [Allenson]</i>	
	<i>Helen Johnson</i>				<i>hore</i>	<i>Helen [Johnson]</i>	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1573		Thomas Topping		father		[Thomas] Topping	
	<i>John Rosse</i>	John Rosse		labourer	<i>slave</i> /slave	<i>[John] Rosse</i>	
		Raif Ogle	generos			Raif [Ogle]	
	<i>Thomas Tompson</i>			vicar's servant	<i>loowne</i>	[Thomas] Tompson	
	<i>Sir Richard</i>	Sir Richard		curate	<i>droucken horemonger drouken villan</i>		Sir Richard
	<i>James Walton</i>	James Walton			<i>evill man</i>	James	
1586-1588		Katherine Whittingham					Mrs. Whittingham
		Margaret Key				Margaret [Key]	
	<i>Robert Rypley</i>				<i>BULLIE</i>	<i>Robert [Rypley]</i>	
		Leonard Harle				Leonard [Harle]	
		William Jackson		labourer		William Jackson	
		Janet Pereson				Janet [Pereson]	
		Lawrence Thompson				Lawrence Thompson	
	<i>George Smith</i>			<i>shopkeeper</i>	<i>pricklouse</i>	<i>George [Smith]</i>	
	<i>Isabell Rothwell</i>				<i>tantaraband and a tantaraawde whore</i>	<i>Isabell</i>	
		Sir Peter Tayler				Peter Tayler	Sir Peter
		Mr. Whitmore his wif		Mr. Whitmore his wif			
		Leonard Ripley	yeoman			Leonard	

1561 1WCHEST	<i>Ellen Ricroft</i>					<i>Ellen</i>	
		Thomas Snelson				[Thomas] Snelson	
		Hugo Holme				Hugo Holme	
		Alexander Garnet		Mayor		Alexander	
	<i>Roger Bybbye*</i>					<i>Roger</i>	
	<i>Eleanor Manwaring *</i>					<i>Ellin</i>	
		Randle Ramshae*				Randle	
	<i>Sybil Blakhurst*</i>					<i>Sybil</i>	
	<i>Margaret Wirrall</i>				<i>stronge hore provid hoore</i>	<i>Margaret</i>	
	<i>Henry Fazakerley</i>				<i>thief</i>	<i>[Henry] [Fazakerley]</i>	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1562 1WCHEST	<i>Henry Fazakerley</i>				<i>false thief</i>	<i>Henry Fazakerley</i>	
	<i>Jane Wolfall's servant</i>			<i>Jane Wolfall's servant</i>			
		John Maisteron	gentleman	cousin			Cosin Maisteron
		Rafe Bostok				Rafe Bostok	
	<i>son of Robert Soundes</i>			<i>child</i>			
	<i>Matilda Holme</i>					<i>Maud</i>	
	<i>Roger Tilston</i>					<i>Roger</i>	
		Cicilia Streete wife of Rafe Williamson		wife of Rafe Williamson		Cicilia Streete	
	<i>Galfrid Bretton</i>					<i>Galfrid Bretton</i>	
		Morgan Edmund*	gentleman			Morgan Edmund	
		Elizabeth Bird*				Elizabeth Brid	
	<i>Morgan Edmund*</i>		<i>gentleman</i>			<i>Morgan</i>	
	<i>Elizabeth Bird*</i>					<i>Elizabeth</i>	Mistris Bird
		Morgan Edmund	gentleman			Morgan	
		Ellen Sonkie				Ellen	
		Alexander Winstanley				Alexander Winstanley	
	<i>Ellen Sonkie*</i>	Ellen Sonkie*				<i>Ellen</i>	
	<i>Alexander Winstanley*</i>					<i>Alexander</i>	
		William Ball				William [Ball]	
		Constance Frost		Frostres wife		Constance Frost	
		Richard Orton				Richard Orton	

1566 1WCHEMS	<i>Black dog [Satan]</i>			<i>Spirit</i>			
	<i>Agnes Waterhouse</i>					<i>Agnes</i>	
	<i>Agnes Browne [age 12]</i>			<i>child</i>		<i>Agnes</i>	
		Agnes Waterhouse					mother waterhouse

	Referred to/Addressed as thou	Referred to/Addressed as you	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1582 1WDARCY	<i>Dauye Thurlowe [child]</i>			<i>child</i>	<i>GOOD CHILDE</i>	<i>Dauye Thurlowe</i>	
	<i>Grace Thurlowe</i>					<i>Grace Thurlowe</i>	
	<i>Vrsley Kempe</i>			<i>witch</i>	<i>naughtie name</i>	<i>Vrsley Kempe (alias Grey)</i>	
	<i>Alice Newman</i>					<i>Alice [Newman]</i>	
	<i>William Bonner's Wife</i>			<i>William Bonner's Wife</i>	<i>GOOD WOMAN</i>		
		Elizabeth Bennett				Elizabeth Bennett	
	<i>Elizabeth Bennett</i>					<i>Elizabeth</i>	
		William Byet			knave	Byet	
	<i>Suckin</i>			<i>Spirit</i>			
	<i>Alice Hunt</i>			<i>sister</i>		<i>Alice Hunt</i>	
	<i>Margery Sammon</i>					<i>Margery</i>	
		a Thatcher		thatcher			
	<i>Cysley Sellys</i>	Cysley Sellys		witch	<i>whore</i> trim foole stinking whore	Cysley	
	<i>Henry Selles [age 9]</i>	Henry Selles [age 9]		child	<i>whoresonne</i>	<i>Henry</i>	
	<i>Ioan Smith's Child</i>			<i>child</i>	<i>MOTHERS PUGS</i>		
		Henry Durrant				Henry Durrant	
	<i>wife of Thomas Death</i>			<i>wife of Thomas Death</i> mother			
	<i>Felice Okey</i>			<i>widow</i>		<i>Felice</i>	
	<i>Annis Herd's daughter</i>					<i>the girle</i>	
	<i>Annis Herd</i>	Annis Herd			viold strumpet	Annis	
		Bennet Lane				wife of William Lane	
		Ann West's nephew		Ann West's nephew			
		Wife to Richard Harrison		Wife to Richard Harrison			
		Richard Harrison		Clerk, Parson			

1583 1WNORWI	<i>Attacker of Queen's man</i>			<i>Attacker of Queen's man</i>	<i>villan</i>		
	<i>One of the Queen's men</i>			<i>One of the Queen's men</i>	<i>BOY</i>		
	<i>Mr Wynsdon</i>					<i>Wynsdon</i>	
	<i>Henry Browne [Sir William Paston's servant]</i>			<i>servant</i>		<i>Henry Browne</i>	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1589 1WNOTOR	<i>Joan Prentice</i>					<i>Joan Prentice</i>	
	<i>a Ferrit [Satan]</i>			<i>Spirit</i>		<i>the Ferrit</i>	

1600 2WSOUTH	<i>Robert Earl of Essex**</i>	The Earl of Essex	my Lord your Lordship this man	Earl, Accused			my Lord of Essex The Earl of Essex the Earl
		Sir Walter Raleigh	my Lord Admiral				Sir Walter
		Master Knivett		Gentleman of Privy Chamber			Master Knivett

1603 2WRALEI		Sir Walter Raleigh			odious man abominable Traytor	Raleigh	Sir Walter
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1612 2WPENDL	<i>Richard Baldwyn</i>					<i>[Richard] Baldwyn</i>	
	<i>Elizabeth Sowtherns</i>			<i>alias old Demdike</i>		<i>Elizabeth Sowtherns</i>	
	<i>Spirit called Tibb</i>			<i>Spirit</i>			
	<i>Anne Whittle</i>			<i>alias Chattox</i>		<i>Anne Whittle</i>	
	<i>James Device</i>			Labourer		<i>James Device</i>	
	<i>Dandy [a Spirit]</i>			<i>Spirit</i>			
		Christopher Nutter		Father		Christopher Nutter	
	<i>Robert Nutter</i>	Robert Nutter			<i>foolish ladde</i>	Robert	
	<i>Alizon Device</i>			Spinster		<i>Alizon Device</i>	
	<i>a Black Dog</i>			<i>Familiar</i>			
		Isabel Robey				Isabel	

1618 2WFLOWE	<i>Anne Baker</i>	Anne Baker		<i>Spinster, Witch</i>		Anne Baker	
		Henry Milles				<i>Henry Milles</i>	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1630 2WDIOCE		Sheriff of Durham					Sheriff
		Mr. Rauffe Hutton		Official to Dean & Chapter		Mr. [Rauffe] Hutton	
		Thomas Bullocke		Notary Public		Mr [Thomas] Bullocke	
	<i>Robert Mitford</i>		<i>Gentleman</i>		<i>rogue Rogue, theife, beggerlie rascall theife</i>	<i>Robert Mitford</i>	
	<i>Nicholas Raine, Elizabeth Readshawe</i>			<i>Messenger of this Court wife of John Readshawe</i>	<i>base, beggerlie fellow</i>	<i>Nicholas Raine, Elizabeth Readshawe</i>	
		Margerie Stobbes		Widow		Stobbes	
	<i>George Fenwick</i>					<i>George Fenwick</i>	
	<i>Thomas Reede</i>			<i>Clerk</i>		<i>Reede</i>	
	<i>Mabell Carrock</i>			<i>wife of Richard Carrock</i>		<i>wife of Richard Carrock</i>	
		Isabell Oxley		wife of William Oxley		Isabell	
		John Richardson				[Mr] Richardson	
	<i>Jaine Bell</i>	Jaine Bell		Spinster & Servant		Jaine [Barcroft] [Bell]	
		Elizabeth Dobsonn		Spinster & Servant	taverene wench	Elizabeth Dobsonn	
	<i>ElizabethTindale</i>			<i>Spinster & Servant</i>		<i>Tindale</i>	
	<i>Margaret Bawd</i>			<i>Spinster & Servant</i>		<i>Margaret Bawd</i>	
		Henry Brigges		Gentleman		Henry	
c1634	<i>Thomas Allanson</i>			<i>glover, nephew</i>	<i>sillie fellowe</i>	<i>Thomas Allanson</i>	
		Robert Walker	mann	uncle		Walker	
		Edward Mann		Merchant		Edward Mann	
		John Sharpe				[John] Sharpe	
1635		John Easterby		Clerke	GOOD SIR	John Easterby	
		Mr. Alvey		Preacher			Mr. Alvey
	<i>John Blakeston</i>	John Blakeston	<i>man</i>			[John] Blakeston	
		Mistris Blakeston		wife		Blaikeston his wife	
1637		Mr. Macklewyman	Sirra	Clerk, vicar	Thiefe, carle,	Mr. Macklewyman	
					Gallowaie knave		

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1631 2WMERVI	<i>Mervyn Lord Audley**</i>	Mervyn Lord Audley					My Lord Audley The Lord Audley

1645 3WESSEX		Elizabeth Clarke		Suspected Witch		Elizabeth Besse [hypocorism]	
		Mary Greenleif				Mary	Good-wife Greenleife
	<i>Susan Sparrow</i>					<i>Susan Sparrow</i>	

1647 3WMOSEL		Master Swinnerton		Gentleman		Swinnerton	Master Swinnerton
		Anne Swinnerton		Lady	LADY		Mistris Swinnerton
		the Maid		Maid			
		Master Kilvert					Master Kilvert
		Master Wood					Master Wood
		Sir Edward Moseley					Sir Edward [Moseley]

1654 3WCROMW		Francis Fox		Apprentice		[Francis] Fox	
		John Man		Scrivener		John Man	
		Iohn Minor				[John] Minor	
		Col. Finch					[Col.] [Charles] Finch
		Somerset Fox				Somerset Fox	

1655 3WYORK	<i>Josiah Hunter</i>			<i>Minister</i>		<i>Josiah Hunter</i>	
		Jennett Benton		Mother		Jennett [Benton]	
	<i>George Benton</i>					<i>[George] Benton</i>	
	<i>Susanna Maude</i>			wife of Robert Maude	<i>Villaine</i>	<i>Susanna</i>	
	<i>William Wade</i>				<i>terrifyer</i>		
		Mrs Elizabeth Mallory					Mrs Elizabeth Mallory
	<i>Francis Higginson</i>			<i>Preacher</i>	<i>lyar</i>	<i>Francis Higginson</i>	
		Robert Allyson		Butcher		Robert Allyson	
		Daniel Lister	Yeoman			Daniel Lister	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1661	Robert Phillip			Labourer		Robert Phillip	
		Henry Sowthebie	Gentleman			Henry Sowthebie	
		Mr. Sudeby		Attorney at Law			Mr. Sudeby
1663		Maid to Jane Milburne		Maid			
	something in the shape of a catt			Familiar			
	Jane Milburne	Jane Milburne		wife of Wm. Milburne	theafe	Jane	
		Eliz. Stranger		Widow		Eliz. Stranger	
		Richard Allan				Richard Allan	
	Nicholas Myas			Labourer		Nicholas Myas	
		George Parkin		Knife-Maker		[George] Parkin	
		William Jackson		Joiner		William Jackson	
		Rosamond Bower		wife of Jeremy Bower habberdasher		Rosamond	
1680 4WYORK		Mr. Thomas Maddox	Maddox		dog		[Mr.[Thomas]] Maddox
			your Lordship		YOUR LORDSHIP		Lord Eglington
		William Orfeur				[William] Orfeur	
		Mr. Edmond Appleby					Mr. [Edmond] Appleby
1684		Mary Darley		Widow		Mary Darley	
		Robert Bell				Robert Bell	
1685		John Howden				[John] Howden	
	Wm. Robinson			Husbandman		Wm. Robinson	
		Joseph Lockwood		Clothier		Joseph Lockwood	
1689	James Stancliffe, a boye of about 14			Child		James [Stancliffe]	
		a Constable		Constable			
		Wm. Brearcliffe	Gentleman			Wm. Brearcliffe	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1682 4WBUTS		Joan Buts		Witch		Joan Buts	

1682 4WDEVON		Grace Thomas		Spinster			Mrs. Grace
	<i>Temperance Lloyd</i>			<i>Witch</i>		<i>Temperance [Lloyd]</i>	
	<i>Susanna Edwards</i>			<i>Widow & Witch</i>	<i>Rogue, Devil</i>	<i>Susanna [Edwards]</i>	
	<i>Mary Trembles</i>			<i>Witch</i>	<i>Such a Rogue</i>	<i>Mary Trembles</i>	

1691 4WDUTCH		Margaret Ellwood			whore	Margaret Ellwood	
		Simon Varelst		Artist		Simon Varelst	
		Edieth Sawbridge					Mrs Sawbridge
		Jane Wadsworth		Servant		Jane Wadsworth	

1716 4WOXFOR		John Hurst		Ironmonger			Mr Hurst
		Major of the Regiment		Major of the Regiment			
		Wife of Mr.Hurst		Wife of Mr.Hurst	Bitch		
		Mrs. Gyles		Innkeeper	OldBitch		Mrs Gyles
		Mr Hawkins		Adjutant			Mr Hawkins
		Edward Cosens		Chandler		Edward Cosens	
		Richard Wise		Mayor		Richard Wise	

1729 5WLYDDE		Mr Lyddel					Mr Lyddel
		Mr Osman		Lord's Steward			Mr Osman
		Mr Lyddel's Man		Mr Lyddel's Man			

1752 5WBLAND		Mr Blandy	Gentleman	Father			Mr Blandy
	<i>Mary Blandy</i>	Mary Blandy		<i>Child</i>	<i>CHILD</i>		Miss [Blandy]
		Elizabeth Binfield		Cook-Maid		Elizabeth/Betty Binfield	
		Richard Fisher		on Inquest		Richard Fisher	

Table A2 TRIALS: Analysis of Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets relating to witnesses and accused in collocation with *thou* & *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are ***emboldened and italicised***

Positive epithets are shown in capitals

*legal formulaic

+other participants are similarly addressed/described with/without title

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1571 1TNORFO	<i>Thomas Duke of Norfolk*</i>	Thomas Duke of Norfolk	My Lord				<i>Thomas Duke of Norfolk*</i>
		Cavendish			AN HONEST MAN	Cavendish	
1571 1THICKF	<i>Hickford</i>	Mr Robert Hickford			<i>a Fool</i> A MAN OF KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING	Hickford	
1584 1TPARRY	<i>William Parrie*</i>	Parry	gentleman		<i>a false traitor</i>	<i>[William] Parrie</i> Parry	
1586 1TABIN	<i>Edward Abington*</i> <i>Abington</i>	Edward Abington				Edward Abington	
	<i>Charles Tilney*</i>	Tilney				Charles Tilney	
	<i>Travers</i>					Travers	
	<i>Charnock</i>					Charnock	
		Jones				Jones	

	Referred to/Addressed as thou	Referred to/Addressed as you	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1632 2THIGHC		Barnett		Brewer's clerk		Barnett	
		Henry Dod					Mr Dod
		Mr Latrop		Minister		Latrop	Mr Latrop
	<i>Sara Jones</i>	Sara Jones	woman			Sara Jones	
		Sara Barbone	good woman	conventicler	GOOD WOMAN	Sara Barbone	
		Marke Lucar+		conventicler+		Marke Lucar+	
	<i>Abigail Delamar</i>	Abigail Delamar	woman	conventicler	an obstinate woman	Abigail Delamar	
	<i>Robert Bye</i>			conventicler	<i>A GOOD FELLOW</i>	<i>Robert Bye</i>	
		Ralph Grafton		Upholsterer		Ralph Grafton	
		John Etsall	this man	Vicar		John Etsall	

1644 3TMACGU	<i>C. Conner Maguire*</i>	Connor Maguire Esquire	My Lord			Connor Maguire <i>C. Conner Maguire</i> <i>alias Cornelius Maguire</i>	
		Sir Charles Cootes					Sir Charles Cootes

1648 3TCHARL		Charls Stuart King of England,			Elected King high Delinquent	Charls Stuart King of England	
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1649 3TLILBU	<i>John Lilburn [gentleman]*</i>	Lieut. Col. Lilburn				<i>John Lilburn</i>	[Lieut.Collonell] [Mr] [John] Lilburne
		Brother		Lilurne's brother			
		Master Sprat					Master Sprat
					SWEET SIR		Lord Keeble

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1658 3TSLING	<i>Sir Henry Slingsby*</i>	Sir Henry Slingsby					<i>Sir Henry Slingsby*</i>
		Ralph Waterhouse					Mr. Waterhouse
		Capt John Overton	Mr Overton				Capt John Overton
		Lieutenant George Thomson					Lieutenant George Thomson
	<i>John Hewet D. D.*</i>	Dr. Hewet	Mr Doctor			<i>John Hewet D. D.*</i>	Dr. Hewet
	<i>John Mordant Esquire</i>	John Mordant Esquire				John Mordant Esquire	Mr Mordant
		John Stapley	this gent.			John Stapley	

1660 3THARRI	<i>Hardresse Waller*</i>	Hardresse Waller	<i>Knight</i>			<i>Hardresse Waller*</i>	
	<i>Thomas Harison*+</i>	Thomas Harison+				Thomas Harison+	

1663 3TTURNE		Col. James Turner					Mr. Turner/Col. Turner
		Sir Thomas Alleyn		Alderman			Sir Thomas Aleyn
		Mr. Tryan		Merchant			Mr. Tryan
		William Hill		Mr Tyran's Man		[William] Hill	Mr Hill
		Elizabeth Fry	the Wench			Elizabeth Fry	
		Mr Hanson		Goldsmith			Mr Hanson
		Cole		Sergeant		Cole [brothers]	
		Cole	Yeoman			Cole [brothers]	
	<i>Mal [dim]</i>	Mrs Turner			<i>DEAR MAL</i>		Mrs Turner
		John Turner		Col. Turner's son		John Turner	
		Mosely		Constable		[Mr] Mosely	
		Sir T Chamb					Sir T Chamb
		William Dawes		Landlord		William Dawes	
		John Rowse	Boy	Landlord's Servant		John Rowse	
		Col. Turners Maid	Maiden	Maid			
		William Turner [son]				William	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1663 3TMODER	<i>Mary Moders, alias Stedman* Mary Moders* otherwise Mary Stedman</i>	Mary Moders, alias Stedman		Spinster, Prisoner		<i>Mary Moders, alias Stedman</i>	
		James Knot	Friend	Shoemaker Wedding Witness		[James] Knot	
		Carleton [the elder]		Young Carleton's Father		Carleton [the elder]	
		Mr. Charlton	Gentleman				Mr. Charlton
		Mr. Smith		Parson			Mr. Smith
		Jane Finch				[Jane] Finch	

1678 3TCOLEM		Edward Coleman	Gentleman	Prisoner			Mr Coleman
		Mr Oates		Minister			Mr Oates
		Mr Langhorn		Attorney			[Mr] Langhorn
		Sir Thomas Dolman					Sir Thomas [Dolman]
		Sir Robert Southwell					Sir Robert Southwell

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1678/9 3TGBH		Mr Bedlow +					Mr Bedlow
		Mr Berry		Accused, Porter			[Mr] Berry
		Mr Brown		Constable			Mr Brown
		Mr. Skillard		Surgeon			Mr. Skillard
		Mr Cambridge		Surgeon			Mr Cambridge
		Elizabeth Curtis	this person	Godfrey's Maid		Elizabeth Curtis	
		Lancelot Stringer	young man				[Mr] Lancelot Stringer
		Mr Green		Accused			[Mr] Green
		Richard Carey				[Richard] Cary	
		William Evans		Boy of the House		William Evans	
		Sir Robert Southwell					Sir Robert [Southwell]
		Stephen Farr		Berry's Neighbour		[Stephen] Farr	
		Mary Tilden	Maid, Mistris	Godwin's Niece & Housekeeper			
		Mrs Broadstreet	you woman				[Mrs] Broadstreet
	<i>Katharine Lee [witness]</i>	Katharine Lee	Maid		Roman Catholick	[Katharine] Lee	

1680 4TGILES		John Arnold		JP & MP			[Mr] Arnold
		Stephen Phillips +					Mr Phillips
		Mr Giles + others					[Mr] Giles
		Walter Moor				Moor	
		Mr John Philpot		Salesman			Mr [John] Philpot
		Mr Herbert Jones		Mayor of Monmouth			Mr [Herbert] Jones
		John Jones [age 15]		Cutler's Apprentice		Jones	
	<i>John Howel</i>	John Howel	Friend	Servant to William Richmond	Friend	<i>[John] Howel</i>	
	<i>Ann Beron</i>	Ann Beron	Good woman, Woman		GOOD WOMAN, Woman	Ann [Beron]	
		Elizabeth Crook	Maid			[Elizabeth] Crook	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1680 4TCELLI		John Gadbury		Astrologer	MAN OF LEARNING		Mr Gadbury
		Mr Dangerfield	Sirrah			[Thomas] Dangerfield	Mr Dangerfield
		Mrs Cellier		Accused			[Mrs] Cellier
		Ralph Briscoe				Ralph Briscoe	
		Thomas Williamson				[Thomas] Williamson	
		Margaret Jenkins				Margaret Jenkins	
		Susan Edwards				[Susan] Edwards	
		Bennet Dowdal				[Bennet] Dowdal	

1681 4TCOLLE		Stephen Colledge		Prisoner			[Mr] Colledge
		William Shewin	Friend		Friend		Mr [William] Shewin
		Henry Hickman		Cabinet Maker		Henry Hickman	
		Mrs Elizabeth Oliver	Mistress				Mrs [Elizabeth] Oliver
		Mrs Hall	Mistress				Mrs Hall
		Mary Richards		Mrs Hall's Maid		[Mary] Richards	
		Mrs Mary Wingfield +					Mrs [Mary] Wingfield
	Mr Mowbray	Mr Mowbray			a rash man		Mr Mowbray
	Sweetheart	Elizabeth Hunt	this Woman	Colledge's Maid		Elizabeth Hunt	
		Mr Dugdale					[Mr] Dugdale
	Stephens	Mr Stephens					[Mr] Stephens
		Mr Atterbury					Mr Atterbury

1682 4TTFP		Mr Prance+					[Mr] Prance
		Elizabeth Curtis				Elizabeth Curtis	
		Sir John Nicholas		gentleman			Sir John [Nicholas]
		John Hazard+				[John] Hazard	
		Rawson				Rawson	
		Rawson's wife	woman	Rawson's wife			

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1682 4TPILKI		Mr Lightfoot		Attorney			Mr Lightfoot
	Mr Common Serjeant	Common Serjeant		Election Manager			Mr Common Serjeant
		Mr Papillon+					Mr Papillon
		Mr. Peter King		Election Official			Mr [Peter] King
		Mr Wells		Common Cryer			Mr Wells
		Sir William Hooker		Former Sheriff & Lord Mayor of London			Sir William [Hooker]
		Mr Sword Bearer [Mr Man]		Sword Bearer			[Mr Swordbearer] [Mr Man]
		Mr Serjeant Jeffries					Sir George
		Mr Reeves	Friend Reeves		FRIEND REEVES		Mr [George] Reeves
		Richard Fletcher+					[Mr] [Richard] Fletcher
		Lord Gray	my Lord				Lord Gray
		Captain Clark	Sirrah>rioter		Rascal Traytor > rioter		Captain Clark
		Major Kelsey					Major Kelsey
		Mr. Trice Hammon			witness		Mr. [Trice] Hammon
		Mr. Vavasor		Attorney			Mr. Vavasor
		Mr Denham	Friend		Friend		Mr Denham

1683 4TSIDNE		Mr West+					Mr West
		Colonel/Mister Sidney+					[Colonel] [Mister] [Sidney]
		Lord Howard+	my Lord Howard, your Lordship	[The] Lord Howard			
		Sir Andrew Foster+					Sir Andrew Foster
		Lord Clare	my Lord of Clare your Lordship				Lord Clare
		Mr Philip Howard+					Mr Philip Howard
		Dr Burnet		Doctor			Dr Burnet
		Joseph Ducas		Frenchman		[Joseph] Ducas	
		Elizabeth Penwick +				[Elizabeth] Penwick	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1683 4THAMBD		Lord Howard	my Lord [Howard]				Lord Howard
		[Mr] Sheriffe	this man, Friend	Inn-keeper			[Mr] Sheriffe
		Mr Atterbury+					Mr Atterbury
		Bell		Local Guide		Bell	
		Sir Andrew Foster					Sir Andrew Foster
		Mr Howard	man				Mr Howard
		Lord/Earl of Clare	my Lord of Clare				Lord/Earl of Clare
		Lord Paget	good my Lord		GOOD MY LORD		Lord Paget
		Dr Burnet		Doctor			Dr [Burnet]
		Lord Newport					Lord Newport
		Lord Paget	My Lord				Lord Paget

1692 4TMOHUN		Mr John Hudson+					Mr [John] Hudson
		Lord Mohun	your Lordship my Lord Mohun		GOOD MY LORD YOUR HONOR		Lord Mohun
		Mrs Knight+					Mrs Knight
		Mr Hill					[Mr] Hill
		Mrs Elizabeth Sandys	this woman				[Mrs [Elizabeth]] Sandys
		John Rogers					[John] Rogers
		Mr William Dixon	this man	coachman			Mr [William] Dixon
		Mrs Ann Bracegirdle	this gentlewoman		THIS GENTLEWOMAN		Mrs [Ann] Bracegirdle
		Mr Gawen Page			villain		Mr [Gawen] Page
		Captain Hill					Captain Hill
		Mrs Mary Page					Mrs [Mary] Page
		Mrs Browne	Mistress, Madam				Mrs Browne
		Richard Row				Richard Row	
		Mr William Merry		Beadle of the Parish			[Mr] [William] Merry
		Thomas Fennel	Man	One of the Watch		[Thomas] Fennel	
		James Bassit		One of the Watch		[James] Bassit	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1696 4TROOKW		Ambrose Rookwood+					[Mr] Rookwood
		Captain Harris					[Mr] [Capt] Harris
		Mr Chamberlain+					[Mr] Chamberlain
		Captain Porter					[Mr/Capt.] Porter
		Black Will	a Moor	Sweetheart	Sweetheart	[Black] Will	

1702 4TSWEND		Mr W. Busby					Mr W. Busby
		Mrs Nightingale+					[Mrs] Nightingale
		Mr Swendsen+					Mr Swendsen
		Mrs Baynton		Madam			Mrs Baynton
		Mrs Busby		Madam			[Mrs] Busby
		Hartwel	Bailiff			Hartwel	
		Mrs.Bayntons Maid	Maid				
		Mrs Berkley					[Mrs] Berkley
		Mr VVakeman	Bailiff				[Mr] VVakeman
		Mrs Pleasant Rawlins	Young Gentlewoman	Mistress, Madam			[Mrs] [Pleasant] Rawlins
		Mr Scoreman	Picture Drawer				[Mr] Scoreman
		Parson	Parson	Doctor			
		Mr. Dan. Cotchett					Mr. Dan. Cotchett
		Sarah Walker	Cook at Vine Tavern			[Sarah] Walker	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1716 4TFRANC		Mr Joseph Smith	King's Messenger				[Mr] [Joseph] Smith
		Mr. Horatio Walpole					Mr. [Horatio] Walpole
		Mr. Buckley					Mr. Buckley
		Lord Townshend		your Lordship my Lord Towshend			Lord Townshend
		Curtis+				Curtis	
		Mr Boyer	French translator				Mr Boyer
		Mr Ozell	French translator				Mr Ozell
		Mr Flint	prisoner's translator				Mr Flint
		Mr. Secretary Stanhope					Mr. Secretary Stanhope
		Simon Francia	prisoner's brother			Simon Francia	
		Jaques Gonsales	prisoner's uncle			Jaques Gonsales	
		Emes Lamira +				Emes Lamira	
		Revel+				Revel	
		[Mr.]Everall					[Mr.]Everall
		Mrs Everall					Mrs Everall
		Dr. Cade		Doctor			Dr. Cade
		Francis Francia	Accused			[Francis] Francia	
		Thomas Richardson				[Thomas] Richardson	

1721 5TCKOOKE		Mr Edward Crispe		gentleman			Mr [Edward] Crispe
		Mr Coke	Accused				[Mr] Coke
		Mr Brown					[Mr] Brown
		Mr. Sturgeon	surgeon				Mr. Sturgeon
		Charles Willett	Constable			[Charles] Willett	
		William Wetherel	Gaoler			William Wetherel	
		Robert Moon				Robert Moon	
		John Carter	Blacksmith	Boy		[John] Carter	
		Ann Woodburne	Daughter of Accused			Ann Woodburne	
		Sarah Woodburne	Daughter of Accused			Sarah Woodburne	
		Woodburne	Accused, Labourer			[John] [Woodburne]	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1722 5TLAYER		Mr Lynch					[Mr] Lynch
		Christopher Layer	Prisoner	Prisoner at the Bar			[Mr] [Christopher] Layer
		Matthew Plunkett	Irishman			[Matthew] Plunkett	
		Mrs Elizabeth Mason					Mrs [Elizabeth] Mason
		Mr. Speare	Messenger				Mr. Speare

1725 5TMACCL		Mr Thomas Bennet	Master in Chancery				Mr [Thomas] Bennet
		Mr. Peter Cottingham	Agent	this gentleman			Mr. [Peter] Cottingham
		Mr Kynaston		this gentleman			Mr Kynaston
		Mr.Charles Baily					Mr.[Charles] Baily
	<i>Mr Elde</i>	Mr Elde	Master in Chancery				Mr Elde

1738 5TCIBBE		Mr Cibber	Gentleman				Mr Cibber
		Mr Fleetwood	Master of Drury-lane Play-house				Mr Fleetwood
		Mrs Hayes+					Mrs Hayes+
		Mr Hayes +					Mr Hayes
		Anne Hopson	Mrs Cibber'd Maid	Mrs Hopson		Anne [Hopson]	

1740 5TGREEN		Mr Wheatley+					[Mr] [Roger] Wheatley
		Dr/Mr Thompson					Dr/Mr Thompson
		Mr Thomas Baker	Mr Wheatley's tennant				Mr [Thomas] Baker
		Mr John Baker+					[Mr] John Baker
		Cicely Mow	old Mr Greenwood's Servant			Cicely] Mow	
		MrChatler	old Mr Greenwood's neighbour				[Mr]Chatler
		Mr Bartholomew Greenwood	prisoner's uncle				Mr Bartholomew Greenwood

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1742 5TREDDI		John Egglestone	Carpenter/Drawer	the Boy	rogue	[John] Egglestone	
		Thomas Egglestone	Carpenter			Thomas Egglestone	
		Mr James Annesley	Prisoner	Gentleman	rogue		[Mr] [James] Annesley
		John Bettesworth+				[John] Bettesworth	
		Mr Redding	Gamekeeper				[Mr] [Joseph] Redding
		Mr. Thomas Staples	Deputy Steward				Mr. Thomas Staples
		Mr. Thomas Burlingson+					Mr. Thomas Burlingson
		Joseph Redding, the Elder				[Joseph] Redding, [the Elder]	
		John Dalton	Butcher			[John] Dalton	
		The Reverend Mr. Eusebius Williams					[The Reverend Mr. Eusebius] Williams
		Mr James Bethune	Surgeon				Mr [James] Bethune
		Mr John Perkins	Surgeon				[Mr] [John] Perkins
		Paul Keating	Irishman			[Paul] Keating	

1750 5TBAKER		Mr Charles Gastineau	Broker				Mr [Charles] Gastineau
		Mr Richard Holland					[Mr] [Richard] Holland
		Mr. Deputy Slater					[Mr.] [Deputy] Slater
		Mr Holbrook	warehouse keeper				[Mr] Holbrook
		Mr. Toby Chauncey	Apprentice to Mr Hayter (deceased), Merchant				[Mr.] Toby Chauncey
		Robert Sedgwick	Broker			[Robert] Sedgwick	
		William Webb	Treasurer East India Co.			[William] Webb	
		John Sedgwick	Assistant to Joint Treasurer			[John] Sedgwick	
		Anthony Hotchkin	East India Co. Employee			[Anthony] Hotchkin	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1752 5TSWAN		Miss Elizabeth Jeffreys	Prisoner	Madam, Miss Prisoner Miss Jeffreys			Miss [Elizabeth] Jeffreys
		Edward Buckle+				[Edward] Buckle	
		Thomas Matthews			villain	[Thomas] Matthews	
		Sarah Arnold	Servant to Mr Jeffreys			[Sarah] Arnold	
		Anthony Gallant	Friend to Mr Jeffreys		dear	[Anthony] Gallant	
		Mrs Ann Wright	Inn Keeper				[Mrs] [Ann] Wright
		Mrs Martin					Mrs Martin
		John Swan	Prisoner, Gardener to Mr Jeffreys			[John] [Swan]	

1759 5TAYLIF		Mr Henry Thomas	Clerk to Mr Jones, Stationer				Mr [Henry] Thomas
		Mr John Fannen	Prisoner	Prisoner			[Mr] [John] Fannen
		Mr Ellis Dawe+					[Mr] [Ellis] Dawe
		Mr Walter Hargrave	Witness to Aycliffe's signature				[Mr] [Walter] Hargrave
		Mr Jones	Stationer				Mr Jones
		Mr George Donisthorpe	Steward to Mr Fox				[Mr] [George] Donisthorpe [Esq]
		Gabriel Cruse	Witness for the Prisoner	'come up here from the country'		Gabriel Cruse	
		Adam Brown+				Adam Brown	
		Mr Thomas Bonnell	Attorney				[Mr] [Thomas] Bonnell

1759 5TSTEVE		John James	Bailiff			John James	
		Mr John Stevenson	Accused				[Mr] [John] Stevenson
		Mr Francis Elcock	Victim, Attorney				Mr [Francis] Elcock
		John Atkin+				John Atkin	
		Mr. Cooper	Surgeon				Mr. Cooper
		Mr. Robert Baxter	Sheriff's Agent				Mr. Robert Baxter
		Mr. Cross+	Attorney				Mr. Cross

Table A3 DRAMA COMEDIES: Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets in collocation with *thou* & *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are *emboldened and italicised*

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1584 1CLYLY	<i>Boy</i> <i>name x 12</i>	Gentlewomanne Madam Master Mistresse page Sir Sir boy Your maiestie name x 7	<i>asse</i> <i>dogged</i> <i>foole</i> <i>Foule lubber</i> <i>knaue</i> <i>villaine</i> <i>Vnciuill wretch</i>	<i>good</i>	Vngratious wag	
1594 1CKNAVE	<i>friend</i> <i>man</i> <i>neighbor</i> <i>Sir</i> <i>sirra Bailie</i> <i>name x 7</i>	brother cobler daughter Earl + name x 2 Father maister courtier maister Farmer maister Squire my Lord neighbor priest Sir Sirra wyfe your Grace your Honor your Majesty your Worship name x 5	<i>base</i> <i>base strumpet</i> <i>base villaine</i> <i>cosoner</i> <i>dissembler</i> <i>gracelesse man</i> <i>impious wretch</i> <i>ingratefull wretch</i> <i>lazy fellow</i> <i>monster of a man</i> <i>monster of nature</i> <i>poore</i> <i>wretch</i>	<i>beauteous</i> <i>brother* in Christ</i> <i>citizen</i> <i>gentle Sir</i> <i>gratious</i> <i>good</i> <i>honest fellow</i> <i>man of worth</i> <i>myrrour of curtesie</i> <i>sweet loue</i> <i>sweete mouse</i>	caterpillar cogging knave sirra slave villaine	brother* in Christ father* fine man good maister good my Lord good sir gratious King kind Sir Most gracious Prince gracious Lord your honourable Grace your royall Maiesty

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1595 1CWARN	<i>brother daughter fellow man name x 3</i>	brother daughter father Friend Gentlewoman maister maister Doctor man mistresse old man" Sir wife woman name x 3	<i>doating patch drunken foole filthie mad driuel fond man foolish knaue lack Napes impudent knave knave mad fellow prating dolt raskall verlet villaine</i>	<i>good fellow my good friend my good friend and helper sweete heart sweete mouse</i>	brabbling fool crafty and unjust promise breaker false and treacherous dealer fickle-brain good woman [irony] impudent beast mad-braine scold rogue sirra varlet villaine	fine man good friend Good old father heart most pleasant Gentleman worship
1595 1CP EELE	<i>boy brother Father* fellowe Franticke Friar Friend Lad Sister Smith Syrrha Frolicke name x 4</i>	brother Father* Hostes Master neighbour Sir sir Frier wench your worship name x 3	<i>flouting knave sonne*</i>	<i>faire faire Ladie fairer fairest flower Father* Gammer gentle knight good fellow good Vulcan my ducke my owne sweete sweete heart valiant</i>	Capons face whoreson sodden headed sheepes-face	Faire faire Ladie good Father* Gaffer Gammer

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1599 1CCHAPM	<p><i>boy</i> <i>my lord [absent]</i> <i>wench</i> <i>wife</i> <i>sirra</i> <i>name x 5</i></p>	<p>father huswife lady Madam Maister mine host my liege My lord Sir your Grace your highnesse your ladship your lordship your Maiestie Your worship Monsieur + name x 5 name x 4</p>	<p><i>accurst and miserable dame</i> <i>barbarous Canibal</i> <i>fond man</i> <i>knaue</i> <i>monstrous man</i> <i>prowdest harlotrie</i> <i>strumpet</i> <i>Vilain</i> <i>vilde</i> <i>wretch</i></p>	<p><i>bird</i> <i>deare sonne</i> <i>gentle bird</i> <i>Good sonne</i> <i>Sirrah</i> <i>sweet</i></p>	<p>fine Gossip [irony] knaue my dainty wench small bones proud baggage wretched woman</p>	<p>bird good merry man my good head my gracious Lord my owne deare heart noble knight rare scripturian sweete sweete heart</p>

1602 2 CHEYWO	<p><i>Daughter</i> <i>man</i> <i>Mall [dim. Mary]</i> <i>Mistris [proposal]</i> <i>wench</i> <i>Wife</i> <i>name x 3</i></p>	<p>Daughter [in law] Gentlewoman Lady Maister Mistris sir Sirra M. Justice Reason Wife M. + name x 3 Mistris + name x 2 Sir + name x 1 name x 1</p>	<p><i>diuel</i> <i>loues foole</i></p>	<p><i>good</i> <i>sweet</i> <i>sweet heart</i></p>	<p>bitter Genius blockhead great asse old Bawd Sirra</p>	<p>deare good love old mother Poore gentlewoman sweet</p>
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	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1607 2CWILKI	<p><i>Boy</i> <i>But.[ler] i.e. hypocorism</i> <i>wench</i> <i>woman [cf ref gentlew]</i> <i>name x 3</i></p>	<p>Brother Gentlewoman Mistris Nephew Sir Sirrah, sir</p>	<p><i>Adulteresse</i> <i>crooked-nose</i> <i>Deuill</i> <i>lade</i> <i>Ilfacst</i> <i>Minx</i> <i>sawcie lacke</i> <i>stinking-breath</i> <i>strumpet</i> <i>Whore</i> <i>Witch</i> <i>worse then the Deuill</i></p>	<p><i>Chucke</i> <i>Good gentle hart</i> <i>hart</i> <i>honest</i> <i>Honest-blest-</i> <i>natural-friend</i> <i>kind hart</i> <i>Lambe</i> <i>Pigsny</i> <i>play-fellow</i> <i>pretty pretty any thing</i> <i>sweet Rogue</i> <i>Prethy hart</i> <i>thy worsh. knighthood</i></p>	<p>goodman slaue knaue Slaue-trencher-groome Minxe old mad-cap Puppet rogue runnagate slaue</p>	<p>Good hart good worship hart honest Mistris honoured Lord Kind Mistres little frappet Noble Knight Right worshipfull worships knighthoode</p>
1611 2CBARRE	<p><i>boy</i> <i>girle</i> <i>Sir Oliver Smalshankes</i> <i>Justice Tutchine</i> <i>wench</i></p>	<p>brother Father maister mistresse sir sister [in law] your worship</p>	<p><i>Babounes</i> <i>foole</i> <i>varlet knaue</i></p>	<p><i>good rascall [oxymoron?]</i> <i>knight</i> <i>loue</i> <i>my second selfe</i> <i>sweet</i> <i>sweet heart</i> <i>wench of gold</i> <i>witty knaue</i> <i>wonder of this continent</i></p>	<p>arrant drab knaue little Cockatrice pernicious Coccatrice rogue slaue whore</p>	<p>Deerest of women faire maide gentill Good Maister good sir maister gunner"? Most worthy faire sweet Lieutenant wag</p>

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1614 2CJONSO	<p><i>fellow friend</i></p> <p><i>Mistresse + name x 1</i></p> <p><i>Numps [hypocorism]</i></p> <p><i>Prinsh Quarlous</i></p> <p><i>Vrs [hypocorism]</i></p> <p><i>young man name x 1</i></p>	<p>Brother</p> <p>brother [in law]</p> <p>Captaine Whit</p> <p>friend</p> <p>goody lone</p> <p>Lady</p> <p>Master + name x 3</p> <p>Mistris + name x 3</p> <p>sir</p> <p>Sister</p> <p>Sonne [in law]</p> <p>your worship</p> <p>name x 8</p>	<p><i>Asse</i></p> <p><i>childe of wrath</i></p> <p><i>heyre of anger</i></p> <p><i>foole</i></p> <p><i>vorthy man</i></p> <p><i>vorshipfull man</i></p>	<p><i>good</i></p> <p><i>Good honest</i></p> <p><i>old veluet lerkin</i></p> <p><i>Sweet heart</i></p>	<p>Asse</p> <p>Baboun</p> <p>cutpurse</p> <p>dogs-head</p> <p>Gamester</p> <p>good-man angry-man</p> <p>Heart of a mad-man</p> <p>hedge bird</p> <p>modest vndertaker</p> <p>panniers-man bastard</p> <p>Patrico</p> <p>Pimpe</p> <p>Rascall</p> <p>resolute foole</p> <p>roaring Rascall</p> <p>Rogue</p> <p>sirrah</p> <p>snotty nose</p> <p>thinne leane Polcat</p> <p>Trendle tayle</p> <p>Vermine</p> <p>very serious asse</p> <p>very sufficient Coxcombe</p> <p>Weasell</p>	<p>Bud</p> <p>good</p> <p>honest Gentleman</p> <p>pretty Mistris</p> <p>sweetheart</p>

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1602 [1623] 2CSHAKE	<i>my boy</i> <i>name x 1</i>	Cosen Coz Knight man Master + name x 4 mine Host Mistris + name x 5 sir Sir + name x 1 your Worship name x 8	<i>base hungarian wight</i> <i>Base Phrygian Turke</i> <i>froth, and scum</i> <i>mountaine Forreyner</i> <i>vnconfinable basenesse</i>	<i>Bully</i> <i>bully Hector</i> <i>bully-Doctor</i> <i>Bully-Rooke</i> <i>Castalion-king-Vrinall</i> <i>Hector of Greece</i> <i>Emperor Cesar, Keiser</i> <i>and Pheazar</i> <i>faire woman</i> <i>Gentleman</i> <i>good woman</i> <i>quest-Cavalaire</i> <i>Mars of Malecontents</i> <i>mountaine Forreyner</i> <i>sweet</i>	Banbery Cheese lack'Nape roague Sirha Villanie wanton	Gentle Good good woman Sweet sweet Coz your good Worship
1647 3CTB	<i>Bab [hypocorism]</i> <i>Girle</i> <i>Peg [hypocorism]</i> <i>Peggy [hypocorism]</i> <i>wench</i>	Bob [adult son] Father Fidler Gentlewoman Lady Madame Master + name x 4 Mistris + name x 5 Sir Sir + name x 2 Sister [in law] Sister Gillian wife Your Ladiship your worship name x 1	<i>Chamber-maid</i> <i>Fop</i> <i>pertish thing</i>	<i>My Knight, of a thousand</i> <i>per annum</i> <i>my Musick</i> <i>sweet Peg</i>	Asse beautifull Blowse foolish Baggage good master outside of a Gentleman Madam Fumble Minion Mistris Jinnie-Pinnie	faire one Fair'st Good Kind Kinde young Master Noble Sir My Sir, of a thousand per annum sweet Lady Worthy your good Worship your sweetest selfe Sir

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1653 3CBROME	<i>Ally [hypocorism] f</i> <i>Cosen</i> <i>Cuz</i> <i>Nurse</i>	Cozen friend Lady Madam man Mistris + name x 1 Mr. + name x 3 Sir your Ladiship name x 5	<i>pernicious Villaine</i>	<i>friend</i> <i>sweet</i>	malicious Rogue Traitor your Gibship wag	Friend Good Kinde Noble Sweet Sweetheart Witty
1669 3CDRYDE	<i>name x 4</i>	Boy Childe Daughter Husband huswife Madam Monsieur + name x 1 Mr. + name x 5 my Lady + name x 1 my Lord Servant Sir Sir + name x 1 your Ladiship your Lordship name x 5	<i>Ass</i> <i>sirrah</i>	<i>good</i> <i>honest</i> <i>little</i> <i>old Boy</i> <i>sweet</i> <i>sirrah</i> <i>unreasonable Rogue</i>	Ass jealous Coxcomb Judas little Harlotry	Dear dear Heart good worship Little Gentlewoman Rogue sweet Servant worship worship's honor

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1675 3CWYCHE	<i>name x 2</i>	Brother Madam Mistriss Mistriss + name x 1 Mr. + name x 2 Sir Sir + name x 1 Sister your Ladyship name x 1	<i>poor Innocent</i>	<i>dear, dear Bud</i> <i>dear, dear Friend</i> <i>Dearest</i> <i>dear Rogue</i> <i>poor Rogue</i>	Fool gadder insensible Fop Jilflirt Magpy Mistriss Flippant notorious Town-Woman	dear dear Bud dear Friend dear Madam dear, dear, noble Sir Dear, little Rogue dearest Madam Friend Love mine own Dear Bud my Dear poor Gentleman pretty Rogue
1676 3CETHER	<i>Neighbour name x 1</i>	Brother Lady Madam Mr. + name x 1 my Lady + name x 1 Sir Sir + name x 1 Sister name x 6		<i>man of Wit</i> <i>sirrah</i> <i>sweet Heart</i>	Mrs. Pert Perjur'd Man The worse Woman you a living Libel a breathing Lampoon the Devil that have rais'd This storm	my Dear Night Rogue young Lady

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1682 4CSHADW	<i>Cousin</i> <i>Mother Madge</i>	Cousin Dame Daughter Father Tegue Fellow Gentlewoman Madam Mistress + name x 1 Sir Sir + name x 2 Sirrah your Worship name x 1	<i>Basilisk</i> <i>Dogs face</i> <i>filthy Face</i> <i>fow Queen</i> <i>fow Witch</i> <i>infinite Coxcomb</i> <i>rank Witch</i>	<i>Dear Cousin</i> <i>my Dear</i> <i>my dear Child</i> <i>my Love</i> <i>sweet Cousin</i>	Blockhead Clown Coxcomb Fool ill guesser Popish-Priest Puppy Rogue Sirrah vixen	dear dear rogue good as fine a Gentlewoman as ever I saw

1694 4CONGR	<i>Girl</i> <i>name x 2</i>	Cousin Mellefont Madam Man Mr. + name x 3 my Lady my Lady + name x 1 my Lord Nephew Sir + name x 1 Son [in law] Your Ladyship your Lordship name x 4	<i>Serpent and first Tempter</i> <i>of Womankind</i>	<i>dear Rogue</i> <i>Thou Dear, thou precious</i> <i>Villain</i>	Audacious Villain Calm Villain disobedient, headstrong Brute. Insolent Devil mollifying Devil	Corum Nobus [cor nobus - the heart of gentle birth?] good dear my Lord Good my Lord my Dear
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	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1696 4CMANLE	<i>Child Friend Girl name x 2</i>	Daughter Gentlewoman Husband Madam Master + name x 1 Master Fortune-Teller Mistress Mr. + name x 4 Mrs. + name x 1 name x 4 Sir Sir + name x 2 Wife your Ladiship	<i>an old Jealous ... Cuckold poor Wife Proud, Fantastick Woman Traytor</i>	<i>my Dear my Friend sweet heart Sweet Mistriss</i>	Poor Caviller poor Lady Mother of Lyars too much a Man of Mode	dear Husband Judge of Decorum and Decency
1707 4CFARQU	<i>Child [sister in law]</i>	Brother Brother Martin*[disguise] Brother Scrub* Captain Child [sister in law] Daughter Doctor Father Friend Landlord Madam Monsieur le Count Mr. + name x 3 Sir Sister Sullen [in law] your Ladyship your Worship name x 3		<i>dear Sister [in law]</i>	Jade Slave	dear Joy dear Sister [in law] dear Sister my Dear my dear Brother sweet, Sir

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1719 4CKILLI	<i>Friend name x 3</i>	Child Madam Mr. + name x 1 Mrs. + name x 3 Sir Sister your Ladyship name x 4	<i>dirty as a Chymist Faithless, Base, Perfidious Man poor Dissembler</i>	<i>dear very very -- true Woman</i>	Brute Insulting Monster Monster Ridiculous Creature	Dear Generous Creature Wit
1723 5CSTEEL	<i>name x 1</i>	Child Cousin Cimberton Madam Master + name x 1 Mr. + name x 3 my Lady Neice Sir your Ladyship name x 3	<i>pert merry Hussy. willful Innocent</i>	<i>dear Child</i>	Creature Oaf odious filthy Male Creature strange Unaccountable unmerciful Jade ye liquorish Fool	dear good poor Soul! smooth Creature Wit
1734 5CMILLE	<i>child Man name x 1</i>	Brother Child Doctor Madam Mistress Mr. + name x 1 Mrs. + name x 2 Mrs. Wife Papa Sir Squire name x 1	<i>Fool poor, pitiful, credulous Fool Simpleton Worm</i>	<i>Child dear, charming, courageous Wench dear Girl Fortune bless thee, for thou art one of her own Dotard Brood. my Love my own Daughter my Soul [irony] poor Dear</i>	audacious wicked Woman Bubble cunning Gipsy impertinent Hussy little Counterfeit meddling Baggage Serpent tormenting Beast	Child my Dear my Life my Love wise Sir your Worship

	Reference/Address Terms with <i>thou</i>	Reference/Address Terms with <i>you</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>thou</i>	Negative Epithets with <i>you</i>	Positive Epithets with <i>you</i>
1737 5CFIELD		Madam My Lord Sir your Lordship Mr. + name x 7 Mrs. + name x 2		<i>prettiest Hero that ever was shown on any Stage</i>		Dear Madam Dear Sir mighty civil Person
1747 5CHOADL	<i>name x 1</i>	Child Madam Master + name x 2 Mr. + name x 3 Mrs. + name x 1 Sir your Honour name x 9	<i>brave Girl the first finish'd Coquet who ever had any Honesty at all the very first Prude, that ever had Honesty enough to avow her Passion for a Man most unaccountable Fellow worst of Women</i>	<i>a meer Antique dear Companion of my Joys old Friend</i>	mad Creature Rascal Rogue such another Gentleman	good Girl good Sir My Boy my Dear My dear Friend my pretty masculine Madam my young Gentleman Wag
1757 5CGARRI		Baronet Cousin Madam Man Miss my Lord my Lord Marquis Sir your Honour Your Ladyship your Lordship Miss + name x 2 Mrs + name x 1 Mr + name x 3 Sir + name x 3 name x 8	<i>most incomprehensible Blockhead wretched, base, false, worthless Animal!</i>		a bold Briton, indeed! [irony] Mr. Devil Poor Fellow! Villain wicked Gentleman	Fond Creature! my Angel my Dear my good Friend

Table A4 DIDACTIC: Analysis of Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets in collocation with *thou* & *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are ***emboldened and italicised***

Positive epithets are shown in capitals

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1568 1HOTILN	<i>Lady Aloisa</i>						[Lady] Aloisa
		Maister Pedro					[Maister] Pedro
		Maister Gualter					[Maister] Gualter
		Lady Julia					[Lady] Julia
		Lady Isabel					Lady Isabel

1579 1HONICH		Father*	Father*	Pilgrim	FATHER PILGRIM GOOD FATHER POOR PILGRIM		
		Lady Listra	Madam		GOOD MADAM		Lady Listra

1580 IHODW	<i>young scholar</i>			young scholar			
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1593 1HOGIFF				the wife	GOOD WOMAN		
				gentleman	MAISTER		
				<i>suspected witch</i>	<i>thou beast</i>		
						Dan	
						Sam	
						Goodwife R	
	<i>Wife</i>	Wife of Sam		Wife of Sam	<i>WIFE</i>		

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1594 1HOOB		Dunstable		Midling or New Upstart Frankeling	NEIGHBOUR	Dunstable	
		Huddle		Ancient Retired Gentleman		Huddle	

1601 2HOMAXE		Ploughman		Ploughman			
		Scholar		Scholar			

1601 2HOCHUR		Chancellor		Chancellor	good Maister Chauncelor my good kinsman		
		Woman		Woman	Cousen GOSSIPE GENTLE COUSEN GOOD GOSSIPE GOOD HUSWIFE Cousen Puritane gentle kinswoman Mistres Cousen my good kinswoman one of the perversest creatures that ever anie man dealt with		

1607 2HONORD		Farmer		Farmer	MY FRIEND		
	<i>Surveyor</i>	Surveyor	Friend	Surveyor	FRIEND		
		Lord		Lord			
	<i>Baylie</i>	Baylie		Baylie			

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referrred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1610 2HOSNAW	<i>Xantip</i>	Xantip	woman		neighbour NEIGHBOUR XANTIP woman GOOD XANTIP GOSSIP XANTIP terrible mannish woman good neighbour	Xantip	
	<i>Eulaly</i>	Eulaly			GOSSIP neighbour NEIGHBOUR EULALIE ME DEARE EULALY small friend to your own sexe GOOD EULALIE GOOD GOSSIP honest ciuill woman	Eulaly	
		Abigail			Puritane	Abigail	
		Margerie			GOSSIP	Margerie	
1615 2HOHOBY	<i>Nick</i>	Nick		Groom	HONEST A MERRIE GRIGGE TRUE BRED	Nick	
		Master Mayor	your Worship	Mayor			Master Mayor
		Master Vicar		Minister			Master Vicar

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1640 3HOTJ	<i>Shoomaker</i>	Mr.Upright		Shoomaker	GOODMAN SHOOMAKER Pantoffle Dunstable railing fellow Shoomaker		Mr.Upright
	<i>Sirrah</i>	Master Patent	<i>Sirrah</i>	Smith	SWEET MASTER PATTENT GOOD MASTER PATTENT Dunghill Raker paper Kite puppie Smith lack in a boxe Upstart troublesom'st tyrannicall Constable Woolfe in Lambskinne		[Master] Pattent

1641 3HOTRAV	<i>Cringe</i>	Crucy Cringe		Papist	Idolator Dagon	<i>Cringe</i>	Master Cringe Master Crucy
		Accepted Weigh All		C of E			Master Weighall
		Factious Wrest Writ		Brownist			Master Wrest- Writ

1641 3HOPOET	<i>Light foot</i>	Master Light-foot		Mercury	Sawcy	<i>Light foot</i>	[Master] Lightfoot
	<i>Poet</i>	Master Poet Red Nose		Poet		Red Nose	Master Poet
	<i>Suck-bottle</i>	Suck-bottle Sim Suck-bottle Master Suck-bottle		Hawker		[Sirrah] Suck-bottle Sim Suck-bottle	Master Suck bottle

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1641 3HOCARE		Countryman		Countryman			
		Citizen		Citizen, Vintner			

1641 3HOSTAR	<i>Christopher Cob-Webbe</i>	Christopher Cob-Webbe		Keeper of Records Star Chamber	MY OLD FRIEND	Christopher Cob-Webbe	
		Inquisition		News Smeller		Inquisition	

1641 3HOSPIR		Busie Bodie		Proctor	BROTHER*	Busie Bodie	
		Scrape-All		Proctor	BROTHER*	Scrape-All	

1653 3HOCOLE		Brother Stop-coale		Wood-Monger	BROTHER STOP-COALE BROTHER* Man		
	<i>Brother Hoord-Coale</i>	Cozen Hoord-coale		Chandler	DEARE COZEN HOORD-COALE BROTHER HOORD-COALE Brother*		

1679 3HOYARR		Lawyer		Lawyer	young lawyer but a young man a young man, and run too fast		
		Captain Y			such an Enemy to Prerogative an obstinate, prejudic'd Man		Captain Y

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1680 4HOEP	<i>Tom [Piper]</i>	Tom Piper		Cheshire Piper	MAN OF OBSERVATION strange man Minstrel NOTABLE FELLOW	Tom [Piper]	
	<i>Captain Crackbrain</i>	Captain Crackbrain		Captain	good Captain noble Captain Captain Crackfart Old Souldier MAN OF QUALITY		[Captain] [Crackbrain]
		Make a noise Tom		Pudding Wright	MAN OF INTRIGUE my friend	Make a noise Tom	

1681 4HOTREA		William	Neighbour		NEIGHBOUR	William	
		Richard			NEIGHBOUR GOOD NEIGHBOUR	Richard	

1681 4HOSAM	<i>Will</i>	Will		London Waterman	HONEST WILL Sirrah Rogue Whelp	Will	
	<i>Sam</i>	Sam		Ferryman	fool	Sam	
	<i>Tom</i>	Tom		Oxford Bargeman	Rogue	Tom	
	<i>Hugh</i>			Sculler	Deaf A RIGHT ENGLISH MAN A GOOD PROTESTANT	Hugh	

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1685 4HOKATE	<i>John</i>	John			HONEST dumpish	John	
	<i>Kate/Katy</i>	Kate/Katy			LOVING <i>MY LOVE</i> <i>DEAR HEART</i> <i>HONEY</i> <i>MY BIRDS-NY</i> <i>MY DEAR</i> <i>MY DEAR KATY</i> <i>MY SWEET LOVE</i> <i>POOR THING</i> <i>PRETTY HEART</i> <i>PRETTY PIG-NY</i> <i>PRETTY SOUL</i> <i>SWEET SOUL</i> SWEET ONE MY DUCK MY DEAR MY PIG'S-NY	Kate/Katy	
1695 4HOROGU	<i>Jack</i>	Jack			<i>RARE FELLOW</i> <i>MOST EXCELLENT</i> <i>UNDERTAKER</i> <i>RARE MR. UNDERTAKER</i> <i>NOBLE UNDERTAKER</i> <i>RARE FELLOW AT PROJECTS</i> <i>MY TRUE HONEST</i> <i>ENGLISHMAN</i>		Mr John Undertaker
		[Mr] State Rogue		Parliament Man	DEAR STATE ROGUE		[Mr] State Rogue

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1696 4HOTWO		Amy		Young Lady	A VERY ANGEL SWEET MY DEAR	Amy	
		Lucy		Young Lady	DEAR MY DEAR FRIEND	Lucy	

1697 4HORIDP	<i>Jack</i>	Jack	<i>Man</i>			Jack	
		Will			FRIEND WILL nump-skull'd Fellow	Will	

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1703 4HOLUCI	Rafe, Rafee	Mr Mixington		City Vintner	Ungrateful Wretch wretch Foul Mouth fool of a Wit	Ralph Mixington	
	Jenny		Madam, Child	Rafe's Wife	your wealthy Ladyship Child thou Ape	Jenny	
	Trap Landlord	Mr. Trap Landlord		Landlord	Landlord of mine greatest corrupter of Youth most dangerous Person Mr. Jew MY DEAR LANDLORD Mr Inquisitive Foul Mouth Mammon a notable Judge Mr. Occasional NEIGHBOUR TRAP	Trap	Mr. [Nehemiah] Trap
		Captain	Captain	Officer in the Guards	DEAR CAPTAIN NOTABLE SATYRICAL WIT GOOD CAPTAIN		Captain Flourish
	Nelly	Mrs Trap	Madam		a Fool	Nelly	

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1703 4HOMEMB		Member of Parliament	your worship Master	Member of Parliament	YOUR WORSHIP		
	<i>Freeholder</i>	Freeholder		Freeholder	NEIGHBOUR <i>HONEST FELLOW AND A TRUE ENGLISH-MAN HONEST JACK AN HONEST HEART</i>		

Table A5 LANGUAGE TEACHING: Analysis of Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets in collocation with *thou* and *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are ***emboldened and italicised***

Positive epithets are shown in capitals

These texts contain many independent unattributed utterances

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1573 1HFDESA [trans fr French]		Fraunces		Schoolboy		Fraunces	
	<i>Margerite</i>	Margerite		Servant		Margerite	
	<i>Peter</i>			Servant		Peter	
		Father		Father			
		gossip	gossip		GOSSIP		
		William				William	
	<i>Lackey</i>	Lackey		Lackey	lickerish		maister lackey
		Mother		Mother			
		Iames			wa~ten	Iames	
		Henry				Henry	
	<i>maister lackey</i>	maister lackey			<i>vile gallowes great lubber</i>		maister lackey
		cosin		cosin			
		William				William	
		Husband		Husband	MY LOUER		
		Iohn			MY FREEND	Iohn	
		Maistresse	Maistresse				
		shee gossyp	shee gossyp		MY SHEE GOSSYP		
		George				George	
		Katherin				Katherin	
		Roland				Roland	
		Gentilwoman	Gentilwoman				

FAMILIAR TALKES
FOR TO SPEAKE
IN ALL PLACES

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
FOR TO ASKE THE WAY, BUIE & SEL		Maister Robert					Maister Robert
		shee freend		shee sheapherd	MY SHEE FREEND		
		my freende	my freende		MY FREENDE		
					GOOD FELLOW		
		mine hoste		mine hoste			
		Jane			MY SHEE FREENDE	Jane	
					FAYRE MAYDEN		
	Boy	Porter	Boy	Porter			
		my shee freende		Maid	MY SHEE FREENDE		
1586 1HEBELL THE RISING IN THE MORNING		Barbara		Servant	GOOD WENCHE	Barbara	
		Peter		Schoolboy		Peter	
		Stephen		Schoolboy	A WAGGE	Stephen	
		James			MY SONNE	James	
		Father		Father			
		Mother		Mother			
		Son		Son			
		Brother		Brother			
TO THE MARKET		Ayles			FAYRE MAYDE	Ayles	
		cosen Ralf		Cousin	GOSSEPPE RALF	cosen Ralf	
		cosen Androw		Cousin		cosen Androw	
		Drawer		Drawer			
		Symon			GOOD BROTHER GOSSIPPE BROTHER SIMON	Symon	

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
AT THE TABLE		my friend		Servant	MY FRIEND	Richard	
	Dicke				MY FREND DICKE		
		maister roper		Schoolmaster			maister roper
		mistresse			MY FREND		
		neighbour		neighbour			
		James		schoolboy		James	
AT PLAYING		Maister		Schoolmaster			
		Peter		schoolboy		Peter	
		Stephen		schoolboy		Stephen	
		Servant		Servant			
UPON THE WAY	Nedd			Serving Man		Nedd	
		Plowman		Plowman	MY FREND		
		myne host		Innkeeper			

1605 2HFERON [trans fr French]		Madame	Madame	Lady			Lady Ri-melaine
	sweet heart	Prudence		Chambermaid	SWEET HEART	Prudence	
		Page	sirra	Page	head-braine fellowe		
		[Mistresse] lolye					[Mistresse] lolye

Dialogue 2		Mistresse Clemence		Girls' Teacher			Mistresse Clemence
		Mistresse Charlot		Pupil			Mistresse Charlot

Dialogue 3		Charlote		Daughter		Charlote	
		Fleurimond		Daughter		Fleurimond	
		Mother		Mother			

Dialogue 4		Master E.		French Master	GOOD MASTER E.		Master E.
		Pupil	Mistresse	Pupil	Mistres Fleurimond	Fleurimond	
				Sister	Sister Charlote	Charlote	
					LITTLE COUSIN CHARLET		
					mistres Charlote		

		Cousin		Cousin			
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	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
Dialogue 4		Master E.		French Master	GOOD MASTER E.		Master E.
		Pupil	Mistresse	Pupil	Mistres Fleurimond	Fleurimond	
				Sister	Sister Charlotte LITTLE COUSIN CHARLET mistres Charlotte	Charlotte	
		Cousin		Cousin			
Dialogue 5		Madame	Madame	Lady			
	<i>my litle darling my litle boykin. my litle hart</i>	little knaue	sirrha	Infant	MY LITLE DARLING LITTLE KNAUE MY LITTLE BOYKIN MY LITTLE HART		
		Nurse		Nurse	GOOD NURCE		
Dialogue 6		Master Champ-porte-aduis		Tutor	MASTER		Master Champ- porte-aduis
		Mother	Madame	Mother	LADY AND MOTHER		
		Guy		Son	FREIND	Guy	
		Rene		Son		Rene	
	<i>brasen-facte lyer</i>	Boy Neuf-a-bien		Childrens' Boy	brasen-facte lyer		Boy Neuf-a-bien
Dialogue 7		Madame de Beau-seiour		Lady			Madame de Beau- seiour
		Coach-man		Coach-man			
Dialogue 8		my friend		Shopkeeper's Maid	MY FRIEND	Atire-gain	
		my she friend		Shopkeeper	MY SHE FRIEND		

	Referred to/ Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1625 2HFWODR [trans fr French] A DISCOURSE BETWEENE THE BURGUER AND THE YEOMAN							
		Yeoman	Yeoman		GOOD MAN		
		Yeamanesse	Yeamanesse		GOOD WIFE		
LITTLE WORDS BETWEENE A SCHOOLE-MASTER, AND ONE OF HIS SCHOLLERS		Master		School Master			
		Child		Scholar			
THE GREAT ORCHARD OF RECREATION from the original Dutch		Master Torquato			FRIEND OF THE MUSES		Master Torquato
		Master Nalano					Master Nalano
	<i>Rupsa</i>		<i>Boy</i>	Servant	<i>Loggerhead</i> euill boy Senselesse <i>Carelesse body</i> <i>AN HONEST MAN</i>	<i>Ruspa</i>	
VPON THE WAY IN THE MORNING		Mr. John					Mr John
		Mr. Henry					Mr Henry
	<i>Boy</i>		<i>Boy</i>	Servant	<i>Marker</i>		
SAMPLE 2	<i>Child</i>			Servant	<i>Child</i>	<i>Lippa</i>	

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1653 3HFMAUG [trans fr French] BETWEEN TWO FRIENDS THAT ARE PURPOSED TO TRAVELL INTO FRANCE							
		Lady	Lady	English Gentlewoman			
	<i>Honest Friend</i>			Drawer	<i>HONEST FRIEND</i>		
BETWEENE A GENTLEMAN AND HIS DAUGHTER		Father		Father			
		Daughter		Daughter			
1667 3HFFEST [trans fr French] A DIALOGUE BETWIXT A GENTLEMAN AND A GENTLEWOMAN		Madam	Madam	Wife, Gentlewoman			
		Sir	Sir	Husband, Gentleman			
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A FRENCH GENTLEMAN AND AN ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN		Madam	Madam	English Gentlewoman			
		Sir	Sir	French Gentleman			
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SEVERAL GENTLEMEN THAT GO TO BE MERRY ABROAD		Landlord		Landlord			
	<i>Drawer</i>			Drawer			
		Mr. A.	Gentleman				Mr. A.

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO GENTLEWOMEN (1)		My Dear	Madam/ Gentlewoman		MY DEAR		Mrs Mary
		Lady Mary					Lady Mary
		Brother		Brother	GOOD BROTHER		
		Sister		Sister			
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN TWO GENTLEWOMEN (2)	<i>my dear</i>		Gentlewoman		<i>MY DEAR</i>		
1685 4HEMIEG							
BETWIXT A FRENCH TRAVELLOUR, AND A COUNTRYMAN		Honest Man		Countryman	HONEST MAN		
A DIALOGUE , TO LIE IN AN INN		Boy	Boy	Hostler			
		Landlady		Landlady			
A DIALOGUE ABOUT TAKING A LODGING		Madam	Madam	Landlady			
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRAVELLOUR AND THE COACHMAN	<i>Coachman</i>	Coachman		Coachman	<i>thou wretched Charon</i>		
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRAVELLOUR AND HIS LANDLADY		Madam	Madam	Landlady			
		Mary		Maid		Mary	

	Referred to/ Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TRAVELLOUR AND THE MAID OF THE HOUSE							
		Sweet-Heart		Maid	SWEET-HEART	Mary	
A DIALOGUE ABOUT GIVING OF LINNEN TO BE WASHED							
		Good Woman		Washerwoman	GOOD WOMAN		
A DIALOGUE TO GET A SUTE MADE		Honest Man		Taylor			
		Master		Draper			
TO BUY A HAT, PERWIG, GLOVES STOCKINGS, AND SHOOS							
		my Friend	my Friend	Periwig-Maker	MY FRIEND		
A DIALOGUE TO ASK FOR ONE AT HIS HOUSE OR LODGING							
		Sweetheart		Maid	SWEETHEART		
1694 4HFBOYE [trans fr French] BETWEEN A LADY AND HER WAITING-WOMAN							
		Madam	Madam	Lady			
BETWEEN A TUTOR AND TWO YOUNG GENTLEMEN				Waiting Woman			
		Master P.		pupil, child			Master P.
A LADY AND HER DAUGHTER ABOUT THE EXERCISES		Master B.		pupil, child			Master B.
		Daughter		Daughter			
		Madam		Mother			

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
BETWEEN THE STEWARD AND THE COOK		Master Cook		Cook			
		master Steward		Steward			master Steward
TO PAY THE RECKONING		Landlord		Landlord			
BETWEEN A GENTLEWOMAN AND HER WOMAN		your Ladyship, Madam	Madam	Lady	YOUR LADYSHIP		
		Mistress Sue		Lady's Maid			Mistress Sue
BETWEEN A LOVER AND HIS MISTRESS		Madam	Madam	Mistress	MY DEAR ANGEL	Caelia	
					MY CHARMING CAELIA		
					MY DEAREST CAELIA		
		Lisidor		Lover		Lisidor	
BETWEEN TWO COUZENS OF VISITS		Cozen		Cousin			
		Madam	your Ladyship	Lady	YOUR LADYSHIP		
OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN A FATHER AND HIS DAUGHTER		Daughter		Daughter			
		Father		Father			
1731 5HGBEIL							
DIALOGUE WITH A WASHER-WOMAN		Mistress	Mistress	Washerwoman			
DIALOGUE WITH A HACKNEY-COACHMAN		Coachman		Coachman			
BETWEEN A GENTLEMAN AND A MASTER OF A SHIP		Master		Master of a Ship			
IN AN INN, UPON THE ROAD		Landlord		Landlord			
ABOUT TAKING LODGINGS		Mistress	Mistress	Landlady			

Table A6 MISCELLANEOUS: Analysis of Reference Terms, Address Terms & Epithets in collocation with *thou* & *you*

Terms collocating with *thou* are ***emboldened and italicised***

Positive epithets are shown in capitals

	Referred to/Addressed <i>as thou</i>	Referrred to/Addressed <i>as you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1593 1MBARRO		Barrowe	man	gentleman	<i>Scismatick</i> scismatick recusant seditious person <i>fantastical fellow</i>	Barrowe	
1595 1MDANDO		Marocco	Sir	a Horse	too sowre	Marocco	
	<i>Marocco</i>		<i>boye</i> <i>man</i> <i>horse</i>		<i>asse</i> colte <i>YOUNG GENTLEMAN</i>		
		Master	Master			Bankes	
1615 2MWORKE	<i>Rapier</i>	Rapier	Syr			Rapier	
		Sword			Short-Sword craftie Foxe desperate Dicke	Sword	
	<i>Sword</i>		<i>sirra</i>		<i>crauenly Capon</i>		<i>sirrha Sword</i>
		Dagger	Syr		backe-Friend	Dagger	
1641 3MSTAGE	<i>Quick</i>	Quick	<i>Boy</i>	Player		Quick	
	<i>Light</i>	Light		Player		Light	

	Referred to/Addressed as <i>thou</i>	Referred to/Addressed as <i>you</i>	Social Status	Occupation/Description	Epithet	Name [may be omitted]	Title + Name
1641 3MCOUNT	<i>Catchall</i>	Catchall	<i>sirrah</i>	Yeoman	mad shaver	Catchall	
	<i>Spy-all</i>		sirrah	Setter	<i>NO KINNE TO THE SNAILE</i> mad slave	Spy-all	
		Master Tenterhooke		Serjeant	GREAT COMMANDER		Master Tenterhooke

1647 3MWIT	<i>Davy [hypocorism]</i>	Davy			<i>foole</i> <i>BRAVE DAVY</i> <i>Dody-pole</i>	Davy Rich	
	<i>Wat [hypocorism]</i>		<i>man</i> <i>Sirrah</i>		<i>Wity-pole</i> <i>HONEST WAT</i>	Wat Witty-Pole	

1648 3MWOMEN		Mistris Custome	Gillian	Victualler's Wife	GOOD Huswife		Mistris Custome
		M. New-come	woman	Captain's Wife	gossip neighbour <i>Devoll</i>		M. New-come

1661 3MWHORE	<i>Julieta</i>			Whore	Ju [hypocorism] MY SWEETHEART MY DEAR MY BELOVED ONE	Julieta	
	<i>Gusman</i>			Pimp	PRIME TUTOR	Gusman	
		Mounsieur Francion		Gallant			Mounsieur Francion

1682 4MLAST	<i>Mary Trembles</i>	Mary Trembles		Witch		Mary Trembles	
	<i>Temperance Lloyd</i>	Temperance Lloyd		Witch		Temperance Lloyd	
		Susan		Witch		Susanna Edwards	