ASPECTS OF THE IDIOLECT OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH I:

A DIACHRONIC STUDY ON

SOCIOLINGUISTIC PRINCIPLES

By

Mel Evans

ASPECTS OF THE IDIOLECT OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH I:

A DIACHRONIC STUDY ON SOCIOLINGUISTIC

PRINCIPLES

Thesis submitted for consideration for the degree of PhD.

Department of English Language and Linguistics, School of
English. University of Sheffield.

June 2011

By Mel Evans

Abstract

My study investigates aspects of the idiolect of Queen Elizabeth I using a sociolinguistic framework. My source material for Elizabeth's idiolect is an electronic corpus which I have compiled from transcripts of the best-authenticated examples of Elizabeth's own compositions in letters, speeches and translations. My investigation analyses nine morphosyntactic variables in the corpus and I chart their distribution and development diachronically. I also provide the first detailed analysis of Elizabeth's spelling, assessing developments in forms and the level of consistency in their use. For each linguistic feature, I compare her idiolect with macro-level linguistic data in order to contextualise her usage within previously established statistical norms of Early Modern English. I conduct a detailed analysis of social, stylistic, interactive and systemic factors to assess their potential influence on the frequency patterns in her idiolect.

There are three key outcomes of my study. Firstly, I offer a new perspective on Elizabeth's writing by considering how the linguistic developments in her idiolect reflect and relate to her biographical experiences. I re-evaluate the emphasis historians have placed on her accession, and identify other biographical events that appear to have an impact on her language-use. I also consider how far Elizabeth's role in language change (where she is often a leader and frequently comparable in usage to her male contemporaries) affects current accounts of her socio-political role as a female monarch. Secondly, I evaluate the applicability of my idiolectal data to questions of authorship in the canon of Elizabeth's writings, considering the theoretical merits of morphosyntactic and spelling data before testing its application with four case studies. Thirdly, I reflect on the role of the idiolect in historical sociolinguistics, and demonstrate how my findings can test existing sociolinguistic accounts, and help to expand our understanding of the processes involved in language-change.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

BL – British Library, London

CED – Corpus of English Dialogues

CEEC – Corpus of Early English Correspondence

EModE – Early Modern English

HC – Helsinki Corpus

LALME – A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English

LModE – Late Modern English

ME – Middle English

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

OE – Old English

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

PDE – Present Day English

PreA – Pre-accession period (1544-1558)

PostA – Post-accession period (1559-1603)

QEIC – Queen Elizabeth I Corpus

QEISC – Queen Elizabeth I Spelling Corpus

VARIENG – Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English (University of Helsinki)

PART I

Introduction

Queen Elizabeth I has become a symbol of the Tudor Golden Age. Her long reign spans an era rich in cultural and geographical discovery, a time of major advances in literature, architecture, and science. The complexity of the Elizabethan period, and Elizabeth's central position within it, has made the Queen an enduring object of scholarly and popular interest. For many modern scholars, the interest lies in the contradictory nature of Elizabeth's position; her social status, gender, education and life-experiences put her at odds with the norms of Tudor society, and the ensuing conflicts and their resolutions have repercussions across political, cultural and literary domains (Montrose 2002). Posthumously, her 'afterlife' (as Helen Hackett (2009) terms it) in politics, drama, and popular memory has been equally rich and multifaceted.

However, the iconic status of Elizabeth and her reign also creates problems for any serious analysis of her social identity. The image of Elizabeth that survives in public consciousness today is a symbol constructed from 'a composite of texts' (Frye 1993: 7), a complex tapestry of historical evidence derived indiscriminately from fact, myth and memory.

But, significantly, within this 'composite of texts' are threaded her own writings – letters, speeches, translations, and shorter works including prayers and poetry. Excepting extant personal possessions and her portraits, these documents are the best evidence we have of Elizabeth "the person". Until recently, her works remained scattered and under-analysed, and the potential insight they offer into Elizabeth the writer and communicator has been largely unrealised; as Jennifer Clement wryly puts it: 'To tell the casual inquirer that you work on the writing of Queen Elizabeth I is, usually, to meet with the reply "I didn't know she wrote at all!"' (Clement 2008: para. 1; see also Frye 1993: 9, Summit 1996).[1] The last decade has changed this situation, providing comprehensive modern editions of Elizabeth's writing (notably, Mueller and Marcus 2003, Pryor 2003, May 2004a, Mueller and Scodel 2009a, 2009b).[2] These works, which provide the most direct access to Elizabeth, are the key source material for my analysis.

---

[1] In the early twentieth century, J. E. Neale (1925) wrote a scathing review of Frederick Chamberlain's *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth* (1923), in which he criticised the unsatisfactory mix of anecdote and hearsay in the book, which offered little sense of the provenance and authenticity of the works (and words) cited (Neale 1925). Yet Chamberlain's work demonstrates the previous difficulties of discriminating between Elizabeth's 'canonical works' and less authentic writing from a dispersed and scattered source.

[2] Throughout the study, references to the editors denote editorial comments and specific transcripts in that edition. For references to Elizabeth's writing, I cite my electronic corpus, QEIC.

This study proposes that new insight into Elizabeth and her position within Early Modern society can be acquired by analysing her writing using a method other than the conventional literary-historical approach. My investigation uses the principles and methods of sociolinguistics to describe linguistic features in these texts that form part of her idiolect.[3] My analysis does not discuss newfound texts, but rather treats the existing canon from a new perspective. I aim to show how different aspects of Elizabeth's idiolect – in both their variation and consistency – reflect and construct the different components of her social identity: her rank, her education, her age, her location and the individuals with whom she interacted. The outcomes of my investigation not only improve our understanding of Elizabeth as a socio-historically situated individual, but also provide new resources for authorship assessment, and demonstrate the value of idiolectal analysis for the study of language change.

Historical Sociolinguistics

Historical sociolinguistics – the study of historical language using sociolinguistic principles – is not conventionally associated with idiolectal analysis. The central aim of the field is to provide insight into 'the social embedding of real-time language change' by drawing on the diachronic span of historical data and investigating the correlation between linguistic variation and different social categories, such as age, gender, social status or region (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 11).[4]

Historical sociolinguistics shares its central tenet with its sibling- or parent-domain of sociolinguistics. Both subscribe to the premise that linguistic variation can lead to language change, but that the mechanisms are both linguistic and social. Sociolinguistics posits that linguistic variants, which occur naturally in the process of human communication, can acquire a socially significant meaning. Once socially marked, the variant diffuses across linguistic contexts and the speech community, gaining acceptance within a community's repertoire and leading to language change.

The process of macro-level language change is generally shown as an S-curve, representing the proportion of a variant within the linguistic community. The model used by

---

[3] Bloch (1948: 7) offers an early (if not the earliest) linguistic definition of idiolect as 'the totality of the possible utterances of one speaker at one time in using a language to interact with one other speaker'. He goes on to specify that the 'definition implies (a) that an idiolect is peculiar to one speaker, (b) that a given speaker may have different idiolects at successive stages of his career, and (c) that he may have two or more different idiolects at the same time'. In the present study, I consider an idiolect to be the (singular) linguistic system specific to an individual; rather than possessing a 'number' of idiolects, the speaker modifies their idiolect for particular purposes.

[4] Historical sociolinguistics follows the uniformitarian principle, which proposes that the same forces that act on language use in the present (social, interactive, systemic) were the same in the past. As Labov notes, this is a 'necessary working assumption' for the study of historical language and language change (Labov 1994: 23; see also Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 22).

Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 55), which I adopt here, divides the S-curve into five parts:

- Incipient < 15%
- New and vigorous 15% - 35%
- Mid-range 36%-65%
- Nearing completion 66% and 85%
- Completed > 85%

Each stage represents the proportion of a variant used within a linguistic community; that is, the average uptake of a form by a number of speakers.

The role of the individual speaker in the account of language change is typically subsumed into mass social categories. Modern studies have attempted to justify this approach by noting that most speakers conform to the linguistic behaviour of the social group(s) with which they wish to affiliate, thus legitimising their treatment as speakers (plural) rather than as linguistically independent idiosyncratic individuals (Bayley 2002: 122).[5] The role of the individual in language change has also been downplayed because of the perception that an idiolect captures only a synchronic perspective of the language system (Romaine 1982: 246). Yet the work of Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (2005) has shown that language change can be captured within the lifetime of an individual (see also Nahkola and Saanilahti 2004).

The hypothetical correlation between a speaker's social experiences and their language use is central to my study. The patterns in Elizabeth's idiolect, and the degree of similarity between these patterns and particular social groups, could provide new information about Elizabeth I as a speaker and a social being.

My sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect is orientated around three research questions:

1. Does Elizabeth's idiolect change in response to her accession?
2. Can a sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect provide a useful means for assessing authorship?
3. What can idiolectal analysis contribute to historical sociolinguistics?

---

[5] This account does recognise elements of individuation in language use, such as intonation, but considers them socially insignificant (Chambers 2003: 93; cf. Podesva 2007). See Milroy (2003) for a critique of the marginalised role of the speaker in linguistics more generally.

My study is divided into three parts. In the present section, I discuss the theoretical principles and existing studies that inform the three research questions, and establish the methodology I use for my analysis. In Part II, I present my findings for ten linguistic features in Elizabeth I's idiolect. In Part III, I discuss and evaluate the findings relevant to each research question, with suggestions for further research.

Research Question 1:

Does Elizabeth's idiolect change in response to her accession?

Elizabeth's accession is consistently used by historians to divide Elizabeth's biography into a 'before' and 'after' sequence of events. The division appears to have been accepted without criticism, with accounts repeatedly conceptualising Elizabeth's pre-accession (PreA) and post-accession (PostA) experiences as two separate, almost distinct, periods. For example, some works focus exclusively on Elizabeth's pre-accession life. Thomas Heywood (1631) details 'the processe of her time from the Cradle to the Crowne', and the focus on Elizabeth's pre-accession "life" is also found in more recent publications, including Plowden (1971) and Starkey (2000). Elsewhere, some biographers disregard Elizabeth's pre-accession biography almost entirely. E.S. Beesly (1892) spends 235 pages exploring Elizabeth's reign, and grants the preceding twenty-six years of Elizabeth's 'early life (1533-1559)' a mere five pages. A number of biographies, of course, account for both periods in Elizabeth's life, particularly scholarly works such as Somerset (1991) and Perry (1990).[6] Yet there is still a general sense of 'before' and 'after' that structures these accounts. The interpretation of the divide, therefore, is that Elizabeth's accession was a significant biographical event.

If the conceptualisation of Elizabeth's accession as a key moment in her biography is justified, then we might expect this event to have a noticeable impact on Elizabeth's language. Some previous work indicates that the accession at least influenced the written dimension of Elizabeth's idiolect; Elizabeth's pre- and post-accession handwriting is quite different (see Woudhuysen 2007 for a detailed discussion). By selecting the accession as my temporal focus-point, I can work with the established chronological divisions used in the biographies and, more importantly, identify the impact of Elizabeth's accession at an idiolectal/biographical level. Whilst the emphasis placed on Elizabeth's accession is perhaps justified in a broad historical sense, it may be that a life so rich and varied as Elizabeth's contains other, more significant biographic events or experiences that have a greater affect on, and hence are more evident in, her idiolect. My diachronic analysis will therefore

---

[6] These works, along with Pryor (2003), May (2004a) and Borman (2009) are my main biographical sources.

consider other links between the developments in her language and the socio-historical context.

In order to contextualise the idiolectal data, it is important to understand Elizabeth's experiences in both sub-periods. The following is a brief summary of the key biographical points that are most relevant to my analysis in Parts II and III. For a fuller account, see Somerset (1991) and Perry (1990).

David Starkey (2000) describes Elizabeth's pre-accession life as an apprenticeship, a mildly hagiographical description that encapsulates the period's connection to, and distinction from, her later life as Queen of England. As part of her apprenticeship, Elizabeth experienced the privileges that came of being the daughter of a King. One clear benefit was her education, begun when she was aged only three or four. Elizabeth's schooling set her apart from many of her contemporaries in the mid-sixteenth century. The goal was not to prepare Elizabeth for the demands of sovereignty – which, at this point, was an improbable occurrence, given the birth of her brother, Prince Edward – but rather to make the princess 'as learned as possible' (Somerset 1991: 15). Her early tutelage was conducted by a number of women. Kat Ashley is reputed to have taught Elizabeth her letters, the conventions and procedures of Tudor social etiquette, and Latin and Greek until 1542 (Borman 2009: 78).[7] From the mid-1540s, Elizabeth was schooled by a number of male scholars affiliated with the universities: Dr. Richard Cox (tutor to Prince Edward), Sir John Cheke, William Grindal and Roger Ascham, all of whom were impressed with Elizabeth's academic ability. Elizabeth's household also played an important role in her upbringing. J.L. McIntosh (2008) suggests that

> household staff treated their young mistress with a mixture of parental indulgence and dominance. She, in turn, relied on her household staff for emotional and political support (McIntosh 2008: para. 29).

Elizabeth also had repeat encounters with the scholastic, religious and political affairs of the courts of her father and brother, and also the pious learned circle of her stepmother Catherine Parr. Parr is considered to have had a high level of influence upon Elizabeth until her death in 1548, encouraging some of Elizabeth's earliest displays of learning (such as her translation of Marguerite d'Navarre's *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*) as well as providing her with a maternal figure (Demers 2005: 103, Borman 2009: 83).

Some historians have emphasised Elizabeth's lack of autonomy during this period. As the female heir to the throne, Elizabeth occupied a privileged but uncertain position,

---

[7] Anne Somerset, on the other hand, considers the evidence proving Ashley's competence in the Classical languages to be 'obscure' (1991: 14).

vulnerable to a seemingly infinite assortment of competing interests holding considerable influence over her personal and political fate [...] continually subject to unpredictable and uncontrollable external forces (Cavanagh 1998: 9).

Elizabeth found herself in a number of serious predicaments during her adolescence and early adulthood. Elizabeth was removed from the succession by her father in the late 1530s, and after a series of 'dizzying changes' was only restored in 1542 (Cavanagh 1998: 18). In her brother's reign, the "Seymour affair", in which Elizabeth was interrogated after allegations that she intended to marry Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral without King Edward VI's permission, provided a significant test of the young princess's resolve and communication skills, with her testimony (of her innocence) put forward in a series of letters in the early months of 1549. During her sister's reign, Elizabeth was again the subject of serious allegations of treason and this time was imprisoned, briefly, in the Tower. Truly fearing for her life, she penned the "Tide" letter to her sister Mary I, pleading her loyalty. Tracy Borman suggests that it was here Elizabeth learnt 'the strength of her own ability to talk – and write – her way out of danger' (Borman 2009: 151).

The learned, subservient girl of the pre-accession period contrasts with the post-accession Elizabeth, whom Starkey has described as 'the bewigged and beruffed Gloriana' (Starkey 2000: iii). She moved geographically and socially to occupy the central position at Court, and surrounded herself with a core team of male councillors and advisers. The transitional nature of the outer Court ensured a steady stream of ambitious men attempting to gain Elizabeth's attention.[8] In this period, her power and political influence is more clearly defined than the uncertain status she held in her adolescence. In the latter-half of the sixteenth century, Elizabeth's education was less unusual, and her high level of learning was shared by many of her courtiers. Elizabeth encouraged those around her to be the best and the brightest through her patronage and endorsement, and maintained her pre-accession scholarship through a number of translations and other literary writings.

But there was also political and ideological conflict. As queen, Elizabeth was an unmarried female ruler in a traditionally male role: a 'spectacular exception' to the norm, and 'a challenge to the homology between hierarchies of rule and gender [...] a cognitive dissonance with both political and affective consequences' (Montrose 2006: 1). Elizabeth's response to the conflict between her gender and position has been the focus of much scholarly attention in the last thirty years; underlying this research is the perception that 'Elizabeth felt that monarchs created themselves through language' (Frye 1993: 4) and the

---

[8] Roger Ascham provides an insightful description of the Court in a letter to Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester: 'The queen being last at Westminster, I was everyday in the privy chamber, and every day in your lordship's chamber, but the throng of your lordship's business and the thrust of importunate suitors kept me from speaking with your lordship', written 5th August 1564 (Giles 1864: 101).

studies examine Elizabeth's self-representation through her use of metaphor, analogy and other figurative devices. Research covers the spectrum of Elizabeth's writings, including her parliamentary speeches (Heisch 1975, 1980, Rose 2000), Latin University orations (Shenk 2003), other public orations (Green 1997), her prayers (May 2007), her letters (Doran 2000) and her translations (Archer 1995).

These analyses have produced no general consensus. Instead, a plurality of readings has emerged from the semantic and rhetorical content of Elizabeth's writing. One of the earliest and best known proposals is the 'honorary male' concept, which suggests that she aligned herself with masculine social norms in order to deal with the gender pressures created by her role as monarch. Proponents of this interpretation suggest that Elizabeth embraced male characteristics such as 'dominance, aggression, and fearlessness' (Taylor-Smither 1984: 70), invoked the vocabulary of 'the male heroics of action' in her public speeches (Rose 2000: 1079-80), 'did nothing to upset or interfere with male notions of how the world was or should be' and drew attention only to her gender's weaknesses (Heisch 1980: 53). Other accounts argue that the perspective of Elizabeth's adopted masculinity is too narrow, despite the legitimate argument that Elizabeth's role, at least, was traditionally male. Instead, they argue that Elizabeth's understanding of her social role and gender is more complex. Some studies describe Elizabeth's self-representation as androgynous, seen in her adoption of the neutral term 'prince' (Mueller 2001: 4). Others have identified feminine attributes, maternal and step-maternal imagery (Vanhouette 2009), and of course 'the virginal Goddess', which allowed Elizabeth 'to derive special status as a female monarch' and claim affinity with other Biblical 'providential figures' (Doran 1998: 36).

My sociolinguistic approach should provide a new perspective on this issue, alongside the general significance of the social changes that resulted from Elizabeth's accession and other events in Elizabeth's biography.

Research Question 2:

Can a sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect provide a useful means for assessing authorship?

My second research question enquires if my sociolinguistic idiolectal data can be used to establish the authorship of other texts purportedly written by Elizabeth. The applicability of sociolinguistics for an analysis of authorship was first tested in Jonathan Hope's (1994) investigation of the language of William Shakespeare. Hope used quantitative methods to identify morphosyntactic features known to be undergoing change during Shakespeare's lifetime (e.g. relative clauses, periphrastic *do*) and establish the patterns of usage within plays of known and unknown authorship. Crucially, Hope's comparative method then accounted for the social factors that contribute to linguistic variation and change, such as age and social

17

status, and also stylistic and contextual elements. Patterns could therefore be predicted, justified and explained by reference to the alleged author's biography, what Hope calls 'socio-historical linguistic evidence' (1994: xv); for example, the educational differences between Shakespeare and John Fletcher. The social significance of linguistic variation is a fundamental element of the sociolinguistic approach, and enables the analyst to evaluate the significance of the linguistic features in (or absent from) a text, and their relationship with the social identity of the proposed author. I consider Hope's method to be a persuasive demonstration of the possibilities of authorship analysis within a sociolinguistic framework, and indicative of the insight my own data may provide for analyses of Elizabeth's authorship.[9]

Sociolinguistic studies of authorship since Hope have been surprisingly sparse. However, important developments have been made in the related areas. Since Hope's investigation, our documentation and understanding of macro-level linguistic trends in a sociolinguistic context has been greatly enhanced by the availability of socially stratified corpora, such as CEEC. Now we are able to pinpoint specific elements of a trend by social group, and offer more rigorous and robust descriptions (and speculations) for linguistic change. My analysis thus builds on the early techniques of Hope (1994) and incorporates the advances in source data, electronic methods and the better macro-level documentation of linguistic change and social stratification in the Early Modern period. My study also documents the range of factors operating upon Elizabeth's idiolect, diachronically and synchronically. Hope's study was limited by the necessary focus on a single genre, dramatic dialogue, which has its own problems relating to the representativeness of the author's idiolect versus the voice of a fictional character. Elizabeth's idiolect is represented by a number of genres, permitting a well-rounded and detailed account of her language in different contexts.

The ability to establish authorship for an historical figure such as Elizabeth I would be a significant development. The rise of interest in 'the Queen's voice' (e.g. Clement 2008) testifies to the value of any technique that may allow texts of unidentified or dubious authorship to be confidently added or removed from the Elizabeth canon. The idiolectal data produced by my analysis may be applicable to a range of texts. For instance, we might assume that the assessment of autograph texts is a straightforward process; Elizabeth has two very distinct hands that would help the knowledgeable palaeographer to attribute authorship (May 2004a: xviii). However, this is not a fail-proof method. In Henry

---

[9] My second research question is specifically interested in the applicability of sociolinguistic idiolectal data for authorship analysis, rather than a methodological cross-comparison of different techniques. The fields of forensic linguistics (see Coulthard and Johnson 2007) and stylometry (e.g. Hoover 2010) have their own merits. A study that investigates the successes and weaknesses of the different approaches for historical authorship assessment is an important next step.

18

Woudhuysen's preliminary investigation into Elizabeth's handwriting, he notes that a 1597 prayer could be the Queen's handwriting, but he cannot be certain (2007: 17-18). I examine this text using my idiolectal data in Part III.

There are also a number of texts for which authorship analysis would help to confirm their inclusion in the Elizabeth canon. Steven W. May (p.c.) has questioned the authenticity of the letters written to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector in 1549 during the 'Seymour affair'. Whilst the letters are convincing examples of Elizabeth's pre-accession hand, May queries whether letters (in which Elizabeth shows 'as much skill and eloquence as the most highly trained lawyer' (Borman 2009: 120)), can be attributed to the sole composition of the 15-year-old. It is his belief that Elizabeth received extensive assistance from a third-party, either transcribing the letters from a draft, or writing from dictation. The Seymour letters comprise a significant portion of the extant pre-accession correspondence by Elizabeth, as well as offering a unique insight into her attitude towards these events. Determining the authenticity of these letters is an important step to confirm or deny the current accounts of Elizabeth's behaviour during this intense period of her youth; I include these letters in the pre-accession correspondence corpus, and reflect on the linguistic evidence for or against Elizabeth's authorship in Part III.

My data may prove useful in determining the authorship of scribal copies or drafts. Many of the official documents produced in Elizabeth's name during her reign survive in this state, and whilst many carry her signature, it is unclear how involved Elizabeth was in their composition (i.e. through a full draft, through dictation, brief notes, or nothing at all). If my idiolectal data could establish the degree of involvement, this would both extend the canon of Elizabeth's works, and improve our knowledge of the relationship between Elizabeth and her administrative centre at Court. There is a suitable example in the CEEC sub-file for Elizabeth that, in my opinion, appears to be a scribal copy; it was written in 1566 and is addressed to Lady Margaret Hoby. The corpus compilers obviously felt it appropriate for the Elizabeth sub-file in the macro-level corpus, although as a rule they avoid scribal texts (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 45). Using the data gathered and discussed in Part II, I consider Elizabeth's involvement in the composition of this letter in Part III.

Research Question 3:

What can idiolectal analysis contribute to historical sociolinguistics?

In my first two research questions, I investigate the potential benefits of a sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth I's idiolect. My third question takes a different tack, and asks what value the analysis of an idiolect has for the study of language variation and change. Can my

findings from the different aspects of Elizabeth's idiolect provide a different perspective or offer new insight for the field?

The place of idiolectal analysis in historical sociolinguistics is relatively marginal and under-developed. Whilst some researchers, particularly Raumolin-Brunberg (1991, 2005), have shown an interest in the individual speaker, the field has focused on establishing macro-level social trends in historical language change. However, in the last few years there has been a growing recognition amongst scholars that the macro-level descriptive accounts – which I use as the comparative material for my study - are only the starting point for the field. The next step is to develop the means to enable linguistic change to be explained, as well as described (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 19); such as pinpointing the factors at the actuation of a change, establishing the social differences between early adopters and mid-range users, or explaining why some linguistic changes 'take' (e.g. negative declarative *do*) and other don't (e.g. affirmative declarative *do*).

In response to this revised goal, sociolinguistics has seized upon the individual speaker and the idiolect as a possible resource. Robert Podesva contends that

> [f]iner-grained analyses delving deep into an individual's linguistic performances, though they lack generalizability, may offer more insight into why speakers make the linguistic choices they do (Podesva 2007: 482).

Likewise, David Schreier believes the study of the individual speaker can offer an account of

> the socio-psychological underpinnings of variation - that is, the role and limits of linguistic accommodation, the relationship between group and individual, and also the inter-play of integration and assimilation, self-expression, and identity (Schreier 2006: 28).

In historical sociolinguistics, the arguments for the analysis of the individual speaker are made on similar grounds. In a recent work, published after I had commenced my study of Elizabeth's idiolect, the team behind CEEC suggest that the next stage of research is to investigate 'how macro meets micro' (Palander-Collin, Nevala and Nurmi 2009: 1). They propose that the existing historical sociolinguistics framework can be enriched and enhanced by introducing the individual speaker, because they use language

> to communicate for specific purposes, to create his or her role in the situation and to maintain and form relationships with others. In other words, language variation and change are located at individual language users, who choose from a variety of options how to express themselves in a given situation and **who eventually change language** (Palander-Collin, Nevala and Nurmi 2009: 2-3 – my emphasis).

My analysis of different components of Elizabeth I's idiolect therefore falls neatly into the new direction of the historical sociolinguistic paradigm proposed by Palander-Collin, Nevala

20

and Nurmi. In assessing Elizabeth's "fit" with her social contemporaries, and tracking the change in her idiolect against her biographical experiences, I am providing data that represents the process of language variation and change at the site of the individual speaker, elucidating how Elizabeth draws on the 'variety of options' available to her to express herself 'in a given situation'.

There are already some precedents for the study of historical idiolects, although these previous works differ from mine in their approach and focus. Raumolin-Brunberg's (1991) doctoral dissertation investigates sixteenth-century noun phrases, as found in the idiolect of Sir Thomas More. Her interest lies in the stylistic or 'situationally conditioned linguistic variation' (1991: 18) of the noun phrase in EModE, and she assesses the different properties across a range of genres representing different levels of formality and literariness. Raumolin-Brunberg's study shows how More selects and modifies components of the noun-phrase in response to the different Early Modern conventions of a genre; for instance, the different syntactic positions of the relative marker in his official and private correspondence reflect the different levels of formality of each genre (1991: 228-9). The scope of variation across More's writing demonstrates the importance of stylistic variation in an idiolect, and indicates how the individual speaker may participate in, and contribute to, language change affiliated with a particular register or style.

However, Raumolin-Brunberg's decision to examine More's idiolect does not arise from an interest in More's language and its relation to his biography, but instead reflects the need to control 'speaker-dependent variables'. Raumolin-Brunberg argues that:

> the selection of one person as informant has held these variables (such as sex, education, domicile) constant, so that their possible effect on variation can be excluded from this research (Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 24).

Later, she notes that the focus upon 'the language of one person only [...] can be very idiosyncratic', and she compensates for this 'drawback' by comparing More's usage with that of larger corpora, such as the HC (1991: 42).

There are a number of points that arise from this analytical stance towards an idiolect. Firstly, as Raumolin-Brunberg's own analysis (2005) has subsequently shown, an idiolect is not a fixed entity. As well as the synchronic variation that emerges from stylistic variation, individual speakers are susceptible to diachronic change as well. Their linguistic preferences can show a dramatic change, such as the absolute loss or acquisition of a particular variant (i.e. the third-person singular verb ending, documented by Raumolin-Brunberg 2005), or the evolution can be subtler, affecting the linguistic choices for a particular genre. I demonstrate examples of both kinds in Elizabeth's idiolect in my analysis in Part II.

Traditionally, social (speaker) variation and stylistic (genre) variation are distinct approaches within historical sociolinguistics. Raumolin-Brunberg's study importantly demonstrates the scope for stylistic variation in an idiolect, but she follows the existing divide and avoids any real consideration of how social and stylistic variation intersect. Nikolas Coupland has recently criticised the conventional division between social and stylistic factors, arguing that genre 'is a fundamental concept for the analysis of social meaning' (2007: 16). I concur with Coupland, and believe that the idiolect is a prime resource with which to break down the old barriers. The 'finer-grained' approach of an idiolectal analysis should surely include analysis of the interface of factors typically separated in larger, macro-level studies.

A more recent study of the individual speaker is Anni Sairio's (2009) analysis of another Elizabeth, Lady Montagu, who was a key individual in the eighteenth-century Bluestocking Network. Sairio investigates the social significance of three LModE linguistic variables: the development of the progressive, preposition stranding and the prominence of abbreviated spellings in past participles, all across a forty-year period. Sairio accounts for the biographical changes in Montagu's life, assessing her changing age and also the possible impact of widowhood upon her language use. However, Sairio's main concern is the applicability of social network theory within historical variationist analysis, using epistolary prose as the source data. She traces the aforementioned linguistic features across her compiled corpus of the Bluestocking Network to assess the strength of network links and sociolinguistic variables in each informant's participation in the change. Sairio's study is the opposite of Raumolin-Brunberg's (1991), in that she is concerned with language change at the local level and its social significance, but does not account for the role of stylistic variation within the idiolects of her informants. Her thesis is clearly focused upon epistolary prose, and as a result there is untapped potential, particularly within the literary and learned Bluestocking Network, for a broader analysis of multiple genres.

Like Sairio, I am interested in testing the applicability of modern sociolinguistic concepts in historical language change. However, Elizabeth I provides a more challenging example than her eighteenth-century namesake. Her privileged pre-accession position, and unique social position in the post-accession period make her a candidate at the extreme of social norms. Coupled with the distinctive features of Tudor society, Elizabeth provides a real test of the universality of sociolinguistic concepts. Tim Grant (2010: 512) has remarked that modern-day idiolectal analyses are often centred on 'interesting' individuals; Barbara Johnstone's (2000) analysis of US politician Barbara Johnson is one example. Grant suggests that this may create an inaccurate representation of the typical traits of an idiolect and the 'average language user'. However, I believe that using candidates at the edge of social norms is a valid test of sociolinguistic concepts. The functionality of sociolinguistics for macro-level

22

historical language change has been largely established (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Nevalainen 2006a). The next step is to see how historical speakers, such as Elizabeth, fit within the general sociolinguistic principles of language variation and change.

One important question that these previous idiolectal analyses have not addressed concerns the relationship between a speaker's participation in a linguistic change and their social characteristics. In linguistic terms, speakers at the vanguard of a language change are known as 'leaders' (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 21) or 'early adopters' (Chambers 2003: 113). Speakers at the rear of a change showing most reticence are termed 'laggers' (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 21). I refer to speakers at the mid-point of a change as 'mid-range users'. The S-curve provides a neat way of quantifying a speaker's position in a change; however, it is currently unclear if the speaker will then occupy the same position in the S-curve for other variables. If a speaker is the leader in one linguistic change, does that mean they will lead all linguistic changes or, alternatively, can an individual be both a leader and a lagger for different changes? My analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect in Part II tracks her participation in different morphosyntactic changes of the sixteenth century, and should offer new insight into these questions.

Methodology

My analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect is fundamentally comparative. For each linguistic feature I analyse in Part II, I chart the development of the variant in Elizabeth's idiolect (documenting the similarities and differences between the pre-accession and post-accession periods) and then compare my findings with the macro-level baseline. I concur with Beatrix Busse's assessment of historical language study that 'it is valid to be more microlinguistically/microstylistically oriented and to investigate the styles of a genre, a person or a situation, and then evaluate these results against a reference corpus' (Busse 2010: 38). Using the macro-level trends for comparison allows me to identify points of conformity and deviance in Elizabeth's usage compared with her social contemporaries, e.g. other women or the upper ranks, and I can then hypothesise how the idiolectal data fits with Elizabeth's biographical experiences.

The comparative macro-level data that I use in this study is predominantly drawn from existing published works, with the majority utilising the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC) for their data. This is a socially representative, single genre corpus of around 6000 letters, spanning 1410-1681 and incorporating 2.7 millions words (see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 43-49). In some chapters I conduct my own analysis of macro-level data using the *Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (PCEEC) text version. This corpus is slightly smaller than CEEC due to copyright restrictions, and is approximately 2.2 million words with around 4970 letters (see Taylor and Santorini 2006).

CEEC was developed in the 1990s in order to provide the first socially stratified corpora for historical sociolinguistic analysis. Previous research had concentrated on stylistic variation across genres (including the *Helsinki Corpus* (HC), largely developed by the same team involved with CEEC). The appreciation of social factors in language change was well established in modern-day sociolinguistic study, and it was thought important to develop this focus in historical investigations also. The reasoning behind the development of a single genre corpus to analyse macro-level linguistic change is that it removes (or more accurately limits) the interference from other factors known to contribute to variation: the opposite of Raumolin-Brunberg's (1991) decision to use an idiolect to study stylistic variation. By focusing on socially stratified informants participating in the same field of communication, findings can more confidently attribute trends to particular social factors: age, gender, domicile, social rank and level of education. The findings from CEEC have shown that social groups (categorised by a particular social factor such as gender or social rank) participate differently in the progression of a linguistic change.

The decision to use personal letters as the source genre for a socially stratified corpus has clear merits. Firstly, personal letters typically provide better documentation than other genres about their circumstances of composition, a necessity for sociolinguistic analysis. In correspondence, the author, date, recipient, and even location are often recorded. Secondly, letters represent a greater proportion of the social spectrum compared to other genres from the Early Modern period; letter writing as an activity was open to all individuals fortunate enough to have a basic level of literacy.[10] The compilers of CEEC also suggest that personal letters 'share a number of linguistic features with the colloquial spoken idiom', making them ideally suited to diachronic sociolinguistic analysis (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 43-4). This follows the established methodology in modern sociolinguistics, which considers every-day spoken language as the site 'where the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution can be seen most clearly' (Labov 1972: 208).

The clarity and methodological rigor behind CEEC has permitted many 'systematic historical investigations of language changes in their social contexts' (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 20). For the starting point of my sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth I's idiolect, the baseline provided by CEEC is an obvious choice. The first stage of my methodology thus compares the figures for the linguistic feature in Elizabeth's correspondence with the macro-level trends presented in CEEC, allowing me to contextualise Elizabeth's usage through comparison with the contemporary norm, and establish how conformative or deviant her usage is in the pre- and post-accession periods. From a practical point of view, Elizabeth's correspondence provides the best diachronic representation of her idiolect, spanning almost sixty years (see below, and also Appendix), and CEEC offers a like for like comparison of the genre.

However, there are certain problems that arise when using of the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* as a comparative baseline. To compensate for these, I have incorporated further analytical stages into my methodology, after the initial comparison with the CEEC macro-level trend; each stage is characterised by my focus on a particular factor relevant to linguistic variation and change. I now discuss the four stages in turn.

Social Factors

In order to assess the role of a social factor in language change, the compilers of CEEC have categorised each informant according to their different social properties. The linguistic usage of informants who share particular social properties (i.e. gender) is then analysed under the

---

[10] Many illiterate individuals are also thought to have used correspondence as a form of communication by enlisting the services of a scribe (see Daybell 2001: 60).

different social categories, so that the relevance and role of that factor in the macro-level development of the linguistic change can be established. Queen Elizabeth I is included in CEEC, although with fewer letters than I use in my analysis in Part II, and she too is categorised according to her social characteristics. Her CEEC classification is shown in Table 1.

Social factor	Elizabeth I
Date of birth	1533
Gender	Female
Social rank	Royalty (no mobility)
Domicile (geographical location)	Court (b. London)
Level of education	Higher (Not university)

Table 1: CEEC classification of Elizabeth I.

On the basis of the CEEC classification, we would look for (and expect to find) the greatest likeness between Elizabeth's use of linguistic features and those of the other informants in her social categories; e.g. between Elizabeth's use of feature x and the Court, between Elizabeth's use of feature y and other women. However, there are problems with the categorisation as it is presented in Table 1, as it gives no indication of the conflicting and contradictory nature of the different attributes that make up Elizabeth's socially unique position. To their credit, the compilers of CEEC have acknowledged some of the potential difficulties. Arja Nurmi considers Elizabeth's sex (the basis for categorisation) versus gender role to be the most problematic element. She writes:

> the only person [in CEEC] whose case presents a possible conflict between biological and social reality is Queen Elizabeth I. Her status as a ruler makes her a special case in many respects. In her role as the monarch she is often referred to with masculine-sounding terms (e.g. prince) both by others and by herself. Because of her position it could be argued that in a great deal of her daily dealings **she has a male gender role rather than a female one**. However, as this speculation is difficult to verify in any meaningful way we have included her among the female gender (Nurmi 1999: 35 – my emphasis).

I suggest that one meaningful way to determine if Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences are "more male" or "more female" is to conduct the analysis proposed here. If the results show that Elizabeth's language coheres with predominantly female trends throughout her life, then the label of 'honorary male' will not extend to Elizabeth's accommodation towards and adherence to the linguistic norms of that social group. Conversely, the 'honorary male' interpretation may be significantly reinforced if Elizabeth's idiolect shows greater comparability with the male groups. This would be particularly relevant to research question one, of course, if there were a noticeable shift between the pre-accession and post-accession periods, reflecting Elizabeth's changing social role after her accession.

In fact, the possible distinction between the pre- and post-accession periods is not accommodated for in the CEEC categorisation. For instance, the 'gender question' is only applicable to Elizabeth's post-accession experiences, when her position and power became a contentious issue. One could also note differences in the assignation of domicile. The compilers of CEEC found it incongruous to assign 'London merchants and courtiers to the same domicile' (Nurmi 1999: 43), and devised the category of 'the Court' to include:

> the members of the royal family, courtiers and other high-ranking government officials, many of whom lived in the West End and Westminster [...] keeping apart the Court and London gives us the opportunity of comparing a more prestigious variety with the natural speech of the capital, probably a dialect mixture (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 38-40).

The macro-level linguistic evidence suggests that this distinction is justified (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 157-184). However, in the pre-accession period Elizabeth's contact with other people at the Court depended greatly on her favour or disfavour with the current monarch. After her accession, she moved to occupy and hold its centre. It is possible that Elizabeth's familiarity with, her reaction to, and her involvement with this domicile are far stronger during her reign than in her youth. These examples illustrate the need to consider the social conflicts and diachronic permutations present in Elizabeth's biography, rather than assuming each classification to be continuous and stable.

Interactive Factors

The single genre composition of CEEC narrows the analytical focus to social factors. Yet one of the benefits of idiolectal data is the potential to examine other factors involved in language variation and change, such as interactive and stylistic factors. Both of these aspects represent part of the broader category of *style*, which denotes a speaker's modification (conscious or subconscious) of their language in response and reaction to their social context. Coupland proposes that the concept of genre is so pervasive in society that it is distinguished from subtler, localised processes; genre is at a level of 'cultural salience' and interactive elements are the 'local acts of speaking' (2007: 16).

Researchers using CEEC (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Nurmi 1999) have attempted to incorporate the interactive dimension of *style* in their analyses, offering register variation as an additional dimension to the tracing of social factors (age, gender, social rank) in a change. Register variation arguably compensates for the lack of cross-genre stylistic variation, the other dimension of *style*, and the crux of variationist studies in the past (e.g. Romaine 1982, Dekeyser 1984, Raumolin-Brunberg 1991), although support for this factor is found in Romaine's (1982: 157) pioneering sociolinguistic investigation of relatives

in Middle Scots, which carefully documents differences between 'stylistic levels within texts' as well as across different genres.

I agree that analysis should account for potential variation within the interactive, localised situations of texts in a so-called homogeneous genre; the social context of a letter to a close friend upon the birth of their child is undoubtedly going to differ from a letter written to a bank manager, and this will affect the linguistic choices of the writer. The personal letters used in CEEC show considerable breadth in their context and function, as do the letters by Elizabeth I, and the linguistic implications of this dimension need to be accounted for.

CEEC analyses of register variation focus on the relationship between recipient and addressee, categorising the recipient as one of two broad categories: family and non-family. The reasoning is that informants will use less formal language features in letters to family members, and more formal language to more socially distant addressees (Nurmi 1999: 104). The findings of Minna Nevala (2004) show the value of this distinction for the analysis of Early Modern address-forms, for example. However, their methodological approach is problematic for my analysis for two reasons. Firstly, the family/non-family categorisation disregards the possible influence of other interactive elements operating within a letter, such as accommodation. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) suggests that individuals may modify their language use dynamically (i.e. in a particular communicative scenario, such as a letter) to either converge or diverge with the linguistic preferences of their communicative partner. Peter Garrett's (2010) summary neatly illustrates the potential influence of specific communicative situations on the linguistic choices of a speaker, and consequently highlights the problems of the generalised CEEC approach for an idiolectal study:

> Communication accommodation theory has drawn our attention [...] to the **dynamic and interactive nature** of communication and our motivations in its process, including effective communication, attitudinal response and our social and personal identities [...] Attitudes and motivations feature not only in our perceptions, evaluations and attributions as we encounter such adjustments and attunements; they are also components of our own communicative competence that underpin, consciously or unconsciously, our **moment-to-moment deployment of linguistic** [...] **resources** to achieve our communication goals' (Garrett 2010: 120 – my emphasis).

Randy. C. Bax (2002) demonstrates the significance of CAT in his analysis of eighteenth-century correspondence between Samuel Johnson and Hester Lynch Thrale, noting points of convergence in semantic content, lexis and syntax. It is plausible that similar interactive elements influence Elizabeth's selection of linguistic variables on a case-by-case basis, and the methodology should allow for this factor.

Secondly, the family/non-family distinction is difficult to apply to the recipients of Elizabeth's correspondence. The polarised categorisation of recipients (family = nuclear, other and close friends versus non-family = family servant, other) for register analysis (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 190) is presumably used because it is the most efficient way to assess the relationship between author and recipient in the large amounts of corpus data. However, in the analysis of a socially unique individual such as Elizabeth, the family and non-family distinction is immediately problematic. The relationships we would predict between siblings or with a distant acquaintance are not necessarily applicable in her case. Using address-forms as an example, we can see that the social relationships she had with her recipients are somewhat deviant from the norm. In a letter to her sister Princess Mary, Elizabeth addresses her sister warmly, as we might expect, and enquires after her health:

> To my well beloved sister Mary. Good Sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me (27th October 1552, to Mary I, QEIC correspondence).

But only two years later, following Mary's accession, Elizabeth is forced to beg her sister to spare her life, signing at the subscription:

> I humbly crave but only one word of answer from your self. Your Highness' most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning, and will be to my end. Elizabeth (17th March 1554, to Mary I, QEIC correspondence).

As another example, in the letters to James VI, King of Scotland, Elizabeth consistently depicts their relationship using sibling terminology, a convention typical of monarchic correspondence. James VI was thirty-three years her junior, and her Godson, and the two never met despite over twenty years of diplomatic correspondence, in which Elizabeth often pushed the younger King to acquiesce to her demands. Furthermore, Elizabeth authorized the death warrant of his mother Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1586. Thus, it is not clear how the family or non-family categories relate to this relationship (!). The layers of social convention and personal feeling do not easily transfer to the clear-cut distinction used by the CEEC team.

Overall, I consider the CEEC account of register to be too narrow and limited for an idiolectal study, and particularly for the analysis of Queen Elizabeth I. As a resolution, I have developed the CEEC definition into a set of elements I term interactive factors that endeavour to recognise the different facets involved in 'local acts of speaking'. This incorporates Elizabeth's relationship with the recipient, which I recognise as important, but I develop it from the CEEC approach by treating recipients individually, drawing on the historical evidence to interpret Elizabeth's relationship with each recipient at that particular

30

time. Interactive factors also incorporate the function of the letter, as letters written to the same recipient may have different goals. This is particularly relevant to Elizabeth's correspondence given the dramatic events of both the pre- and post-accession period. Lastly, I consider the compositional context (i.e. the speed of composition, existence of drafts), which could also affect the choice of variants.

Stylistic Factors

My analysis also incorporates the other component of *style*: stylistic (genre) variation. In modern sociolinguistic study, linguists analyse the properties of different style shifts made by speakers, performed consciously or sub-consciously, to understand the role of variation in communicative contexts and the relationship to language change.[11] The data is often elicited in a sociolinguistic interview or through covert recording, such as Labov's investigation of phonological variation in English speakers in New York (see Labov 2006). In historical language study, elicitation of style data from individual speakers is not possible, and the focus on different genres may therefore have originated as a proxy for the style-shifting data.

Perhaps the best-known historical multi-genre corpus is the *Helsinki Corpus*, which was designed 'to support the variationist approach to the history of English' (Kytö and Rissanen 1993: 1).[12] The HC enables diachronic analysis of linguistic features in multiple genres, but the focus is on macro-level patterns rather than stylistic variation in the language of individual speakers. Whilst the compilers include sociolinguistic information about the authors, very few authors in the corpus have works included in different genre categories. The sampling technique adopted by the compositors also limits the significance of any idiolectal findings. Elizabeth I, for example, is represented by prose extracts (not autograph) from her translation of Boethius and samples of her correspondence. This is not enough data to establish clear patterns in the Queen's stylistic preferences. Thus, rather than focus on the style shifts in the writing of the same individual(s), the HC shifts the attention away from the speaker and onto the broader cultural conventions of genre. The analyst must presume a level of homogeneity in the letters, prose, or drama written by multiple individuals, bound by shared cultural norms. The macro-level focus requires a compromise in the analytical approach, and one can understand why the team later developed CEEC to address the social dimension of variation and change.

---

[11] Labov (2006: 59) carefully points out that his definition of *style* as the level of 'attention paid to speech' is specific to the 'heuristic device' of his interview methodology, and not 'a claim that this is the way that styles and registers are to be ordered and understood in everyday life', as has sometimes been stated.

[12] The corpus is 1.5 millions words covering the earliest English documents to 1710 (see Rissanen, Kytö and Palander-Collin 1993). I also make use of studies based on the *Corpus of English Dialogues*, a collection of speech-based texts (1560-1760) of around 1.2 million words (see Culpeper and Kytö 2010).

However, Coupland suggests that modern sociolinguists should analyse genre
(stylistic variation) as well as the conventional style-shifting (interactive) variation, because

> [o]ur socialisation into a cultural group's ways of communicating is partly a matter of
> learning institutional genres – learning how to read them and sometimes learning how to
> enact them (Coupland 2007: 15).

The significance of genre during Elizabeth's lifetime makes stylistic variation just as important for a study of sixteenth-century language variation as Coupland believes it to be for PDE analysis. In the Early Modern period genres were institutionalized; epistolary prose, for instance, followed specific models (Davis 1965: 237). Thus it is appropriate to investigate stylistic variation in Elizabeth's idiolect across different genres, as well as focussing on the interactive features operating within the different realisations of that genre.

The texts available for Elizabeth I's idiolect cover a range of genres, and this allows me to engage with stylistic variation in a way not attempted (or possible?) in historical macro-level studies. As I show in Part II, the findings for Elizabeth's idiolect attest to the significance of stylistic variation in the evolution of her idiolect.

Systemic Factors

So far, I have outlined the social and stylistic dimensions of my methodology. The final factor that I incorporate into my analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect is systemic. Systemic factors concern the paradigmatic grammatical elements and structures that may promote or demote the linguistic variant. Previous studies, including those conducted within the sociolinguistic paradigm, incorporate systemic elements into an analysis both to assess the interaction with social factors, and also to establish if the influence of a systemic element distorts the social data in a significant way; for example, the influence of phonological context (word-ending) upon the selection of third-person singular verb ending –*eth* or –*s* (Kytö 1993). The factor is particularly important when using small datasets, as the over-representation of a particular systemic context needs to be accommodated into any interpretation of the data (e.g. Raumolin-Brunberg 2005: 48, fn. 4). As my findings show, systemic factors are typically intertwined with other factors, with the combinations shaping the distribution of a variant in a text or texts.

The *Queen Elizabeth I Corpus* (QEIC)

In this section, I briefly discuss the electronic *Queen Elizabeth I Corpus* (henceforth QEIC) that I have compiled for my analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect. A more extensive discussion of the compilation process and a list of the texts can be found in the Appendix. My decision to compile the corpus was partly one of necessity, as my approach required an electronic resource suitable for comparative analysis. Whilst a selection of letters is available in CEEC, I felt that these did not provide enough scope, either diachronically or stylistically, for my analysis.[13]

As a result, I have compiled QEIC. Overall, the corpus covers the years 1544-1603, with sub-files for the pre- and post-accession periods; the total word-count is 78,092. The corpus is comprised of three genres of Elizabeth's writing: correspondence, speeches and translations (see Table 2). I made the transcriptions either from the original manuscript or from an apograph of the original document (see Appendix for a more detailed account of this process). Whilst the corpus does not contain any previously unknown works, it is the first diachronic, electronic collection of Elizabeth's writing that I am aware of, bringing Elizabeth's works in line with macro-level corpora and providing a useful degree of flexibility for computational research techniques.[14]

	Pre-accession	Post-accession
Correspondence	6266 words; 18 letters.	34617 words; 94 letters.
Speeches	N/A	5962 words; 6 texts
Translations	22930 words; 2 texts.	8317 words; 2 texts.
Overall	29196 words	48896 words

Table 2: Properties of the *Queen Elizabeth I Corpus* (QEIC).

A key feature of QEIC is my decision to use modern spelling and punctuation. This was contrary to my initial aim, which – in pursuit of authenticity – envisaged an original spelling corpus. However, this proved impractical for a number of reasons. Firstly, the distribution of original spelling in the corpus was inconsistent, representing Elizabeth's

---

[13] Anni Vuorinen (2002) used the CEEC files to compare Elizabeth's letters with those of a small number of male and female contemporaries, looking for evidence of gender differences. Whilst the study was insightful, particularly in its pronoun analysis, it adopted a narrower diachronic and analytic perspective than the one utilised in the present study.

[14] Despite Elizabeth's historical significance, the number of her extant autograph texts is surprisingly small. Consequently, the pre-accession correspondence is under-represented compared to the post-accession letters (this also reflects the shorter time-period); and the speeches sub-section is much smaller than the other genres. These problems are common to studies working with historical data, what Labov posits as 'the art of making the best use of bad data' (1994: 11), and it is perhaps unrealistic to expect an idiolectal corpus not to encounter such difficulties, even for an individual as well-known as Elizabeth I.

system, that of contemporary scribes and the spelling of later copyists. This presented a potentially misleading picture about the provenance of the texts. Secondly, original spelling is problematic when using computational concordance programs. As studies using the HC have reported, scholars rarely manage to include all the spelling variants of a word form (Rissanen 1994: 75). Modernising the spelling provides a greater degree of accuracy. My decision was further supported by the news that a modernised spelling version of CEEC is now in production (Palander-Collin, Juvonen and Hakala 2010).

I recognise that original spelling has a certain prestige in historical scholarship; it provides a greater authenticity and 'feel' for the historical text. In linguistic analysis, it is arguable that original spelling is even more important, as modernized versions may obscure particular lexical or syntactic elements significant to analysis. However, my study carefully compensates for these potential problems. Firstly, nine of the ten studies in Part II concentrate on morphosyntactic elements that remain the same in the transmission from original to modernized versions; e.g. affirmative *do*, relative markers *who* and *which*. The only problem that has emerged occurs in my study of possessive determiner forms *my/mine* and *thy/thine*. In one systemic context there is inconsistency in the presentation of the determiner and adjective in different modernized editions: 'mine own', compared with the original manuscripts 'my none'. This highlights editorial differences between texts published for literary or popular usage, and the requirements of a linguistic analysis. This is the only conflict I have encountered in my analysis, and I discuss this point in more detail below.

My decision to modernise QEIC is born out of practicality, rather than a lack of interest in Early Modern spelling. Indeed, I believe there is significant potential in a sociolinguistic study of spelling and I have therefore compiled a second, smaller corpus specifically designed for the study of Elizabeth's spelling system. The *QEI Spelling Corpus* (QEISC) includes transcripts of autograph correspondence only. [15]

Developing two corpora allowed me to compare forms between the letters in the modernized corpus and the original spelling versions (where available). This adds additional analytical rigor to QEIC, whilst maintaining the practicality of the modernised spelling. The more technologically advanced options, such as encoding the corpus into 'layers' of modern/original features were unfortunately beyond the scope of this project. QEIC and

---

[15] The corpus includes all autograph letters found in QEIC. Because the corpus is used for an experimental sociolinguistic analysis of spelling, I have limited the data to correspondence only.

QEISC serve their purpose equally well, and can be used in concordance software (*AntConc* version 2.3.0 was used throughout my analysis) or as a simple text or rich-text file.[16]

---

[16] There is certainly scope for a multi-format edition of the corpus that I envision would allow users access to the different dimensions of the material, such as original spelling, grammatical tagging, palaeographic information and hyperlinks to external evidence. The digitization of NECTE (allowing user access to acoustic, orthographic, phonetic and grammatical components) is one example of how electronic corpora can be elaborated (see Allen and others 2007: 16-48).

PART 2

Linguistic Features

In Part II, I analyse nine morphosyntactic features found in Elizabeth's idiolect. My first criterion for the selection of the linguistic features for this study was the availability of existing macro-level comparative material. A key work that has informed my decisions is Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's (2003) monograph *Historical sociolinguistics: language change in Tudor and Stuart England*; a macro-level investigation of fourteen morphosyntactic changes using CEEC. Other research using CEEC also had potential, particularly Nurmi's (1999) extensive analysis of periphrastic *do*. However, I found that only certain linguistic features were appropriate for analysis in Elizabeth's idiolect. Some variables were irrelevant because of the dating of the change: prop-word *one*, for example, mainly develops in the seventeenth century (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 64). Other changes were not workable with the available idiolectal data; the number of tokens for prepositional relative *which* vs. adverbial *where*, for instance, was too low for any meaningful discussion at an idiolectal level (although see my examination of this feature in the conclusion). Finally, some features have already been analysed in Elizabeth's idiolect, such as third-person singular verb ending *-eth* and *-s* (Lass 1999: 163, Raumolin-Brunberg 2005).

The morphosyntactic features I have analysed in Part II are those that meet the criteria for macro-level relevance; sufficient data; and the potential for a significant contribution to our knowledge of that feature, and of Elizabeth's idiolect. I begin my analysis by discussing affirmative *do*. This variant has a curious history in English as the only context of *do*-periphrasis that failed to generalise in English, despite reaching the early stages of the change. As the opening study, I provide a systematic and detailed account of the variable to clearly demonstrate the scope and insight of idiolectal analysis. Elizabeth's usage is striking and idiosyncratic, socially and stylistically. I find affirmative *do* to be a distinctive feature of her idiolect, potentially useful for authorial analysis, and revelatory of the different biographical influences on her language. My results also provide diachronic and synchronic detail relevant to our understanding of the variable in a key period of its development.

I follow on from this analysis by considering a related change in EModE. Negative declarative *do* did become standard at the macro-level, yet my analysis reveals surprising similarities between the trends for both types of periphrastic declaratives in Elizabeth's idiolect, suggesting that the development of the forms was inter-connected. By comparing and contrasting both linguistic variables within the same idiolect, I offer an interpretation of *do*-periphrasis that enhances our understanding of Elizabeth's language and social experiences, as well as our appreciation of the phenomenon in the history of English.

The later chapters are grouped according to Elizabeth's position in the development of the change. My analyses of *ye/you*, first- and second-person possessive determiners, multiple negation vs. single negation, and animacy and relative marker *who/which*, are all linked by Elizabeth's leading position in the uptake of the incoming variant. By discussing these linguistic changes sequentially, I highlight the similarities and differences in the factors contributing to Elizabeth's progressive uptake and reflect on the role of her accession in the development of each variable. My study of *(the)which* identifies Elizabeth as a lagger in the change, and I explore the possible factors that may explain this unusual trait in her idiolect. In my analysis of superlative adjectives and *royal we*, I discuss in detail two linguistic features whose development shows a clear correlation with Elizabeth's accession, and consider the properties that can explain this connection. In the final chapter of Part II, I conclude with an experimental and original analysis of Elizabeth's spelling. Expanding the analytical focus of historical sociolinguistics, I explore how spelling can be described and explained using the sociolinguistic methodology applied in the preceding chapters, and provide the first systematic account of Elizabeth's spelling system.

Affirmative *Do*

In this opening chapter, I discuss Elizabeth's participation in 'a perfectly good change that did not quite make it' (Ihalainen 1983): the rise and fall of periphrastic *do* in affirmative declaratives. My findings demonstrate the range of insight offered by idiolectal analysis - for our understanding of Elizabeth's linguistic preferences and her biography, the potential applicability for authorship analysis and our knowledge of a linguistic feature whose development is 'one of the most researched and most contentious areas of English syntax' (Hope 1994: 11). Affirmative *do* was one of the earliest contexts of English *do*-periphrasis, a syntactic construction now obligatory in negative and interrogative contexts (Rissanen 1999: 239). In the Early Modern period, affirmative *do* (1) is part of a bipartite variable in competition with the non-*do* declarative form (2). The variable excludes declaratives with modal auxiliaries (*can, could, shall, should* etc.) or the verbs *be* or *have* in either modal or lexical position.

1.   and yet **we do hope** that you are no partakers of the offence (4th May 1589, to John Norris and Francis Drake, QEIC correspondence).

2.   and therefore **I hope** he will not dare deny you a truth (January 1585, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The frequency of affirmative *do* increased during the sixteenth century. However, unlike negative and interrogative periphrasis, the variant did not progress beyond the incipient stage (c. 10%) to become the norm, but instead declined from use, with some studies dating the emergence and decline to a fifty-year time-period (Ellegård 1953). This period falls within Elizabeth's lifetime. Affirmative *do* has been the focus of many macro-level studies that have attempted to describe and explain the curious failure of the periphrastic variant. As a consequence, there is a good deal of comparative material available. The diachronic and synchronic documentation of the variant, and the questions that remain surrounding its demise, provide numerous points with which I can engage.

In previous studies, scholars mainly present their results using normalised frequencies e.g. frequency of affirmative *do* per 1000 words. This reflects the difficulties of identifying the non-*do* declarative contexts in large corpora such as CEEC or HC. Nurmi found only minimal differences in a test case of both percentages and normalised frequencies (1999: 53), and considered it sufficient to focus on only *do* tokens in her study. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) appear to endorse this approach when they reproduce Nurmi's figures in their analysis of language change in the Tudor and Stuart period, in contrast to the percentages used for their other analyses. However, some investigators have

used percentages. In his authorship investigation, Hope found percentages to be the more meaningful measure of periphrasis in the plays of Shakespeare and Fletcher (1994), although he does not distinguish between the different categories of periphrasis (e.g. affirmative and negative declaratives). Amel Kallel (2002) does not discuss his methodology, but presents his analysis of *do* in the Lisle correspondence in percentages – presumably because the small corpus size facilitates his calculations. Alvar Ellegård used random sampling for his non-computerised corpus, and also presents his findings as percentages (1953: 157-159).

The size of QEIC makes percentages a feasible option. To calculate the figures, I manually tagged each sub-section of the corpus for all affirmative declarative *do* and non-*do* contexts and then identified and sorted all tokens using the *AntConc* concordance program. Despite Nurmi's statement to the contrary (1999: 53), I have found discrepancies between the two treatments of the data that materialise when the figures are placed side-by-side. For example, when analysing the distribution of affirmative *do* by recipient (see page 56), the percentages appear disproportionately high compared to the normalised figures. Catherine Parr, for example, receives letters containing affirmative *do* at an average frequency of 3.2 times per 1000 words – an unremarkable amount in comparison to the overall figure for Elizabeth's correspondence. In percentage terms, however, affirmative *do* accounts for a high 17.6% and thus seems to be far more significant. The difference reveals one of the drawbacks of normalised frequencies in the analysis of affirmative *do*, in that this method cannot convey the proportion of declarative contexts within a text. In the QEIC correspondence, Elizabeth frequently uses modalised sentences instead of the simple or affirmative *do* declarative contexts included in the variable. The normalised figures disguise this dimension of the text, whereas the percentages reveal it. The problem can be mediated if the normalised frequency for simple contexts is also presented, but this does not solve the difficulties connected to large corpora. The advance of syntactic tagging should help scholars to negotiate this issue in future research. In the following discussion, I use both methods.

Results

In Elizabeth's correspondence, affirmative *do* accounts for 8.4% of all positive declarative contexts; a frequency of 2.6 times per thousand words (Table 3).

	Total (do and non-do)	% do	Do /1000 words
PreA	221	15.4	5.4
PostA	1048	6.9	2.1
Overall	1269	8.4	2.6

Table 3: Frequency of *do* in affirmative declaratives. QEIC correspondence.

This overall figure fits the contemporary macro-level frequencies. Nurmi reports an average frequency of 2.7 times per 1000 words for sixteenth-century CEEC informants (1999: 108,

Table 7.1). From this broad perspective, Elizabeth's usage appears to conform to the macro-level norm. However, the diachronic development paints a different picture. The frequencies for the pre-accession correspondence show that Elizabeth used the variant more frequently at this time, at 15.4% or 5.4 times per 1000 words. The figure for the post-accession period reveals a downward trend, with affirmative *do* accounting for only 6.9% of contexts, or 2.1 times per 1000 words (p > 0.001).[17]

Breaking the data down further, it is possible to chart the decline by decade (Figure 1). Allowing for error in the 1560s and 1570s due to low token counts, affirmative *do* recedes from 19% in the 1540s to 6.4% in the 1580s (p > 0.001). There is a minimal rise to 6.8% in the 1590s, although the difference with the previous decade is not statistically significant.[18] The final three years of Elizabeth's life (1600-1603) may show a slight shift in favour of affirmative *do*, the frequency rising to 10.2%, although again the difference is not statistically significant when compared with either the 1580s or 1590s.
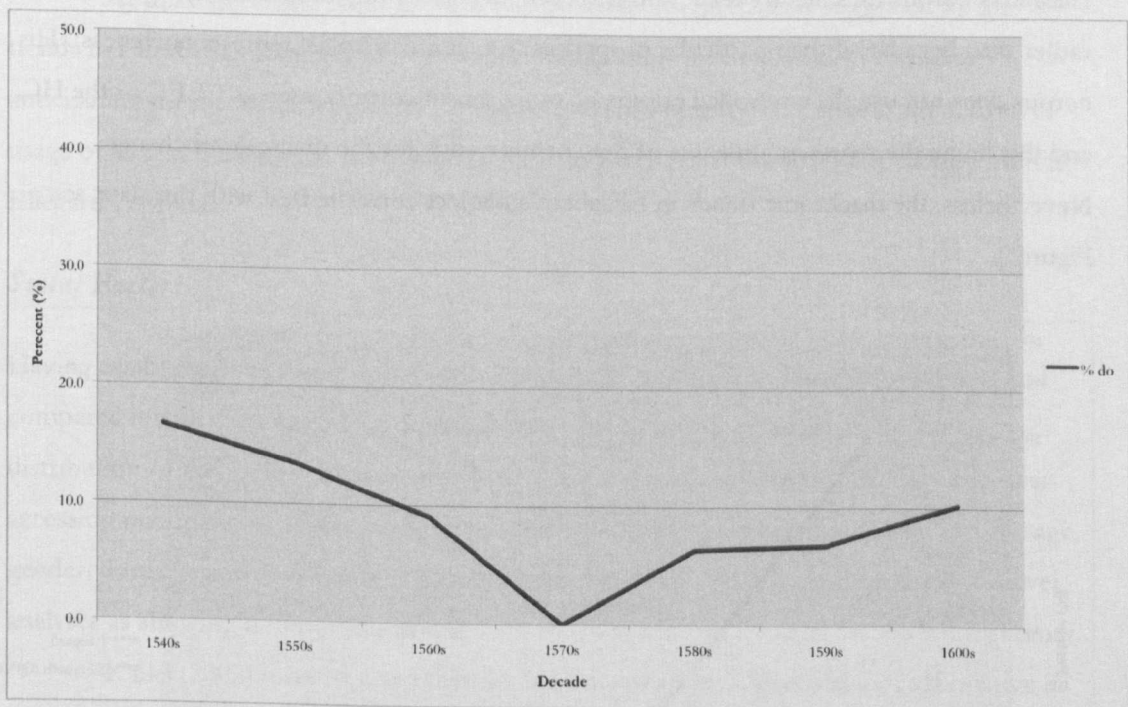
Figure 1: Affirmative *do* (%) by decade. QEIC correspondence.

Macro-level studies show a striking contrast with the downward trend in Elizabeth's idiolect, reporting a 'strong quantitative increase of *do*' during the sixteenth century (Stein 1991: 356). Rissanen (1991) and Wischer (2008), using the *Helsinki Corpus*, and Nurmi (1999) using CEEC, all find that the frequency of affirmative *do* rises across the sixteenth century, with a peak at around 1600. Only after this point does the variant show a decline. Nurmi (1999: 179-182) has suggested that the macro-level decline of affirmative *do* in the early

---

[17] Statistical significance is calculated using the chi-square test. The degree of difference = 1.
[18] The contrast between the 1540s and 1590s is, however, statistically significant (p > 0.001).

seventeenth century may reflect the increased contact between English and Scots personnel at Court, following the accession of James I. Affirmative *do* in sixteenth-century Scots English was highly infrequent, and Nurmi hypothesises that the individuals at Court and London accommodated their usage to the dialect of the Scottish nobility. The 1580s marks the start of Elizabeth's correspondence with James VI of Scotland, and it is possible that the decline of *do* in the correspondence may reflect linguistic accommodation on Elizabeth's part towards her Scots speaking royal addressee. This would indicate an early manifestation of Nurmi's Scottish hypothesis, sharing the same principles of accommodation. I consider this possibility, and the strength of Nurmi's hypothesis in relation to Elizabeth's idiolect, in my analysis of interactive factors.

There is one study that shows an exception to the macro-level upward trend. Ellegård (1953) dates the peak of affirmative *do* (of 10%) to the mid-sixteenth century, with the form showing a fairly rapid and permanent decline from 1550 onwards. Significantly, Ellegård's corpus uses literary texts, and was compiled according to availability of the texts rather than because of their particular properties (e.g. genre or social representativeness). His corpus does not use the controlled criteria of more recent corpora such as CEEC or the HC, and this limits the representativeness of the corpus trends for the macro-level change. Nevertheless, the diachronic trends in Elizabeth's idiolect correlate best with this data; see Figure 2.
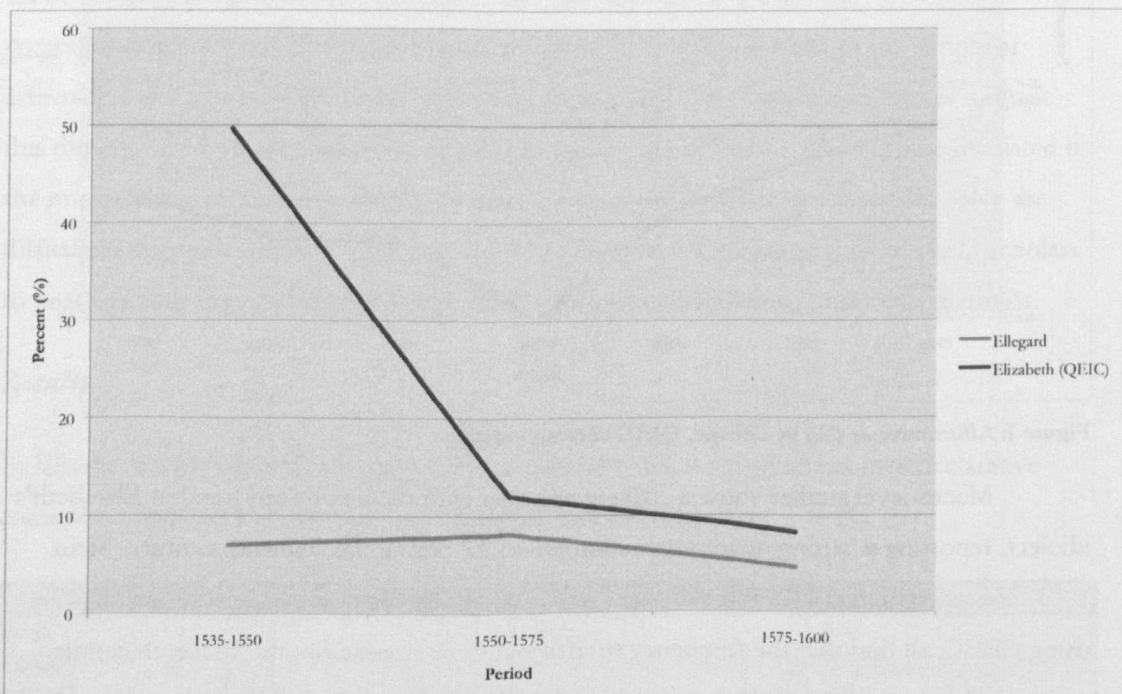
Figure 2: Affirmative *do* (%) in Ellegård (1953) and QEIC correspondence.

The decrease in frequency means that Elizabeth has a different status in the change for the two sub-periods. In the pre-accession period, she can be classed as a leader of the

44

change as the frequency of affirmative *do* is considerably higher in the princess' correspondence than the macro-level norm of that period. Nurmi (1999: 108) records a normalised frequency of 2.4 times per 1000 words in CEEC for 1540-1559. The figure for Elizabeth's correspondence is also higher than the c. 10% peak identified in Ellegård's literary corpus. In the post-accession period, we find the converse situation, with CEEC recording higher frequencies than Elizabeth's correspondence throughout the decades of her reign (see Table 4).

	CEEC	Elizabeth
1520-1539	2	-
1540-1559	2.4	5.4
1560-1579	3.1	1.0
1580-1599	3.7	2.0

Table 4: Frequency of affirmative *do* (per 1000 words) CEEC and QEIC correspondence. CEEC figures taken from Nurmi (1999: 108).

At this early stage, there are thus two possible interpretations suggested by the trends in Elizabeth's correspondence: accommodation to the Scots dialect of James VI, anticipating the 'Scottish hypothesis' of the seventeenth century; or a stylistically sensitive usage of *do* that fits with the more literary texts and authors of the sixteenth century used in Ellegård's corpus.

Social Factors

Having established the diachronic distribution of affirmative *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect and compared it with the macro-level trends, I now assess the role of social factors in the distribution of the variant, in particular to assess if the contrast between the pre- and post-accession periods is associated with Elizabeth's accession. I consider four social factors: age, gender, domicile and social rank. Each factor has been previously identified in macro-level analyses as showing different distributional trends for affirmative *do* in the sixteenth century.

Kallel (2002) has proposed that age was a key factor in the uptake of affirmative *do* during the early to mid-sixteenth century. His analysis of the correspondence written by two generations of the Lisle family (letters dating from 1533-1540) found that the younger generation (b.1516-1526) used the *do* variant more frequently than the older generation, indicating that the adolescent authors were leaders of this change. Kallel's results suggest that Elizabeth (b.1533), as one of the younger generations of speakers in the mix-sixteenth century, would also use the variant more frequently than the macro-level norm. This is clearly born out by the pre-accession data, and thus age appears to be a relevant factor in Elizabeth's usage. Indeed, the frequency of affirmative *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect is possibly higher than expected: Kallel's (2002: 174) study revealed that the younger generation used

affirmative *do* at an average frequency of 9.5% for the 1533-1540 period, lower than the 15.4% identified in Elizabeth's correspondence for the following two decades (the difference is statistically significant (p > 0.5)).

Nurmi's (1999: 63) analysis of the affirmative *do* in late sixteenth-century correspondence corroborates the role of age in the distribution of the variant. Her study of letters written by three generations of CEEC informants in the 1590s indicates that the younger informants use affirmative *do* more frequently than the older generations. In principle, Nurmi's results support my interpretation that Elizabeth's uptake of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession period may reflect her youth and greater predilection for incoming variants. However, Nurmi uses data from a later timeframe, analysing correspondence from the final two decades of the sixteenth century. In her results, Elizabeth's generation continues to use *do* more frequently than the older generations, with no evidence of a decline. This suggests that Elizabeth's usage should also have remained at a comparable, if not greater, frequency as her pre-accession usage. Instead, my data shows a downward trend, indicating that other events or experiences of the post-accession period – potentially Elizabeth's accession – resulted in Elizabeth losing her position as linguistic leader in the uptake of this change.

Other social factors may provide some insight into the contrast in Elizabeth's usage in the two sub-periods. In her analysis of affirmative *do*, Nurmi found gender to be a significant social factor in CEEC. Her results indicated that men used affirmative *do* more frequently than women in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and continued to do so until the mid-seventeenth century (1999: 172). Comparing Nurmi's figures with Elizabeth's usage indicates that Elizabeth's preferences (2.0 per 1000 words) show a greater correlation with female informants (2.1 per 1000 words) for the 1580-1599 sub-period. Male informants record a normalised frequency of 3.8 for the same period (Nurmi 1999: 172).

To further examine the comparability between Elizabeth and female informants in the sixteenth century, I have compiled data for the earlier decades using PCEEC. One problem with the PCEEC data is the low token counts, and thus caution is necessary when interpreting the data. However, some reassurance is provided by the fact that the figure for the 1580-1599 period is the same as the CEEC data (see Nurmi 1999: 172).

	PCEEC *women*		Elizabeth	
	Do (n.)	*Do* /1000 words	*Do* (n.)	*Do* /1000 words
1540-1559	5	1.5	34	5.4
1560-1579	4	0.9	1	1
1580-1599	12	2.1	62	2

Table 5: Frequency of affirmative *do* (per 1000 words). PCEEC women informants and QEIC correspondence.

In the earliest period (1540-1559) Elizabeth's usage is much higher than that of her contemporary female informants, suggesting that her leading position in the change was not typical of her gender. However, for the post-accession decades the correlation is more convincing. For the recalculated data of the 1580-1599 sub-period, Elizabeth's usage (2.0 times per 1000 words) is comparable to that of PCEEC female informants (2.1 per 1000 words). The similarity also extends to the earlier 1560-1579 sub-period. In the previous section, I attributed the low figure of affirmative *do* in these decades to the limitations of the correspondence corpus material. Instead, the drop may reflect a general decline of affirmative *do* in this period amongst female informants, although the token count is very small for both QEIC and PCEEC.

Female informants provide the best social correlate for Elizabeth's low use of affirmative *do* in the post-accession period. There is little similarity between the Queen's preferences and those of other informants in her social categories. For example, domicile is a significant social factor in the macro-level distribution of the variant, with East Anglia and the Court showing a much higher use of the form towards the end of the sixteenth century than their Northern and London counterparts (Nurmi 1999: 177). Elizabeth uses affirmative *do* less than half as frequently as her Court-dwelling contemporaries in the 1580-1599 sub-period (p > 0.001); indeed, the relative infrequency of the variant shows a greater resemblance to her London counterparts (2.8 /1000 words) or the North (1.6 /1000 words).

	Do /1000 words
Court	4.3
East Anglia	4.3
London	2.8
North	1.6
Elizabeth	2.0

Table 6: Frequency of affirmative *do* 1580-1599 by domicile in CEEC (adapted from Nurmi 1999: 177) and QEIC correspondence. Normalised frequencies per 1000 words.

One possible interpretation is that the high turnover of personnel at the Court exposed Elizabeth to the dialects of those from further afield, such as the City of London and migrants from the North (see Keene (2000) for a discussion of migration to London in the Early Modern period). Yet, if this were the case, it is curious that the other individuals at

the Court, including Elizabeth's closest courtiers, do not show the same susceptibility to dialect contact.[19]

Overall, my analysis of social factors reveals that age provides the best social explanation for Elizabeth's advanced uptake of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession period. In the post-accession correspondence, female informants provide the most convincing match with her idiolectal preferences. Yet, the explanatory scope of these correlates is limited; Elizabeth's pre-accession usage was much higher than the macro-level data predicts, and similarly, the dramatic decrease in frequency in the post-accession period bears little resemblance to the diachronic trends for other informants, either male or female. The data provides no clear evidence that the switch from a leading position to a low usage correlates with Elizabeth's accession, although the distinctiveness of her preferences at different time-periods may well provide a useful feature for authorship analysis.

Systemic Factors

The next stage of my analysis is to investigate the role of systemic factors in Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do*. Regardless of the debates over the initial origin of *do*-periphrasis (see Wischer 2008 for a concise overview), linguists have reached a consensus that periphrastic *do* has most likely 'always been a feature of spoken language' (Rissanen 1987: 103). Over the course of the sixteenth century, as the variant was increasing in frequency in most genres (but cf. Ellegård 1953), affirmative *do* diversified into different functions in spoken and written modes. This has led some linguists to grant preference to 'sometimes one, sometimes another set of factors' in their analysis of affirmative *do* (Rissanen 1999: 241).

In the present section, I analyse syntactic and lexical contexts that are attested to promote affirmative *do* in EModE. These have a tangible connection to 'writing and planned speech in the rhetorical vein', and hence represent more literary and formal modes of writing (Rissanen 1999: 241). In the subsequent section on interactive factors, I investigate a separate

---

[19] It is important to note that the Court figure presented in Table 6 includes Elizabeth's CEEC correspondence for the 1580-1599 sub-period. It is possible that this affects the accuracy of my comparison with the QEIC correspondence data. One option I have considered is to recalculate the CEEC data without the CEEC Elizabeth sub-files. For affirmative *do*, I found that this increases the frequency of the variant for the Court to 4.6 times per 1000 words – a relatively small amount with minimal effect on the overall trends. Yet adjusting the figures also has its problems. Doing so deviates from one of my central methodological goals – to compare Elizabeth's idiolectal data with the macro-level baseline; changing the data would create inconsistencies in the CEEC figures that I use, with some recalculated and some not. One point of using the results from large corpora is that they represent overall trends, and are not unduly affected by the preferences of a single individual. Furthermore, I cannot guarantee that my recalculations exactly match the data used by Nurmi (1999) or that of other studies (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). This causes further problems for future replication of my methods and analysis. Consequently, I have decided that my practice in this chapter and throughout the study, is to present the CEEC data as found. The difference between the CEEC Elizabeth data and the larger QEIC should help to ensure the comparisons are reliable.

48

"type" of affirmative *do* called discursive foregrounding *do*, which is defined by 'the repetition of *do*-construction in rapid succession' to highlight and emphasise that passage of text (Rissanen 1999: 243). Discursive foregrounding *do* tends to occur in formal spoken mode texts, to add intensity and emphasis and often to flag-up points of an argument or debate; hence my decision to analyse it separately in the section concerned with localised, context-specific interactive features.[20]

The role of affirmative *do* in 'writing and planned speech in the rhetorical vein' (Rissanen 1999: 241) encompasses two elements. Firstly, the periphrasis provides semantic or syntactic clarification by identifying the verb in a clause; what Smith terms 'a tracking device' (1996: 160). This function was a necessary consequence of the rapid syntactic and lexical developments in sixteenth-century English, which led to a greater level of ambiguity in clause components (Nevalainen 1991: 308, Rissanen 1999: 242, Wischer 2008: 146-7). For example, affirmative *do* can be used to divide complex verb groups (i.e. with verb-initial adverbials) into more explicit components, separating the grammatical and semantic elements (Rissanen 1999: 242). It has also been suggested (Samuels 1972: 174, Wischer 2008: 146) that affirmative *do* collocates with Romance verbs (new borrowings) to disambiguate and flag up the verb in an utterance.[21]

The second role of affirmative *do* in written and literary (con)texts reflects the stylistic ideals of the sixteenth century. For example, the lengthening function of the periphrasis can add weight to a short verb phrase, either in final position or to those situated within weighty clauses. Rissanen suggests that this function occurs in texts 'produced by writers or speakers conscious of stylistic demands' (1999: 241). The periphrasis can also provide a contrastive function, emphasising one part of a coordinate clause over another (Wischer 2008: 148).

In the previous macro-level studies (e.g. Wischer 2008), systemic factors are typically analysed according to the distribution of affirmative *do* across the different contexts, rather than calculating the percentage of *do* from the overall figures of *do* and non-*do* in x context. Like the use of normalised frequencies for the diachronic trends, the representation of *do* in this way is a necessary shortcut because of the problems of identifying declaratives in large macro-level corpora. One benefit of my idiolectal study is that the smaller corpus enables me

---

[20] Wischer (2008) does not make an explicit distinction between written and discursive foregrounding *do*, but instead appears to subsume the two under the description 'a stylistic device in formal texts' (2008: 144). My account follows Rissanen's categorisation (1991, 1999) as my results suggest that Elizabeth does make a distinction between formal, spoken discursive foregrounding and literary, rhetorical uses.

[21] Smith (1996: 160) and Samuels (1972: 174) also suggest that *do* occurs with Germanic strong verbs to mark tense, as the previous vocalic distinction had been lost in the Great Vowel Shift. This context had little significance in Elizabeth's idiolect, and I have omitted the data to improve the clarity of my discussion.

to present the systemic data using both methods, and assess any complications that arise from the conventional *do*-only approach.

In my analysis of Elizabeth's correspondence, I consider four syntactic contexts that are attested to promote affirmative *do* at the macro-level. Each has a discernable influence upon her practice: adverbials between the subject and the lexical verb (3); clause-final verb position (4); inversion of subject with a component of the verb phrase (5); and an intervening clause between subject and verb (6).

3. you do **forthwith** cause him to be sent back hither (4th May 1589, to John Norris and Francis Drake, QEIC correspondence).

4. as in other things I do **understand** (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

5. **so** do I see by his overture that (4th July 1602, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

6. she (**being called from sin to repentance**) doth faithfully hope to be saved (31st December 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

In the QEIC correspondence, 58.5% of affirmative *do* tokens occur in one of the four syntactic contexts. There is a slight increase between the pre- and post-accession periods (54.5% to 60.3%), although this is not statistically significant. The distribution between the four syntactic contexts is not equal (see Table 7). When treated using the conventional method, i.e., calculating the percentage of *do* tokens only in each context, intervening material accounts for the highest proportion (30.2% of the *do* tokens), with adverbials also high (14.2%).

	Do tokens (n.)	% overall
Adverbial	15	14.2
Verb final	6	5.7
Inversion	9	8.5
Intervening clause	32	30.2
No context	44	41.5
Total	106	

Table 7: Affirmative *do* in syntactic contexts (%), *do* tokens only. QEIC correspondence.

The recalculated data showing the percentage of *do* in the total *do* and non-*do* tokens is presented in Table 8. Firstly, the figures reinforce the significance of these syntactic contexts in Elizabeth's idiolect and, by extension, the attested significance in macro-level accounts. The percentage of *do* in all four syntactic contexts is far higher than in the non-systemic context, which amount to only 4.3% of tokens. The difference between each syntactic context and the non-systemic declaratives is statistically significant (p > 0.001). However, the distribution also shows differences in the ranking and the implied importance of the contexts in Elizabeth's idiolect. Inversion, in particular, contrasts considerably with the *do*-only data. In Table 7, it accounts for only 8.5% of all affirmative *do* forms. However,

out of all the inverted declaratives in QEIC correspondence, affirmative *do* occurs in almost half of them (47.4%). Clauses with intervening material are thus ranked second in this treatment of the data. Verb-final contexts show a frequency of around 20%, which also contrasts with the low percentage for the *do*-only figures.

	Do and non-do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	73	20.5
Verb final	31	19.4
Inversion	19	47.4
Intervening material	124	25.8
No context	1022	4.3
Total	1269	

Table 8: Affirmative *do* in syntactic contexts (%) out of *do*/non-*do*. QEIC correspondence.

The figures also reveal that the influence of the syntactic contexts changes over time (see Table 9). For example, 83.3% of inverted contexts contain *do* in the pre-accession period, compared with only 30.8% in the post-accession period ($p > 0.5$). The other syntactic contexts also show a decrease over time, although the figures are not statistically significant. It is also important to note that the no context declaratives also decrease over time, from 8.7% to 3.4% ($p > 0.01$); I investigate this dimension, and its relation to discursive foregrounding *do*, in my discussion of interactive factors below.

	Pre-accession correspondence		Post-accession correspondence	
Context	Do and non-*do* (n.)	% do	Do and non-*do* (n.)	% do
Adverbial	15	40.0	58	15.5
Verb final	8	25	23	17.4
Inversion	6	83.3	13	30.8
Intervening material	19	31.6	105	24.8
Second person	0	0	0	0
No context	173	8.7	849	3.4
Total	221		1048	

Table 9: Affirmative *do* in syntactic contexts (%) out of *do*/non-*do*. QEIC correspondence, pre- and post-accession periods.

The quantitative figures for the syntactic contexts can only tell half the story. Qualitative analysis helps to illustrate the connection between the contexts and the literary and rhetorical associations attested in the literature, and reveals that even though the decline in percentages between periods is not significant for all contexts there is a discernable shift in how Elizabeth uses each syntactic construction. For example, the pre-accession instances of intervening material show signs of careful construction incorporating rhetorical devices, with Elizabeth using parentheses (7, and also 6) or using *comparatio* (8)[22]:

---

[22] Peacham (1593: 156-7) defines *comparatio* as those forms of speech 'which do tend to most especially to amplifie or diminish by form of comparison'.

51

7. how she (beholding and contempling what she is) **doth perceive** (June 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

8. that as a good father that loves his child dearly **doth punish** him sharply, So God favouring your Majesty (21st April 1552, to Edward VI, QEIC correspondence).[23]

By contrast, the intervening material contexts in the post-accession corpus reflect an increase in conjoined clauses with a shared elliptical subject, a construction typical of less literary composition. Wischer (2008: 147) has observed a similar propensity for affirmative *do* in such clauses in her analysis of the HC, citing examples from trials, diaries and sermons (i.e. spoken-mode genres).

9. but I doubt not but your answer to his treasonable letter will make him and such like know that you not only hate the treason but **do** owe as much to the traitor (May 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

10. I will not willingly call you in question for such warnings if the greatness of the cause may not compel me thereunto. And **do** entreat you to think that if any accident so befall you as either secrecy or speed shall be necessary (4th July 1602, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Thus, for this particular context we can see a shift in the use of *do* from rhetorical contexts to contexts where *do* aids comprehension. Both properties are recognised in the outline of affirmative *do* I presented at the beginning of this section, but the chronology suggests that there may have been a shift in Elizabeth's stylistic valuation of the variant over time to less literary contexts.

The distribution of *do* in inverted contexts shows a similar change. In the pre-accession data, affirmative *do* occurs in over 80% of inverted declaratives falling to around a third in the post-accession period. This quantitative decrease is apparently connected to the stylistic context of the inversion. In the pre-accession period, the examples have a self-conscious, rhetorical quality to them, as in (11), where Elizabeth aligns herself with the testimony of Saint Augustine. In the post-accession examples, inverted *do* occurs after clause-initial adverbs (*yet, so, now*) and foregrounds a shift in topic (12) or indicates a contrastive element (13). The non-*do* inverted declaratives (14) show a comparable function in the post-accession period:

11. **For now do I say** with Saint Austin (21st April 1552, to Edward VI, QEIC correspondence).

---

[23] In example 8, affirmative *do* occurs in a main clause, following separation from the subject by a subordinate clause. Samuels (1972: 174) suggests that this is a promoting factor during the Early Modern period, with the periphrasis flagging up the main verb. However, analysis of Elizabeth's *do* data shows this context accounts for 15% of tokens (16 of 106), suggesting that its influence in Elizabeth's idiolect is minimal. In the case of example 8, for instance, I feel that the emphatic nature of the rhetorical device contributes to the promotion of *do*, as much as (if not more than) the syntactic construction.

12. **Now do I remember** your Cumber to read such scribbled Lines (16th March 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

13. You would none of such a league as myself should not be one, **so do I see** by his overture that himself doth (4th July 1602, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

14. My dear brother, never were there yet prince nor meaner wight to whose grateful turns I did not correspond in keeping them in memory to their avail and my own honour. **So trust I that** you will not doubt but that your last letters by Fowles and the Duke are so acceptably taken (1st December 1601, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Wischer (2008: 250) states that 'many scholars have rightly argued that *do* is more likely used if there is an adverb before the lexical verb'; a claim she supports using her own analysis of the proportion of *do* in this context in the HC. As Table 9 shows, the context may be statistically significant but it is not a defining factor in Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do*. Many more adverbial clauses occur in the QEIC correspondence without periphrasis, a finding that suggests this context may be somewhat exaggerated in the conventional accounts. In Elizabeth's idiolect, there is also a clear distinction between the pre- and post-accession adverbial contexts. In the earlier letters, *do* occurs in expressions of deference, working alongside the adverbial to intensify or emphasise the utterance, such as a request (15).

15. With my hearty commendations I **do most heartily** desire you to further the Desires of my last letters (29th October 1555, to William Paulet, QEIC correspondence).

In the post-accession period, the adverbial contexts containing *do* express demands, rather than deference, although the combination with the adverb again links to intensification or emphasis (16, 17). This function of the syntactic context correlates with the difference in Elizabeth's social status before and after her accession. However, the presence of non-*do* adverbials with a similar function (18) means that the change in function over time cannot fully explain the decline of *do* seen in this context in the later period.

16. We **do therefore charge** and command you forthwith (15th April 1589, to Robert Devereux, QEIC correspondence).

17. all dilatory excuse set apart you **do forthwith** cause him to be sent hither (4th May 1589, to John Norris and Francis Drake, QEIC correspondence).

18. And if Essex be now come into the company of the fleet we **straightly charge** you (4th May 1589, to John Norris and Francis Drake, QEIC correspondence).

The verb-final contexts also show differences between the pre- and post-accession examples. In the pre-accession correspondence, the two examples occur in letters to Edward Seymour, and refer to Elizabeth's mental state. Rissanen (1999: 241) suggests that affirmative *do* helped to lengthen short final-verbs, reflecting the stylistic ideals of the period. However,

in the two examples it appears more likely that *do* combines with the final verb to emphasise and intensify Elizabeth's statement.

> 19. My lord, these are the Articles which I **do remember** (January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

In the post-accession period, similar examples occur without affirmative *do*.

> 20. The whole world that be spectators both what princes do and what **they suffer** (March 1597, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Instead, there are more ambiguous examples of *do* + final verb in the post-accession correspondence. The two instances occur in the final line of the letter's main body before the subscription. They resemble the rhetorical device *correctio*, often used as a climactic expression, with the conjunction providing a contrastive element:[24]

> 21. Thus I finish to trouble you but **do rest** (January 1586, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Wischer (2008: 148) identifies similar contrastive uses of *do* in the HC, although she does not mention any epistolary-specific formula of this kind in her data. In the non-*do* data, verb-final *correctio* also occurs, although not as part of the closing formula:

> 22. But finish this reason with justice which no man may reproach **but every creature laud** (19th May 1589, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Overall, the analysis of the four syntactic contexts reveals that Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do* is influenced by elements relating to comprehension and to more explicitly rhetorical expressions. The diachronic perspective suggests that the latter decreased over time, and this partly explains the decline in *do* seen in the overall trend of her correspondence. My idiolectal data corresponds to macro-level literature, in terms of the influence of the syntactic contexts, but my methodology indicates that the order of importance, based on *do* tokens only, may be less accurate than anticipated.

In addition to syntactic factors, lexical properties have also been identified as influential in the selection of affirmative *do*. Samuels (1972: 174) suggests that Latinate neologisms promote affirmative *do* during the sixteenth century, prompted by a need for semantic clarification of the tense and word class of the new, often specialist borrowings. Wischer (2008: 146) suggests that affirmative *do* also circumvents the difficulties of

---

[24] George Puttenham describes *correctio* (Gk. *metanoia*) as the figure whereby 'we seeme to call in our worde again and put in another fitter for the purpose [...] the speaker seemeth to reforme that which was said amisse' (1589/2007: 223). *Correctio* appears in other guises in Elizabeth's correspondence, such as the explicit use of negators to self-correct and mark contrast: 'Who of judgment that deemed me not simple could suppose that any answers you have writ me should satisfy, **nay**, enter into the opinion of one not void of four senses, leaving out the fifth?' (22nd December 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

incorporating the loanwords into the English inflectional paradigm; her documentation of HC data suggests that Romance borrowings are in the majority in her *do*-data, although unfortunately she does not provide specific figures.

In the QEIC correspondence data, 49% of the verbs modified by affirmative *do* are of Latinate origin. 6.6% are first attested in the sixteenth century (based on the dating given in the *OED Online* [last accessed 07/03/11]) with Elizabeth's usage often corresponding closely to the year of first citation. For example, *sentinel* is first attested in 1593 in a work by Thomas Nashe, the same year as Elizabeth's letter to James VI.

> 23. who divers nights **did sentinel** their acts (16th March 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

However, the low proportion of neologisms in the data suggests that this systemic factor plays only a marginal role in Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences. A number of recent coinages also occur in non-*do* declaratives, suggesting that she was untroubled by their Latinate origins (see 24-25).

> 24. I fear you may fail in an heresy, which I hereby **do conjure** you from (3rd December 1600, to Charles Blount, QEIC correspondence).

> 25. I **conjure you**, even for the worth that you prize yourself at (25th November 1591, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

This may reflect the influence of Elizabeth's high level of education, which would make her familiar with Latinate lexis. Interestingly, Nevalainen (1991: 308) found that neologisms had little relevance to the distribution of affirmative *do* in her analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century liturgical prose – texts also written by individuals with a high level of education and familiar with Classical and Romance languages. Overall, the majority of Latinate verbs collocating with affirmative *do* in QEIC date from the Middle English period, and were not neologisms in Elizabeth's lifetime. The syntactic contexts – with their affiliation to rhetorical devices and ease of comprehension – would appear to be the more significant systemic factor in her use of affirmative *do*.

Interactive Factors

In this section, I examine the role of interactive elements in Elizabeth's use and distribution of affirmative *do*. The macro-level studies suggest that my analysis of interactive factors in affirmative *do* should focus on Elizabeth's relationship with the addressee; this is the approach I adopt first. For example, using the broad classification of 'family' and 'non-family', Nurmi's analysis of the CEEC data showed that affirmative *do* was more common in letters written to family members in the first half of the sixteenth century. In the latter half of

the century, the correlations shift with the form more typical of letters to non-family members. In interpreting these trends, she suggests that there was an early association between colloquial language and the use of affirmative *do* before a re-evaluation made it 'acceptable, or even fashionable, in more formal language' (Nurmi 1999: 105).

However, as I noted in the introduction, the family/non-family categorisation used in CEEC is problematic when dealing with an individual as socially unique as Elizabeth I. Table 10 thus shows the distribution of *do* in QEIC correspondence by individual recipient, and avoids any sweeping generalisations about their relationship with Elizabeth. The first eight addressees (of thirty-three in QEIC) receiving the greatest proportion of affirmative *do* are included, and I have excluded recipients who receive only one letter in the corpus (Table 10).

	Period	Total do/ non-do	% do	Do / 1000 words
Robert Devereux	PostA	6	33.3	6.2
Edward VI	PreA	30	23.3	7.3
Catherine Parr	PreA	17	17.6	3.2
Edward Seymour	PreA	113	16.8	7.8
Charles Blount	PostA	15	13.3	4.4
Robert Dudley	PostA	17	11.8	3.0
James VI	PostA	867	6.7	2
Mary I	PreA	52	5.8	2

Table 10: Affirmative *do* (%) by recipient. QEIC correspondence.

The top-ranked recipient is Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, represented by letters from the 1580s and 1590s; the difference between his letters and those of other post-accession recipients is statistically significant (p > 0.5). The next three individuals in the table all date from the pre-accession period, which suggests that Elizabeth's high use of affirmative *do* in this period was a broad idiolectal trait, rather than specific to a particular individual or letter.[25] The results counter Nurmi's macro-level observation that family recipients were more likely to receive affirmative *do* in the early to mid-part of the century, as the recipients here represent both categories. The recipients of the post-accession period shown in the table are also a mix of family and non-family. All had an enduring relationship with Elizabeth, but this is not a particularly useful trend as other recipients with a similar claim e.g. her secretaries William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, are absent. The mix of recipients also shows no fit with the CEEC trend that suggests that affirmative *do* may have been re-evaluated as a more formal linguistic feature at an interactive level (Nurmi 1999: 105).

---

[25] The difference between the frequency of affirmative *do* in the letters to these three pre-accession recipients is not statistically significant. However, the difference between letters to Edward Seymour and Mary I, ranked eighth in the table, is statistically significant (p > 0.5).

In the CEEC data, the level of affirmative *do* declines from around 1600 – much later than the decrease in Elizabeth's correspondence. Nurmi's (1999: 179) 'frivolous theory' to explain this dip cites the change in personnel at the Court, with the Scottish nobility moving with James VI (now James I) to London after Elizabeth's death. The role of affirmative *do* was far less established in Middle Scots that in EModE with a frequency of 0.54 times per 1000 words in the period 1570-1640 in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (HCOS). Nurmi (1999: 179) suggests that the new high-ranking Scottish individuals influenced the linguistic fashions in the Court and the wider area. As I speculate above, one explanation for the dip in affirmative *do* during the post-accession period could be the letters to James VI in the QEIC correspondence, which account for 61 of 94 letters. It is possible that Elizabeth modified her preferences in order to converge and accommodate to the Scottish king. However, the frequency of affirmative *do* in the letters to James VI and in letters to the other recipients in the post-accession corpus is very similar (Table 11), offering no support for my accommodation hypothesis. We might expect Elizabeth to be sensitive to the linguistic preferences of her Scottish counterpart, given the diplomatic nature of their correspondence. My finding indicates that the cause for the decline in *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect has another source.

	Total (do and non-do)	%
James VI	866	6.7
Other recipients	167	7.8

Table 11: Affirmative *do* (%) in letters to James VI and other recipients. QEIC post-accession correspondence.

The variation in the frequency of affirmative *do* can be traced on a letter-by-letter basis, as well as by recipient. For instance, a letter written in December 1601 to James VI has a frequency of affirmative *do* of 7.1 times per 1000 words. The next letter to James VI in the QEIC correspondence, composed 3rd February 1602, contains no instances of affirmative *do* at all. The variation suggests that recipients receiving letters containing high levels of affirmative *do* may share letters of a similar subject-matter or purpose, making it the functional and contextual aspects of the text, not solely the recipient, which influences the selection of affirmative *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect. Whilst the scale of CEEC may foreground these elements in the family/non-family categorisation, an idiolectal analysis requires a more refined and qualitative approach.

In the previous section, I refer to a function of affirmative *do* characterised by repetition across a passage of text, and distinguishable from the instances triggered by comprehension purposes or rhetorical ideals. Rissanen defines discursive foregrounding *do* as:

a marker of argumentative expression which aims at influencing the audience's views and opinions. *Do* in itself is not necessarily emphatic, but it adds to the intensity and emphasis of the utterance (Rissanen 1999: 240).

Discursive foregrounding *do* is the main function of the form in the early to mid-sixteenth century. In the HC, this function contributed to the high frequency of *do* in trial records and sermons (1500-1570), genres representative of formal speech (Rissanen 1999: 240). The rhetorical functions of affirmative *do* develop later in the century, although the broad time-periods of the HC make a more precise timing difficult. Rissanen's examples of discursive foregrounding *do* from the HC typically show four or five near-sequential examples of *do* which he defines as a "cluster", the characteristic property that differentiates discursive *do* from other functions (Rissanen 1991: 325, 1999: 240).

In the analysis of systemic factors I found that conditioned contexts accounted for 58.5% of the *do*-tokens identified in the QEIC correspondence. However, given that correspondence is typically positioned towards the spoken end of the spectrum, it seems possible that the remaining 41.5% of the tokens with no clear systemic motivation may arise from the discursive use of affirmative *do*, more closely affiliated with spoken modes (c.f. Rissanen 1991: 331). A discursive use of affirmative *do* would also explain the variable frequencies of affirmative *do* identified in the recipient data, above, and even across individual letters. It may also explain the decline of *do* in Elizabeth's correspondence between the pre- and post-accession periods.

To ascertain if Elizabeth uses affirmative *do* discursively, I have examined the ten letters in the corpus with the highest frequency of the variant, as it seems probable that these texts are most likely to show clearest evidence of clusters. Because of the low token counts, I have ranked them by normalised frequency of *do* rather than percentage. I include the normalised frequency of simple (non-*do*) contexts for comparison. If the letter does contain clusters, then a careful consideration of the letter's interactive properties (recipient, function and compositional context) should help us to understand Elizabeth's usage, and potentially the changes over time.

Date	Addressee	Total do/non-do	Do / 1000 words	Non-do / 1000 words
1549, 6th February	Edward Seymour	9	20.8	26.0
1549, Jan./Feb.	Edward Seymour	14	12.8	46.8
1555, 29th October	William Paulet	3	11.4	5.7
1589, 15th April	Robert Devereux	3	10.6	5.3
1549, 21st February	Edward Seymour	6	9.3	34.1
1552, 21st April	Edward VI	8	9.1	15.2
1553, March	Edward VI	11	8.2	37.0
1585, January	James VI	11	7.8	34.9
1597, March	James VI	16	7.6	33.1
1593, 16th March	James VI	23	7.6	36.0

Table 12: Individual letters with highest frequency of affirmative *do*. QEIC correspondence.

The letter with the highest frequency of *do* dates from the pre-accession period and was written to Edward Seymour during the "Seymour Affair" (1549) in Elizabeth's adolescence. Other letters from the same series rank second and fifth in the table. Closer examination suggests that affirmative *do* occur in clusters typical of the discursive foregrounding function, shown in the following extracts:

26. My lord, these are the Articles which I **do** remember; that both she and the Cofferer talked with me of; and if there be any more behind, which I have not declared as yet, I shall most heartily desire your Lordship and the rest of the Council, not to think that I **do** willingly conceal them, but that I have indeed forgotten them. For if I **did** know them, and did not declare them, I were wonderfully and above all the rest to be rebuked (January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

27. And whereas I **do** understand that you **do** take in evil part the letters that I **did** write unto your Lordship I am very sorry that you should take them so (21st February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

28. and whereas your Grace **doth** will me to credit Master Tyrwhitt I have done so, and will do so as long as he willeth me (as he doth not) to nothing but to that which is for mine honour, and honesty, and even as I said to him, and **did** write to your Lordship, so I **do** write now again that when there **doth** any more things happen in my mind which I have forgotten I assure your Grace I will declare them most willingly (6th February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

The content and context of these examples compares favourably with the trial records of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a document that is often used as a representative example of discursive foregrounding *do* in the literature (e.g. Rissanen 1999: 240, Nevalainen 2006b: 109). Throckmorton's trial occurred in 1554, five years after Elizabeth wrote the letters to Edward Seymour, and Rissanen's description of the role of *do* in the records can be applied to the Seymour extracts with little alteration:

> Some of the instances [...] show the marks of [syntactic] factors [...] But, essentially, the clustering of periphrastic *do* in this extract of intensive dialogue seems determined by factors typical of spoken discourse: **the clustering of do marks the importance of the action** [...] **narrated by Throckmorton** (Rissanen 1991: 326 – my emphasis).

In the Seymour letters, Elizabeth defends herself against the accusation that she conspired to marry Thomas Seymour. The texts contain extensive narration alongside professions of innocence. (26) was taken from the autograph conclusion to Elizabeth's statement, documented by her interrogator Thomas Tyrwhitt. Whilst the collocation with systemic conditioning factors is undeniable (verb-final and adverbial contexts), the cluster occurs as she asserts the truthfulness of her statement. In (27), the cluster heightens the apology that follows, with negligible systemic contexts. In (28), the tone of desperation and frustration is clear, Elizabeth providing a detailed and rather repetitive description of her actions peppered with affirmative *do* before concluding with a modalised superlative expression of assurance 'I will declare them most willingly'. The years of these letters and Throckmorton's trial indicates that Elizabeth was potentially an early adopter of the variant in this function. Overall, the letters to Seymour provide the clearest examples of discursive foregrounding *do*, and illustrate how this function of *do* can be isolated from, as well as overlap with, the systemic factors I discuss in the previous section. It is significant that these letters date from the pre-accession period, when Elizabeth's usage of affirmative *do* was at its highest level.

The pre-accession letter to William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester ranks third in Table 12, and contains examples that could qualify as discursive foregrounding *do*. Elizabeth wrote the letter during the Marian period, when placed under close surveillance because of her suspected connection with uprisings against her sister (Perry 1990: 108-9). The letter is short, and affirmative *do* occurs in two of the three declarative contexts – hardly a cluster of the kind seen in the letters to Edward Seymour – and *do* only occurs in syntactic (adverbials and inverted) contexts. However, the overall function is very similar, emphasising the importance of Elizabeth's request that Paulet improve relations with Mary on her behalf. I suggest that *do* operates as a cluster across the whole letter, which is short and expresses a single important request: both example of periphrasis collocate with the verb *desire*. The co-occurrence with syntactic contexts reflects the intensifying nature of these constructions, as part of the formal tone of the letter.

29. With my hearty commendations I **do most heartily desire** you to further the Desires of my last letters that thereby the health of my mind and sickness may be the rather restored (29th October 1555, to William Paulet, QEIC correspondence).

Thus, discursive clusters contribute significantly to the frequency of *do* in the pre-accession period, found in three letters with the highest proportion of *do* in the corpus. However, there are definite exceptions, and possible patterns, to this pre-accession 'trend'.

Firstly, Elizabeth does not always use discursive foregrounding *do* where we might expect. The "tide letter" to Mary I has a comparable purpose to the Seymour letters, yet contains only one instance of affirmative *do* (1.6 times per 1000 words). Non-*do* declaratives occur 38.4 times per 1000 words, indicating many potential contexts. It is not presently clear why this is the case.

My second point relates to Nurmi's observation regarding family and non-family recipients. Whilst the overall frequencies showed no comparable distribution in the QEIC correspondence, the presence or absence of discursive *do* may in fact make Elizabeth's relationship with the recipient a relevant distinction in the pre-accession period. In the ranking of individual letters, the pre-accession correspondence is represented by one family recipient (Edward VI; there are no letters to Mary I) and two non-family recipients. From one perspective, this indicates that Elizabeth may have used different discursive and stylistic techniques when writing to her sister compared to her brother, and reaffirms my belief that the generalisation of 'family' and 'non-family' categories is problematic. However, the letters to Edward VI also differ in the function of *do* compared to the other pre-accession letters included in Table 12 (i.e. the letters to non-family recipients). In Elizabeth's letters to her brother and King, there is minimal evidence of discursive clustering. Instead, affirmative *do* occurs predominantly in the systemic contexts typical of written modes. (30) is a longer extract from a letter cited above (8), written 21st April 1552:

30. What cause I had of sorry when I heard first of your Majesty's sickness all men might guess, but none but my self could feel, which to declare were or might seem a point of flattery and therefore to write it I omit [...] For now **do** I say with Saint Austin that a disease is to be counted no sickness that shall cause a better health when it is past than was assured afore it came [...] Moreover I consider that as a good father that loves his child dearly **doth** punish him sharply, so God favouring your Majesty greatly hath chastened you straightly, and as a father **doth** it for the further good of his child, so hath God prepared this for the better health of your grace (21st April 1552, to Edward VI, QEIC correspondence).

The first instance of *do* occurs in an adverb-initial context preceding a citation from Augustine. The use of third-party opinions or facts to support an argument was a popular rhetorical device of the sixteenth century, known as *testimony*. The latter two instances of affirmative *do* occur in analogical structures (*as...so*), forms of *comparatio*. Perry has previously observed that Elizabeth's letters to Edward are often more akin to exercises in composition (1990: 66), and the location of affirmative *do* in these letters thus indicates a connection with expressions associated with Classical rhetoric.

Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession period thus clearly incorporates both the discursive function, associated with spoken texts, and the syntactic contexts typical of more literary styles. The finding illustrates that even at a young age Elizabeth was aware of and utilised the two functions of *do*. We could attribute this partly to her rigorous early schooling, which ensured familiarity with classical models and rhetorical ideals; her religious

education may have exposed her to the discursive function. The presence of both functions helps to explain the high frequency of affirmative *do* in this period of the correspondence. The perceivable difference in letters to family (rhetorical and comprehension-motivated *do*) and non-family (discursive foregrounding *do*) is interesting, and most likely reflects the type of letter Elizabeth had to write to these recipients, based on the immediate context and the social conventions of the period. The absence of discursive foregrounding *do* in the 'tide letter' to Mary I, therefore, may reflect the conflict between the type of letter Elizabeth would write to a family member and the letter's purpose; perhaps she did not consider discursive foregrounding *do* to be stylistically appropriate. Unfortunately, Nurmi does not discriminate between the different functions of *do*, so it is not possible to see if the division identified in Elizabeth's pre-accession correspondence is typical of a macro-level trend.

In the post-accession letters, the examples of discursive foregrounding *do* are less explicit. Of the four letters from the later period, the text to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, has the highest frequency of affirmative *do* (10.6 times per 1000 words), five times that of the post-accession average (2.1 per 1000 words). The frequency of *do* is even more significant when compared with the low number of non-*do* contexts in the letter (5.3 times per 1000 words). However, in terms of individual tokens, affirmative *do* accounts for only two of the three declarative contexts in this letter, stretching Rissanen's definition of a cluster. However, as in the pre-accession letter to Paulet, I believe that the presence of the variant in the majority of contexts (regardless of actual quantity) justifies its description as discursive foregrounding *do*, particularly in light of the letter's short length. In the letter to Devereux, affirmative *do* occurs in a series of emphatic and intensive statements. The content reflects the change in Elizabeth's status between the pre- and post-accession period, as she expresses her disapproval of Devereux's actions and orders him to return to Court.

31. [W]e gave directions to some of our Privy Council to let you know our express pleasure for your immediate repair hither; which you have not performed as your duty **doth** bind you, increasing greatly thereby your former offence and undutiful behaviour in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special office of attendance and charge near our person. We **do** therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delays set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us (15th April 1589, to Robert Devereux, QEIC correspondence).

The other three letters from the post-accession period are addressed to James VI, and have a similar frequency of affirmative *do* (7.5-7.7 times per 1000 words). The function of *do* in these letters is mixed. Some contain short near-sequential uses of *do* that fit Rissanen's definition of clustering (32):

32. And therefore **do** require that a question may, upon allegiance, be demanded by your self of the Master Gray, whether he knoweth not the price of my blood which should be spilled by bloody hand of a murderer which some of your near a kin **did** grant. (January 1585, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

However, other instances of affirmative *do* in the letters to James VI have no apparent discursive function and instead are attributable to localised systemic triggers, such as inversion (33).

33. Now **do** I remember your cumber to read (16th March 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The evidence for the post-accession correspondence indicates that Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do* narrows and becomes less explicit in this period. It occurs in shorter clusters and seems more likely to occur in isolated instances prompted by systemic factors. The letter to Devereux is an unusual example. By comparison, the pre-accession examples appear calculated and deliberate, both in terms of their frequency in the discursive clusters and in the precise placement in points of rhetorical expression. This suggests that the form may have had a high profile in Elizabeth's adolescent idiolect that lessened over time, contributing to or reflecting the decline of the form.

Stylistic Factors

The final stage of my analysis investigates the role of stylistic factors in Elizabeth's usage of affirmative *do*, expanding my analysis of her correspondence to consider other genres representing more literary modes. In his discussion of affirmative *do* in the HC, Rissanen (1991: 322) observes that early instances of discursive affirmative *do* are typically located in formal genres; for instance the variant occurs far more frequently in trial records and sermons than dramatic comedies. He points out that this finding does not contradict the association between discursive *do* and spoken modes, as "'spoken" is not synonymous with "colloquial"'. The correlation between systemic factors and literary written texts also locates affirmative *do* at the formal end of the spectrum, with early examples found in educational treatises such as Ascham's *The Schoolmaster*.[26] Affirmative *do* is less frequent in less formal written-mode texts, such as narrative fiction – a fact Rissanen (1991: 328) attributes to the authors' lesser concern for 'stylistic ambition' in these texts. The peak of affirmative *do* at the end of the sixteenth century is thus attributed to the discursive and systemic functions spreading from their original formal contexts to more informal genres, such as private correspondence and dramatic dialogue (Rissanen 1991: 328-9).

Stein suggests that the decline of affirmative *do* began in the more formal genres, even as the variant was on the rise elsewhere. He suggests that *do* was associated with the 'courtly ideal of life-style', and that as this ideal fell from popularity in the last quarter of the

---

[26] The possible influence of Ascham's practice is one possible explanation for Elizabeth's literary (systemic) use of *do* in the correspondence to Edward VI in the 1550s.

sixteenth century, the associated linguistic features declined as well (Stein 1991: 361). It appears that affirmative *do* was re-evaluated stylistically by style-conscious authors. Stein's dating of the re-evaluation correlates with the decline seen in Elizabeth's idiolect, and offers a possible explanation for contrast between her pre- and post-accession usage.

The results in Table 13 show that the frequency of affirmative *do* correlates with the formality of each genre in Elizabeth's idiolect. In both the pre- and post-accession periods, the translations show the highest frequency of affirmative *do*, and correspondence the least. In the post-accession period, the parliamentary speeches occupy mid-position. This indicates that the formality of the text is relevant to Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences, even when the overall frequency of *do* differs between time-periods.

	Total do/non-do	% do	Do / 1000 words
PreA correspondence	221	15.4	5.4
PostA correspondence	1048	6.9	2.1
Speeches	160	8.8	2.3
PreA translations	806	55.1	19.4
PostA translations	432	12	6.3

Table 13: Affirmative *do* in QEIC correspondence, speeches and translations.

Stein (1991: 361) suggests that the mixed corpus of literary texts used by Ellegård to provide the diachronic macro-level trends obfuscates the range and variation attributable to stylistic variation, arising from the 'contemporary stylistic ideals' that Stein proposes are present within the different literary texts. The cross-genre variation within Elizabeth's idiolect certainly reinforces Stein's point; combining the average of these genres, for example, would hide the considerable range in frequencies. It is not clear if Stein was thinking of idiolectal variation specifically when he made his critique, but my findings demonstrate the ability of idiolectal-stylistic analysis to provide a clear picture of style and linguistic variation.

The percentage of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession translations is the highest of all genres in this sub-period (55.1%) and in Elizabeth's writing overall (excluding the letters with minimal tokens). The normalised frequency (19.4 times per 1000 words) testifies to the frequency of the variant, and the impact is not lessened when the translations are treated individually (Table 14); for instance, the translation of Calvin, written in 1545, contains almost twice as many affirmative *do* clauses as simple clauses (based on normalised frequencies). By comparison, the percentages in the later translations are much lower, offering a more dramatic demonstration of the decline of affirmative *do* seen in Elizabeth's correspondence.[27] In contrast with the frequency of affirmative *do*, the number of simple

---

[27] The difference between the pre- and post-accession translations is highly significant (p > 0.001). The same p-value applies to the post-accession translations and correspondence.

contexts in Boethius (60.8 per 1000 words) is particularly high, suggesting that Elizabeth felt little need for affirmative *do* in her 1593 translation.

Translation	Total do/non-do	% do	Do / 1000 words	Non-do / 1000 words
Navarre (1544)	358	43	14.9	19.7
Calvin (1545)	447	64.7	22.9	12.5
Cicero (1592)	122	12.3	3.9	28.0
Boethius (1593)	310	11.9	8.2	60.8

Table 14: Affirmative *do* and non-*do*. QEIC translations.

In my analysis of Elizabeth's correspondence, I found that certain syntactic contexts appeared to promote the variant, prompted by the demands of comprehension or rhetorical and literary ideals. Her translations are more literary texts, and the greater frequency of *do* in this genre, compared to her correspondence, suggests that the same syntactic factors should be relevant, if not more so than in her correspondence.

Table 15 and Table 16 show the distribution of *do* across the conditioning contexts; Table 15 presents the percentages in the conventional way, using *do*-tokens only. Table 16 displays the proportion of overall *do* and non-*do* declaratives. In the translations data, I have included a fifth syntactic context for second-person verb endings (34); there were no examples of this context in Elizabeth's correspondence.

34. **Thou didst pray** for me (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

Surprisingly, only a third of the *do* tokens occur in syntactic contexts in the pre-accession translations when calculated using the first method. The distribution of periphrasis in the five contexts is fairly even, with intervening material accounting for the greatest proportion (12.2%). The distribution counters my hypothesis that syntactic contexts would play a significant role in the high frequency of affirmative *do* in this genre, due to the association with comprehension and rhetorical ideals.

	Do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	31	7.0
Verb final	4	0.9
Inversion	19	4.3
Intervening material	54	12.2
Second person	35	7.9
No context	299	67.6
Total	442	

Table 15: Affirmative *do* (%) by syntactic contexts. *Do*-tokens only. QEIC pre-accession translations.

However, calculating the percentage of *do* from the *do* and non-*do* data reveals that *do* is the dominant form in syntactic contexts, demonstrating the incomplete picture created using *do*-only analysis of syntactic features. Using both methods, I can show that *do* is prominent in both syntactic contexts and other declarative contexts. For example, 82.6% of

inverted contexts take *do*; 79.5% adverbial contexts also occur with periphrasis. Only in verb-final contexts does declarative *do* account for less than half of the tokens, at 25%. The role of *do* in these contexts is thus more pronounced than in the correspondence from the same period (see Table 16).

	Do and non-do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	39	79.5
Verb final	16	25.0
Inversion	23	82.6
Intervening material	101	54.5
Second person	58	60.3
No context	568	52.6
Total	805	

Table 16: Affirmative *do* by syntactic contexts (%) out of *do* and non-*do*. QEIC pre-accession translations.
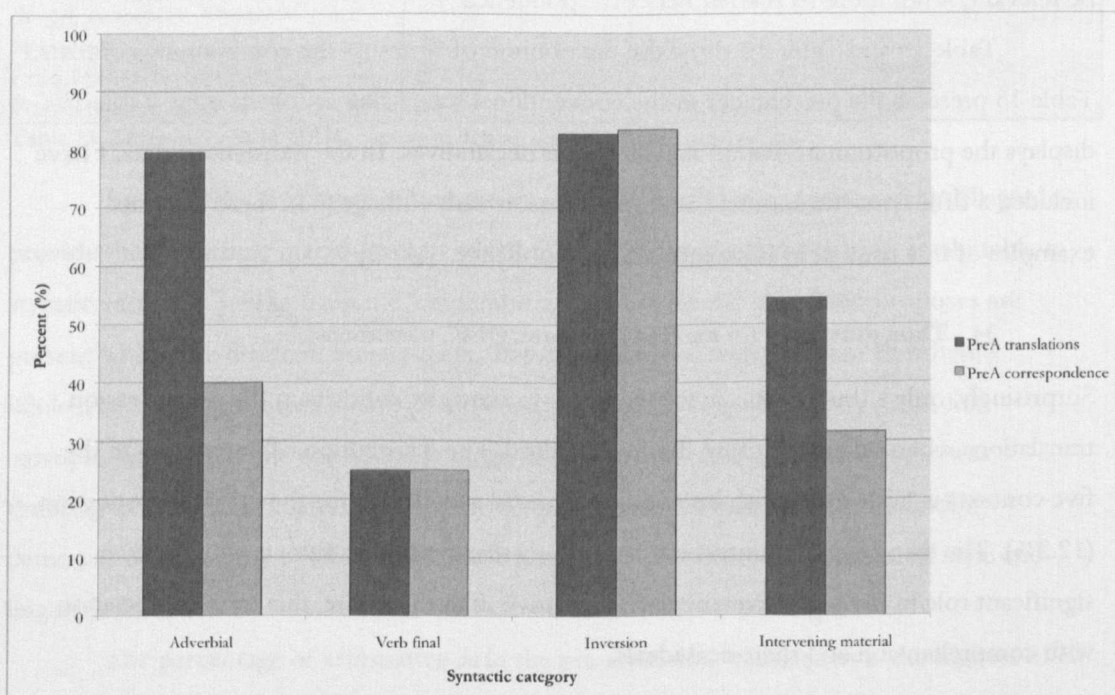
Figure 3: Affirmative *do* (%) in syntactic contexts out of *do*/non-*do* tokens. QEIC pre-accession translations and correspondence.

The majority of declarative *do* tokens occur in other declarative contexts – 67.6% of *do*-only tokens and 52.6% of *do* and non-*do* declaratives. Following Rissanen's (1991: 331) thinking, the number of non-conditioned contexts in the pre-accession translations may be attributable to discursive foregrounding *do* – a function already identified in the near-contemporary correspondence with Edward Seymour. The following extract is typical of the tone, subject and prevalence of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession translations:

35. And indeed we may see, through how many vain illusions the superstition **doth** make with God, when it **doth** think to please him. For they **do** take almost only the things the which he himself **doth** testify that he careth not for them: and they **do** neglect those that he hath ordained, and declared to be acceptable unto him, or else they **do** reject

them openly. Therefore all those which **doth** setteth up religions, or ceremonies invented of their own minds for to honour God, **do** worship but their own dreams. (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

Affirmative *do* occurs in every declarative context in this short extract, a patterning perhaps best described as "continuous" rather than as a cluster. One possible interpretation of this fascinating distribution is that it represents 'analogous' usage. Smith (1996: 160) suggests that in some cases, *do* was self-replicating, the use of the variant prompting a subsequent example. Interestingly, Smith's example of this phenomenon is taken from the Authorised Version of the Bible, and the overlap in genre (religious prose) may offer one explanation for the frequency of *do* in the translations. However, I consider other generic dimensions of affirmative *do* to be significant too. Rissanen (1991: 328) notes that sermons by Latimer and Fisher are characterised by their 'strong' argument, personal discourse and second-person bias, conducive to the usage of affirmative *do*. These three traits are similarly applicable to the pre-accession translations. It is possible that the didactic and persuasive oratory model influenced Elizabeth's stylistic decisions in these two early translations, leading to an effusive use of *do* that dominates the declarative contexts. The contrast with Elizabeth's correspondence is also striking, and it suggests that her ready uptake of the form in her letters – which I explained as a reflection of her age and generation – is enhanced and magnified by the stylistic properties of the two pre-accession translations.

The distribution of declarative *do* in the post-accession translations is very different from Elizabeth's earlier works in this genre. Firstly, the overall frequency is much lower at around 12%. The *do*-only data indicates that syntactic contexts account for the majority of tokens (84.6%) and the *do* and non-*do* declarative figures support this impression, with periphrasis occurring in only 3.8% of no context constructions. The role of the syntactic contexts meets my expectation that the literary qualities of the genre would trigger *do* for reasons of rhetoric and comprehension (see Table 17 and Table 18).

	Do (n.)	% *do*
Adverbial	4	7.7
Verb final	29	55.8
Inversion	9	17.3
Intervening material	2	3.8
Second person	0	0.0
No context	8	15.4
Total	52	

Table 17: Affirmative *do* by syntactic context (%). *Do*-tokens only. QEIC post-accession translations.

	Do and non-do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	20	20.0
Verb final	106	27.4
Inversion	20	45.0
Intervening material	41	2.4
Second person	7	0.0
No context	238	3.8
Total	432	

Table 18: **Affirmative *do* by syntactic contexts (%). *Do* and non-*do* tokens. QEIC post-accession translations.**

Clause-final verbs account for the majority (55.8%); in part, a reflection of the verse sections in Elizabeth's translation of Boethius. Elizabeth shares her usage of affirmative *do* as a metrical filler with many other writers of verse during this period.[28] The difference between the pre- and post-accession translations for this context is statistically significant (p > 0.001). Examples can also be found in the prose sections of Boethius (36), and in Cicero (37).

36. And with what bounds the great heaven / thou guidest, the stable earth **do** [sic.] steady (1593, Boethius, QEIC translations).

37. So it follows that either none **doth live** (1592, Cicero, QEIC translations).

The lower frequency of declarative *do* and dominance of syntactic contexts in the data indicates that Elizabeth's reticence in using affirmative *do* is comparable to the trends in her correspondence (see Figure 4). In the translations, declarative *do* accounts for a greater percentage of tokens in the syntactic contexts than the equivalent contexts in the correspondence. This suggests that Elizabeth's use of periphrastic *do* in the more literary genre was limited to a narrow set of preferred contexts. Only intervening material – the context typical of spoken language – occurs more frequently in the correspondence.

---

[28] This function of *do* lasts until at least the eighteenth century. Beal suggests that 'despite being stigmatized […] the semantically empty syllable as a line filler was too convenient to resist', and notes its use in Duncan's (1789) translation of Boethius, as well as verse by Wordsworth (2004: 73).
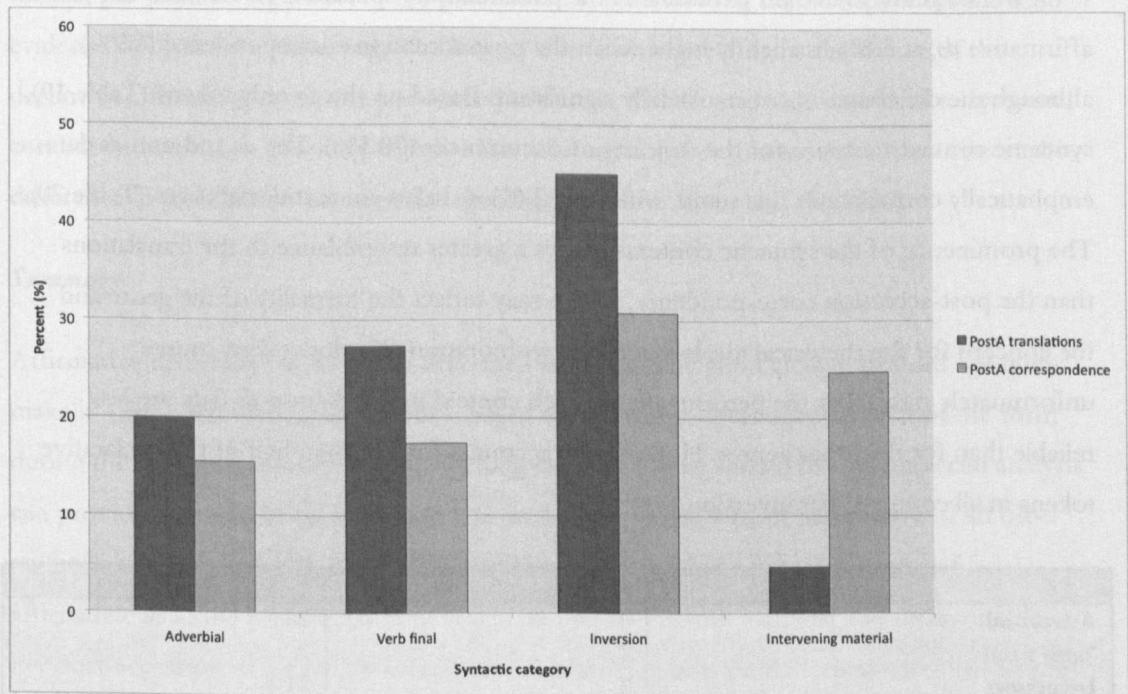
Figure 4: Affirmative *do* (%) in syntactic contexts out of *do*/non-*do*. QEIC post-accession translations and correspondence.

The persistence of affirmative *do* in systemic contexts and the near-complete loss of discursive *do* in the post-accession translations also compares with the nature of the decline seen at the macro-level. Studies (Wischer 2008, Rissanen 1991) show that the variant declined first in spoken-mode contexts, in which discursive *do* was most prominent. This was possibly due to the regularisation of *do* in negatives and questions that contradicted its sporadic, discursive function of the affirmative form, alongside the stylistic re-evaluation proposed by Stein (1991). The variant prevailed longer in written modes due to the connection with syntactic factors and elucidation of meaning (Rissanen 1991: 328-9). The findings from Elizabeth's speeches and translations re-affirm these macro-level distributive trends. However, Rissanen's analysis of the HC dates the recession to the seventeenth century, and Elizabeth's stylistic preferences thus anticipate the later decline.

The extreme contrast of frequency and distribution in the translations magnify the equivalent trends in Elizabeth's correspondence. At the start of this analysis, I noted that the diachronic trends in her letters showed a plausible correlation with the trends from Ellegård's literary corpus. His corpus, comprised of literary texts by male authors, suggests that affirmative *do* declined first in texts most concerned with literary and stylistic expression. In the pre-accession period, Elizabeth's uptake of affirmative *do* was higher than the macro-level average; there is thus precedent for her post-accession usage to be similarly pre-emptive and thus lead the decline that began in literary genres. My interpretation incorporates the range of idiolectal and macro-level data across the stylistic and diachronic spectrum, and highlights the value of a socio-stylistic idiolectal analysis.

The genre I have yet to discuss is the parliamentary speeches. The overall rate of affirmative *do*, at 8.8%, is slightly higher than the post-accession correspondence (6.9%), although the difference is not statistically significant. Based on the *do*-only tokens (Table 19), syntactic contexts account for the majority of occurrences (78.5%). The *do* and non-*do* data emphatically corroborates this trend, with only 2.6% *do* in no context declaratives (Table 20). The prominence of the syntactic contexts shows a greater resemblance to the translations than the post-accession correspondence, which may reflect the formality of the genre and the concern for the rhetorical ideals associated with oration. The low token counts unfortunately mean that the percentages for each context in the *do*/non-*do* data are less reliable than for the other genres. However, *do* accounts for less than half of the declarative tokens in all contexts, bar inversion (n = 4).

	Do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	4	28.6
Verb final	1	7.1
Inversion	3	21.4
Intervening material	3	21.4
Second person	0	0.0
No context	3	21.4
Total	14	

Table 19: Affirmative *do* (%) in syntactic contexts. *Do* tokens only. QEIC speeches.

	Do and non-do (n.)	% do
Adverbial	13	30.8
Verb final	6	16.7
Inversion	4	75
Intervening material	22	13.6
Second person	0	0
No context	115	2.6
Total	160	

Table 20: Affirmative *do* (%) in syntactic contexts. *Do* and non-*do* tokens. QEIC speeches.

The following extract exemplifies the complex syntax and high register lexis typical of her speeches. The example shows affirmative *do* in an inverted position, occurring in an adverbially modified verb phrase. This particular context meets Stein's parameters for a syntactic pattern motivated by 'the intensity content' of the utterance, a instance where the discursive and systemic properties coincide in the use of *do* (1991: 359):

38. And whatever any prince may merit of their subjects for their approved testimony of their unfeigned sincerity, either by governing justly, void of all partiality or sufferance of any injuries done even to the poorest, that **do I assuredly promise** inviolably to perform for requital of your so many deserts (12th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

The blend of properties associated with spoken and written modes, including the overlap of systemic and semantic (emphatic) properties of affirmative *do*, reflects the confluence of rhetorical models and the demands of speech in this genre, where Elizabeth presented a

70

formal, pre-planned argument to her parliament. It is interesting that the speeches show no evidence of discursive clustering. The lack of this function re-affirms the nature of the decline in affirmative *do* seen in her correspondence, with *do* primarily restricted to systemic, conditioned contexts. Working with the limited number of *do* tokens, there is no discernable difference in distribution between the speeches from the 1560s and the 1580s.

Summary

Affirmative declarative *do* has been described as 'a perfectly good change that did not quite make it' (Ihalainen 1983), a description based on the macro-level development of the form during the sixteenth century. In this opening chapter, I have shown that an idiolectal analysis can provide new insight on Elizabeth I, as well as providing a fresh perspective of an oft-studied change in EModE. In Elizabeth's idiolect, I identified a progressive use of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession period. The variant became marginal and disfavoured in her post-accession writing. The social correlates provide only partial explanation. In the pre-accession, Elizabeth's age is the likely, if not only, candidate to explain her above-average uptake. The social correlates for the post-accession period are also in short supply. My analysis indicated that CEEC female informants offer the 'best fit' with Elizabeth's preferences, although the low frequencies of the data and the difference in the overall diachronic trends cause me to question the significance of the correlation. It is possible that Elizabeth's post-accession circumstances cause her to re-assess her linguistic preferences, and accommodate to the gentlewomen around her. Yet, I am not aware of any evidence that suggests other female writers modify their usage across different genres as Elizabeth does.

I believe that the downward trend of affirmative *do* relates to the stylistic associations of the form. Elizabeth's correspondence correlates with the trends seen in Ellegård's literary corpus, and the severity of the decline in the more formal genre (translations) further supports this patterning. Her usage of affirmative *do*, in both periods, is attuned to the stylistic significance of the form. The discursive function in the Seymour letters, the systemic clarifications in the letters to Edward VI, and the combination of elements in the pre-accession translations indicates that the variant was significant to Elizabeth in her youth. From a diachronic perspective, the decline of the form in the post-accession period can be recognised as a continuation of her earlier stylistic sensitivity. The high profile of the form in her early writing suggests that subsequent changes in stylistic associations would be foregrounded, thus explaining why the form is restricted to mainly conditioned contexts (particularly in the more formal genres) in the post-accession period. As a result, Elizabeth's usage anticipates the later trends of her contemporaries; CEEC and the HC showed that the form only began to decline after 1600 (Nurmi 1999, Wischer 2008).

Her stylistic sensitivity may also explain why the change is perceptible in Elizabeth's correspondence as well as her more literary work, contrasting with the macro-level genres. The change is a persuasive example of the role of stylistic variation in the process of language change, and illustrates the benefit of using an idiolect as the source data for historical language analysis.

The stylistic profile suggests that somebody introduced or exposed Elizabeth to the particular functions of affirmative *do* from an early age; perhaps during her early education or – given the discursive function – through her early experience of religious prose, such as sermons. We know that she spent a good deal of time with her stepmother Catherine Parr in the 1540s, a women who was pious and learned, and was held in great respect by the young princess (Demers 2005: 103). The time Elizabeth spent in Parr's household corresponds with the most prominent examples of affirmative *do* in the pre-accession corpus, identified in the two translations, and the letters (written soon after Parr's death) of the Seymour affair. In the post-accession period, I suspect that contact with many of the authors represented in Ellegård's all-male corpus at the Court may have influenced the decline of the form in Elizabeth's language. Further analysis of the preferences of other individuals at the Elizabethan Court, across a multi-genre corpus, would help to contextualise the social elements of her linguistic preferences during this time.

As a final point, I do not believe we can ascribe the change in Elizabeth's preferences directly to her accession. The evidence in Elizabeth's writing suggests that she was aware of and concerned with the stylistic significance of *do* throughout her life; significantly, her leading position in the change – anticipating both the rise and the fall of the variant – is consistent in both periods.

Negative *Do*

In this chapter, I examine the development of periphrastic *do* in negative declaratives. First

attested in the late 14th century, negative *do* (*do* + *not* + verb) was the rising variant

throughout the Early Modern period (39), reaching almost 40% in the mid-sixteenth century

(Ellegård 1953: 161). It was in competition with the established finite verb + *not* construction

that had emerged following the demise of *ne* in Middle English (40). A third alternative, pre-

verbal *not*, also developed during the Early Modern period although this variant appears to

have been restricted to colloquial contexts (Rissanen 1999: 271).[29] The movement from

post-verbal *not* to negative *do* + *not* is typically treated as a binary variable, and this is the

stance I adopt in my analysis.

> 39. bridleless colts **do not know** their rider's hand (5th November 1566, QEIC speeches).

> 40. you **know not** how to use it (4th May 1589, to John Norris, QEIC correspondence).

The early stages of this change are contemporary with the emergence of affirmative

declarative *do*, which I discuss in the previous chapter. Some studies suggest that the

development of both forms is connected; for instance Nurmi (1999: 179) finds a similar

decline in both types of *do* in CEEC at the start of the seventeenth century. She suggests that

the trend reflects the prestigious influence of Scots English, which uses periphrastic *do* far

less frequently in the period, following the accession of James I. Rissanen (1999: 271)

identifies similar discursive functions for both forms in literature of the sixteenth century.

My investigation of negative *do* considers the factors relevant to Elizabeth's language, and

establishes if there is any evidence of a relationship between the two forms at an idiolectal

level.

In order to make reliable comparisons between Elizabeth's language and the social

information from CEEC, I follow Nurmi's methodology (1999). This has become something

of a standard, and is used by other studies cited in my analysis, including Warner (2005),

Kallel (2002), and Culpeper and Kytö (2010). I identified all negative declaratives in QEIC

with the negator *not* using the *AntConc* concordance program, and classified each

construction as negative *do* or non-*do* accordingly. Declaratives containing other sentential

---

[29] *Not* + verb occurs once in the QEIC correspondence, in a pre-accession letter to Mary I: 'and all for
that they have heard false report and **not hearken** to the truth known' (17th March 1554, to Mary I,
QEIC correspondence). The single example indicates that this variant was highly marginal in
Elizabeth's idiolect, and justifies my treatment of negative *do* as a bipartite variable in the analysis of
her idiolectal preferences.

negators (e.g. *never*) were excluded, along with declaratives containing auxiliary and lexical *be* and *have*, modal auxiliaries and "marginal" auxiliaries (*dare, need* and *ought to*).

Results

My first observation of the variable in Elizabeth's correspondence is that the token counts for negative declaratives are considerably lower than the affirmative declaratives, discussed in the previous chapter. This is somewhat surprising. Before sorting the data, I identified 552 instances of negator *not* in the QEIC correspondence, yet Table 21 shows that only 134 qualify for the negative declarative variable. The contrast between the number of negator tokens and declarative contexts suggests that non-*do*/negative-*do* finite verb constructions may not have been Elizabeth's preferred negation strategy.[30] Therefore, caution is necessary when discussing the distributional trends in Elizabeth's usage.

	Total do/non-do	% do	Do / 1000 words	Non-do / 1000 words
PreA	15	20.0	0.5	1.9
PostA	119	11.8	0.4	3.0
Overall	134	12.7	0.4	2.9

Table 21: Negative declarative *do* and non-*do*. QEIC correspondence.

In the QEIC correspondence, the frequency of negative *do* declines over time. Starting at 20% in the pre-accession period, negative *do* falls to 11.8% in the post-accession period.[31] The downward trend parallels the decline in Elizabeth's usage of affirmative *do*. And, as with that variant, her usage contrasts with the macro-level trend. In CEEC (see Table 22) there is an overall rise in the use of negative declarative *do* during the Early Modern period. This results in its standardisation by the end of the 18th century.

	% negative do
1520-1539	9.7
1540-1559	20.6
1560-1579	21.9
1580-1599	25.7

Table 22: Negative *do* (%) in CEEC. Adapted from Nurmi (1999: 148, Table 9.3).

However, the sub-periods show that the diachronic trends in Elizabeth's correspondence are more complex. The 20% frequency for her pre-accession correspondence fits closely with the 20.6% identified in CEEC for the same period (Nurmi 1999: 148), placing Elizabeth within the mid-range users, at the new and rigorous stage of

---

[30] I return to this point in the conclusion.
[31] The difference between the pre- and post-accession period is not statistically significant. However, the difference between the 1540s (PreA) and 1590s (PostA) (decades with the highest token counts for each period) is highly significant (p > 0.001).

the change. Her conformity in the early period is surprising. Kallel's (2002) analysis of the Lisle family correspondence (1533-1540) examines the uptake of negative *do* and finds that the younger generation (b. 1516-1626) use negative *do* more frequently than the older generation. More specifically, the three younger children (aged 12 and under) use negative *do*, with the older adolescent children preferring the non-*do* form. Kallel's results imply that Elizabeth would also use negative *do* more frequently than the older generations. However, this appears not to have been the case, with her usage conforming to the average. The result also contrasts with Elizabeth's uptake of affirmative declarative *do*, where she was a leader of the change during this period.

Despite the conformity in the mid-sixteenth century, Elizabeth's post-accession usage moves in the opposite direction to the CEEC trend. Negative *do* declines from 20% to 11.8% in Elizabeth's post-accession correspondence, whereas CEEC shows a steady rise and reaches 25.7% in the 1580-1600 period.[32] More specifically, informants from Elizabeth's generation participate in this increasing use of negative *do*, with an average frequency of 31.3% by the latter decades of the sixteenth century for those born 1520-1539 (Nurmi 1999: 173).

Closer examination shows that Elizabeth's usage fluctuates across the post-accession period (Table 23). The decline in the post-accession period is predominantly caused by correspondence written in the 1580s, suggesting that there was a 'dip' in her usage and not an overall decline. The figure for the 1590s, which has a similar number of tokens, shows an increase in the frequency of negative *do*, and the difference between the two decades is statistically significant (p > 0.5). Although the token count for the 1600-1603 period is too low to make any general conclusions, it fits with the rise identified between the 1580s and 1590s. The localised 'dip' suggests that the differences between the pre- and post-accession periods are unlikely to relate directly to Elizabeth's accession.

	Total	% do	Do /1000 words
1580s	58	3.4	0.15
1590s	56	16.1	0.5
1600s	4	75.0	1.0

Table 23: Negative *do* by decade. QEIC post-accession correspondence.

In the macro-level data, there is no comparable decline during this period. To find evidence of a 'dip', we must look at the seventeenth-century CEEC data, where the frequency of negative *do* falls from 25.7% to 15.2% at the start of the century, before the variant reinitiates its ascent towards becoming the dominant form (Nurmi 1999: 148). Nurmi

---

[32] The difference between Elizabeth and CEEC in the 1580-1599 sub-period is statistically highly significant (p > 0.001).

(1999: 179) has previously explained the dip with her Scottish hypothesis. It is possible that the decline of negative *do* in Elizabeth's correspondence anticipates this later drop because she accommodated to the preferences of James VI, although my analysis of affirmative *do* found no evidence to support a theory of accommodation. In the following sections, I consider the roles of different factors that could explain the trend for negative *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect.

Systemic Factors

In my analysis of negative *do* it is first necessary to establish the influence of systemic factors in Elizabeth's preferences. It is possible that *do*-inhibiting contexts may be over-represented in the material, given the relatively small dataset, and this needs to be accommodated for in my interpretation of Elizabeth's idiolect. Previous studies of negative *do* found that particular verbs lagged behind other forms in the uptake of negative *do*. Ellegård (1953) identified verbs in his literary corpus that displayed this behaviour, referred to collectively as the *know*-group: *know*, *boot*, *care*, *doubt*, *mistake*, *trow*, *fear*, *skill* and *list*. In the CEEC, Nurmi found *know* and *doubt* to be significant in her analysis, with the other verb forms highly infrequent in, or absent from, her material (1999: 150).

	Total	% do
Know	31	3.2
Main	88	14.8

Table 24: Negative *do* (%) main and *know* group verbs. QEIC post-accession correspondence.

In the pre-accession QEIC data, there are no *know*-group verbs present in the negative declarative data. The figure for this period thus represents the main–group verbs. In the post-accession data, three *know*-group verbs are present: *fear*, *know* and *doubt*. Re-classification into two groups suggests a lag in *know*-group frequency, at 3.2% *do* (n = 1), although the distribution is not statistically significant. For the period 1560-1599, the *know*-group verbs in CEEC show a frequency of 8.8% negative *do* (re-calculated from Nurmi 1999: 151). In terms of the diffusion of the change across systemic environments, Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences are congruent with the general trends. The infrequency of *know*-group verbs also indicates that the low percentage of negative *do* is not caused by the over-representation of *do*-limiting contexts. In the following discussion, my figures for Elizabeth refer to the overall frequency of negative *do*, with no distinction between *know*-group and other verbs.

76

The analysis of social factors may provide some insight into the downward 'dip' in Elizabeth's correspondence. The greater deviation from the macro-level trends in the post-accession correspondence leads me to focus my discussion on this period. The availability of comparable social groups in CEEC is also much improved for the latter decades of the sixteenth century, and shows a greater level of diversity (Nurmi 1999).

The first social category I wish to consider is gender (Table 25). In the CEEC 1580-1599 sub-period, Nurmi found that men use negative *do* more frequently than women (Nurmi 1999: 153). Elizabeth's usage is lower than both genders, but is closer in number to female informants.[33] This echoes the similarity found between female informants and Elizabeth's use of affirmative *do* in the same period. However, the strength of the comparison for negative *do* is less convincing; the percentage for Elizabeth is almost half that for female informants in CEEC, and without prior knowledge of the connection for affirmative *do* it would be reasonable to assert that Elizabeth uses negative *do* at a frequency that shows little similarity to either gender.

	Elizabeth (%)	CEEC men (%)	CEEC women (%)
1580-1599	9.6	26.9	16
1600-1619	-	14	17

Table 25: Negative *do* (%), Elizabeth (QEIC correspondence) and CEEC male and female informants (adapted from Nurmi 1999: 153).

Elizabeth's deviant usage in the post-accession period is also clear when compared with other social groups. Education level shows minimal fit; her usage is lower than the 26.1% for informants with a high level of education (Elizabeth's biographical social group) and much lower than informants with minimal education (30.3%) (Nurmi 1999: 156-7) (p > 0.001). There is a similar lack of correlation between Elizabeth (9.6%) and her domicile group, the Court (32.7%). The difference is statistically significant (p > 0.001). The discord is unexpected, based on the historical evidence of Elizabeth's centrality at the Court. It does compare with Elizabeth's use of affirmative declarative *do*, however, which shows similar deviant properties in this period.

---

[33] The difference between Elizabeth and male CEEC informants is statistically highly significant (p > 0.001); the distribution between Elizabeth and female informants is not.

	% negative do
Men	26.9
Women	16
Educated – higher	26.1
Educated – other	30.3
Court	32.7
London	21.7

Table 26: Negative *do* 1580-1599 (%). CEEC social groups (adapted from Nurmi 1999).

Overall, the comparison with expected social groups shows little fit with Elizabeth's low use of negative *do* in the post-accession period, suggesting that the developmental trends seen in her correspondence may be idiosyncratic. Furthermore, the contrast with the conformity of her pre-accession correspondence indicates that different factors may have operated on Elizabeth's idiolect to change her preferences from conformative to deviant. Yet, there is currently no evidence to suggest that this relates specifically to her accession.

Interactive Factors

The trends for negative *do* in the QEIC correspondence show intriguing variation across the represented decades. Due to the relatively small size of the corpus, it is feasible that the different recipients, topics and composition contexts may contribute to the diachronic distribution.

The pre-accession letters show a rate of *do* (20%) that matches the macro-level trends in CEEC. However, the variant is not equally distributed throughout the pre-accession QEIC correspondence, but instead is localised to two letters written to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector during the Seymour Affair:

41. For if I *did* know them, and **did not declare** them, I were wonderfully and above all the rest to be rebuked (c. January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

42. And to say that which I knew of my self I **did not think** should have displeased the council or your Grace (21st February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

43. to the which thing I **do not see** that your Grace has made any direct answer at this time (21st February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

By comparison, there is only one non-*do* construction in the same group of letters. Interestingly, this occurs in a section of reported speech (with the negator and object inverted):

44. so she writ that she **thought it not** best for fear of suspicion (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

In the previous chapter, I found that Elizabeth's letters to Seymour contained a higher frequency of affirmative *do* than other letters in the pre-accession period. I identified these examples as discursive foregrounding *do*, a particular type of affirmative periphrasis used to highlight a particular section of text to emphasise or intensify the content. Negative *do* in the Seymour letters may show a comparable function; Rissanen (1999: 246) suggests that an emphatic role was a likely early promoting factor for *do*-periphrasis in negative constructions, and Culpeper and Kytö's (2010: 195-7) analysis of the CED identifies a similar role in spoken-mode genres. Linguists have also speculated that the affirmative variant helped to promote periphrasis in negative contexts (Rissanen 1999: 271), a hypothesis that may find support in (41). Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 195-7) have observed that negative *do* operates as a cohesive marker in contemporary trial records and depositions to link topics, reflecting the greater interactive properties of these genres. The examples from the Seymour letters are highly compatible with all three suggestions. In the letters, Elizabeth is pleading her case, and responding to a series of questions or accusations addressed to her in an earlier letter or encounter (e.g. 43). What is not seen in these letters is any evidence that Elizabeth used negative *do* for more literary or rhetorical purposes, a function I identified in the affirmative *do* data.

In the post-accession corpus, James VI is the main recipient of letters containing negative *do*, at a frequency of 14.9%. Only one other recipient, Robert Devereux, receives a letter containing negative *do*, and it is difficult to assess if this restricted distribution between recipients is due to interactive factors or simply reflects the greater representation of James VI in the corpus. The chronological distribution of negative *do* indicates that it may be the latter. Of the 13 tokens of negative *do* in letters to James VI, only two occur in the 1580s. The majority occur in letters written after 1590, and the difference is statistically significant (p > 0.5). If Elizabeth was using *do* differently by recipient then we might expect it to distribute more evenly in the letters to James VI. The recipient patterns also provide counter-evidence for the hypothesis that Elizabeth moderated her usage of negative *do* to accommodate to James VI, in anticipation of the macro-level effect described by Nurmi's Scottish hypothesis (1999: 179).

The negative *do* constructions in the post-accession letters show some resemblance to the examples seen in the Seymour letters. There is no clear evidence of a cohesive function, but I can identify instances of intensification and emphasis. Examples (47, 48) are introduced by Elizabeth's opinion (*assure, vow*) of the negated action, followed by an *if*-statement. Negative *do* could be seen to intensify the contrastive statement, a function I previously identified in affirmative declarative in the post-accession correspondence. Yet,

similar properties are also present in the non-*do* constructions indicating that their influence was minor.

45. I assure you if I **did not trust** your words I should esteem but at small Value your Writings (May 1586, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

46. I Vow if you **do not** rake it to the bottom you will verify What many a Wise man hath (Viewing your proceedings) judged of your guiltiness of your own Wrack (January 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

47. Your excuse will play the boiteux If you **make not** sure work with the likely men to do it (August 1588, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

48. I pray God he be so well handled as he may Confess all his Knowledge in the Spanish Conspiracy and that you **use not** this man as slightly as you have done the Ringleaders of this treason (January 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

49. although I **do not doubt** as now I *do* perceive that you should think them now overstale (January 1586, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

(49) is of particular interest, as it occurs with a *know*-group verb (*doubt*). The presence of negative *do* in this context may be connected to the instance of affirmative declarative *do* that follows; this is further evidence in support of the hypothesis that the two forms were connected in Elizabeth's idiolect.

Unlike affirmative *do*, which showed persistence in particular contexts during this period, the post-accession correspondence provides no definite evidence that Elizabeth made a distinction between negative *do* and post-verbal *not* according to interactive factors. The discursive functions identified in the Seymour letters are less evident in her post-accession correspondence.

Stylistic Factors

The final stage of my analysis of negative *do* in Elizabeth's idiolect considers the potential influence of stylistic variation. I have been unable to satisfactorily explain why her use of the variant fails to conform to the macro-level norm in the post-accession correspondence using social, systemic and interactive factors. However, there is one macro-level resource I have yet to mention - Ellegård's (1953) literary corpus. In my analysis of affirmative *do*, I found that this corpus showed best fit with Elizabeth's usage, despite the dating of the rise and fall occurring earlier than the findings of more recent computerized investigations. In the case of negative *do*, Ellegård's literary corpus again provides the best match for the trends in Elizabeth's correspondence. This suggests that stylistic variation is also a significant factor in her use of negative *do*, as well as for affirmative contexts.

80
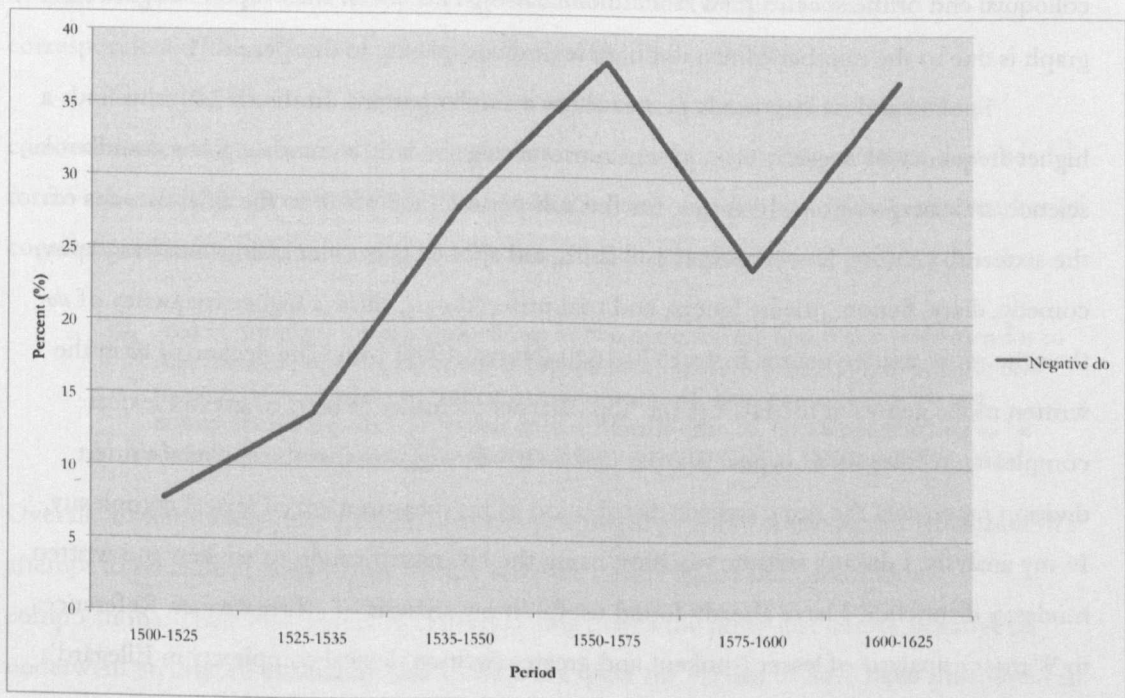
Figure 5: Negative *do* (%) in Ellegård (1953).

The significance of stylistic variation for this variant is not limited to Elizabeth's idiolect. Macro-level studies have identified stylistic variation as a key factor in the development of negative *do* during the Early Modern period. Anthony Warner, working from Ellegård's data, suggests that the 'dramatic collapse' in the final decades of the sixteenth century is attributable to a stylistic re-evaluation of the variable (2005: 258; see Figure 5, above). Warner's analysis divides Ellegård's corpus into texts of greater and lesser lexical complexity. Lexical complexity refers to the 'informational density' and 'exact informational content' of a text, and Warner established the level of complexity in the corpus using two components: type-token ratio and the average word length. A high ratio and high average word length indicate a text with a high lexical complexity; these are typically texts at the more formal and written (literary) end of the spectrum. A low ratio and low average word length are typical of less formal and spoken texts (Warner 2005: 260).

Warner finds a distinct correlation between lexical complexity and the rate of negative *do*. In the early to mid-sixteenth century, texts with higher lexical complexity (i.e. those with more "literary" attributes) contain a greater frequency of *do* than contemporary low complexity texts. However, in the final decades of the sixteenth century the rate of *do* plummets in the texts with high lexical complexity. Warner interprets the decline as evidence of a radical re-evaluation of the negative *do* in texts most concerned with style. By contrast, texts of low lexical complexity show a slow but steady rise in the rate of *do* from sixteenth-century levels, indicating that the construction was unaffected at the more vernacular or

81

colloquial end of the spectrum (Warner 2005: 264-6). The size of the drop in Ellegård's graph is due to the number of texts of high lexical complexity in this period.[34]

Spoken and written mode genres show a similar pattern. In the HC, Nurmi finds a higher frequency of negative *do* in genres representing the written mode e.g. law, handbooks, science, treatises, sermons, histories, for the sub-period 1500-1570. In the final decades of the sixteenth century, however there is a shift, and spoken genres including 'autobiography, comedy, diary, fiction, private letters, and trial proceedings', show a higher frequency of *do* than the more written genres from 1570-1640 (Nurmi 1999: 146). The decline of *do* in the written mode genres in the HC fits the 'dip' Warner identifies in texts of greater lexical complexity in Ellegård's corpus. Warner (2005: 264-5) suggests that the spoken/written division represents the same stylistic distribution as his measurement of lexical complexity. In my analysis, I discuss stylistic variation using the HC classification of spoken and written modes; a distinction I have already found useful in my analysis of affirmative *do*. References to Warner's analysis of lesser (spoken) and greater (written) lexical complexity in Ellegård's corpus should be taken as loosely synonymous.

As Table 27 shows, the diachronic data from Elizabeth's correspondence shows a similar and corresponding 'dip' in the final decades of the sixteenth century. By examining the other genres in QEIC, it should be possible to identify if the dip is connected to the re-evaluation of *do*. If Elizabeth follows the macro-level literary trends, we would expect the frequency of negative *do* to be highest in her pre-accession translations, as the most written and literary genre of this period. In the post-accession period, evidence of stylistic re-evaluation should manifest a drop in frequency across all genres, but with the greatest difference in the translations. As the most literary genre, this is where the stylistic pressures would be most acute.

	Total do/non-do	% negative do	Do / 1000 words
PreA correspondence	15	20.0	0.5
PostA correspondence	119	11.8	0.4
Speeches	19	15.8	0.5
PreA translations	59	72.9	1.9
PostA translations	27	3.7	0.1

Table 27: Frequency of negative *do*. QEIC correspondence, speeches and translations.

The figures (see Table 27) for pre- and post-accession translations meet my predictions and provide persuasive evidence that the trends in Elizabeth's post-accession writing are a consequence of her awareness of, and response to, the stylistic re-evaluation of negative *do*. The frequency of negative *do* is very high in the pre-accession translations: 72.9%, or 1.9 times per 1000 words. This is the highest level of negative *do* identified in any

---

[34] Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of the present investigation to establish the lexical complexity of Elizabeth's correspondence and other writings.

of Elizabeth's writings, dwarfing the frequency identified in her pre-accession correspondence (the difference is statistically significant, p > 0.001).

In the pre-accession translations, it is significant that many of the negative constructions co-occur with affirmative declarative *do*, offering further evidence that the forms are interrelated in Elizabeth's idiolect. In the data, negative *do* functions as a marker of contrast (*comparatio*), and as a metrical filler for prosodic purposes.

> 50. And in this place we *do* principally sin in two manners: the first is that poor men for to seek the truth of God, **doth not overpass** their nature as it was convenient, but *doth* measure high highness according to the rudeness of their wits, and they **do not comprehend** him such as he *doth* declare himself unto us, but *do* imagine him to be such as they have invented in their own brains (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

Overall, it seems likely that the high frequency of negative *do* is a consequence of Elizabeth's attempt to recreate contemporary literary styles in these earnest and precocious compositions. Their mid-sixteenth century dating marks the point just before negative *do* underwent stylistic re-evaluation and so we can expect the variant to have been prominent in formal literary contexts during Elizabeth's youth and early education.

Elizabeth wrote the post-accession translations approximately two decades after the supposed re-evaluation that occurred around 1575. The frequency of negative *do*, at 3.7%, is much lower in these texts than the pre-accession translations (p > 0.001). The token counts are fairly low, with an overall total of 27 declaratives and only one token of negative *do*, found in Cicero. There are no examples of negative *do* in Boethius. The figures suggest that Elizabeth considered negative *do* unnecessary or inappropriate for these literary texts.

> 51. Which all, if I **did not** confess to be so great (1592, Cicero, QEIC translation).

> 52. But he won who **kindled not** his hate with his fortune but covered it with his mercy, nor **judged not** worthy death (1592, Cicero, QEIC translation).

My results for the translations indicate that Elizabeth did participate in the stylistic evaluation of negative *do* that occurred in the middle to late sixteenth century. However, the macro-level analyses suggest that the re-evaluation only applied to texts at the more written and literary end of the spectrum in the sixteenth century. How can we be certain that the low level of negative *do* in Elizabeth's correspondence is a consequence of the same process? Firstly, the CEEC data suggests that the re-evaluation of negative *do* also had implications on this genre. The drop seen in the early seventeenth century is evidence of the permeation of the stylistic evaluation - 'a social psychological fact' - moving from the more explicit, literary and public contexts represented by Ellegård's corpus to less formal, socially representative texts of CEEC (Warner 2005: 271). In sociolinguistic terms, this represents a 'change from above'. Elizabeth applies the stylistic re-evaluation throughout her idiolect and thus anticipates the trend in correspondence that occurred some twenty years later. I made the

same hypothesis for the decline of affirmative *do* in QEIC. The parallel evidence for both declarative *do* forms provides additional support for this interpretation.

Interestingly, the slight upward trend seen in the 1590s correspondence (see Table 23) also fits with Ellegård's results, suggesting that Elizabeth was acutely aware of the stylistic trends attached to negative *do*. This is a remarkable property and provides insight into her engagement with the literary fashions. Her presence at the Court, the domicile most concerned with prestigious linguistic forms, and the source of much Elizabethan literature, provides biographical evidence to contextualise the trend. Indeed, the strength of the re-evaluation in her correspondence, which pre-dates the change in CEEC, suggests she adopted the stylistic change at a very early stage.

An alternative interpretation of the rise seen in Elizabeth's 1590s correspondence is that it correlates with the general increase of negative *do* seen in spoken-mode texts at the macro-level e.g. CEEC correspondence (Nurmi 1999: 147), CED trials and depositions (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 195), because Elizabeth's correspondence became more informal over time. A more detailed analysis of the lexical complexity of Elizabeth's correspondence, following Warner's (2005) methodology, would help to indicate which is the better explanation. It may be that both explanations are equally applicable.

The frequency of negative *do* in the parliamentary speeches (15.8% or 0.5 times per 1000 words) is slightly higher than in the post-accession correspondence (11.8%, or 0.4 times per 1000 words), although the difference is not statistically significant. Given that the speeches represent the years 1563-1586, we might expect the figure to mirror the frequency of the 1580s correspondence (3.4%), suggesting this genre shows less of a decline. The distribution of tokens across the six speeches is fairly unbalanced, with the majority of *do* and non-*do* occurring in the speeches from 1586. For the earlier decades, only the 1566 speech contains tokens, with one for each declarative context. It is therefore not possible to say, with the present data, if Elizabeth used *do* more frequently in her earlier speeches.

Treating the speech data collectively, the function of *do* seems relatively stable and this can explain the lesser 'dip'. The following examples indicate that Elizabeth used negative *do* to create cohesion in her speeches and to intensify her expression. I identified a similar function in the Seymour letters, and made comparison with evidence from macro-level spoken mode genres, such as data from the CED (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 195-7). In (53), negative *do* collocates with a *know*-group verb, which could indicate that Elizabeth was more inclined to use the variant in the 1560s – before the stylistic re-evaluation – than in the later decades.

      53. I **marvel not** much that bridleless colts **do not know** their rider's hand (5th
            November 1566, QEIC speeches).

In an example from the 1580s, the extra syllable provided by periphrastic *do* appears to reinforce the negation and provides a necessary contrast with the extensive coordinate negation (*nor*) of the preceding text. This example occurs at the point where Elizabeth avoids giving a direct answer to the request that she allow the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. Again, affirmative *do* occurs in close proximity to the negative form.

> 54. I am not so void of judgement as not to see mine own peril, nor yet so ignorant as not to know it were in nature a foolish course to cherish a sword to cut mine own throat, nor so careless as not to weigh that my life daily is in hazard; but this I *do* consider: that many a man would put his life in danger for the safeguard of a king. **I do not say** that so will I, but I pray you think that I have thought upon it (24th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

The instances of negative *do* in Elizabeth's parliamentary speeches may therefore be motivated by the demands of formal oration. The macro-level data from the CED showed no decline or 'dip' in the formal spoken genres during the Early Modern period (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 195-7), suggesting they were exempt from the literary re-evaluation identified by Warner (2005). One possible interpretation is that the level of *do* found in the parliamentary speeches is lower than the macro-level frequencies of CEEC and CED data because Elizabeth is suppressing her use of the construction in non-discursive contexts, in line with the re-evaluation seen in her translations and correspondence, but continuing to use it for discursive functions. Unfortunately, the low token counts for the speeches prevent any definitive conclusions.

Summary

My analysis indicates that Elizabeth was a 'mid-range' user of negative declarative *do* during the pre-accession period, based on a comparison between her correspondence and the macro-level data in CEEC. The result differs from my finding that Elizabeth was a leader in the change for affirmative *do*, which was at a similar macro-level stage (new and vigorous) in the period. It seems probable that this reflects the narrower function of negative *do* than the affirmative form in her idiolect. In her correspondence, negative *do* is used to intensify and add cohesion to the text, but there is no evidence of a more literary or rhetorical usage.

From being an average user, Elizabeth leads the 'dip' in the latter half of the sixteenth century. As a linguistic change, there is no indication that the changes over time relate directly to her accession. Instead, an explanation can be found in the broader socio-historical context, with Elizabeth participating in the stylistic re-evaluation of the form.

Affirmative and negative *do* appear to be linked in Elizabeth's idiolect, with the 'dip' in negative *do* and affirmative *do* showing the same stylistic sensitivity. The recent macro-level studies gave no indication that the trends in her correspondence would fit best with

Ellegård's literary corpus. Yet the similarities between Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences, and the macro-level data for the all-male literary corpus are striking. This is best shown by combining the results from the different genres in QEIC to create an 'overall' figure – replicating, to a greater degree, the mixed (literary) genres used in Ellegård's data. For both contexts, Elizabeth's usage parallels Ellegård's findings for the later decades. The similarity for affirmative *do* is most striking. For negative *do*, the low token counts – even when using the whole of QEIC – cause problems for the middle period (1550-1575), but Elizabeth's idiolect shows the same downward trend as the literary corpus.
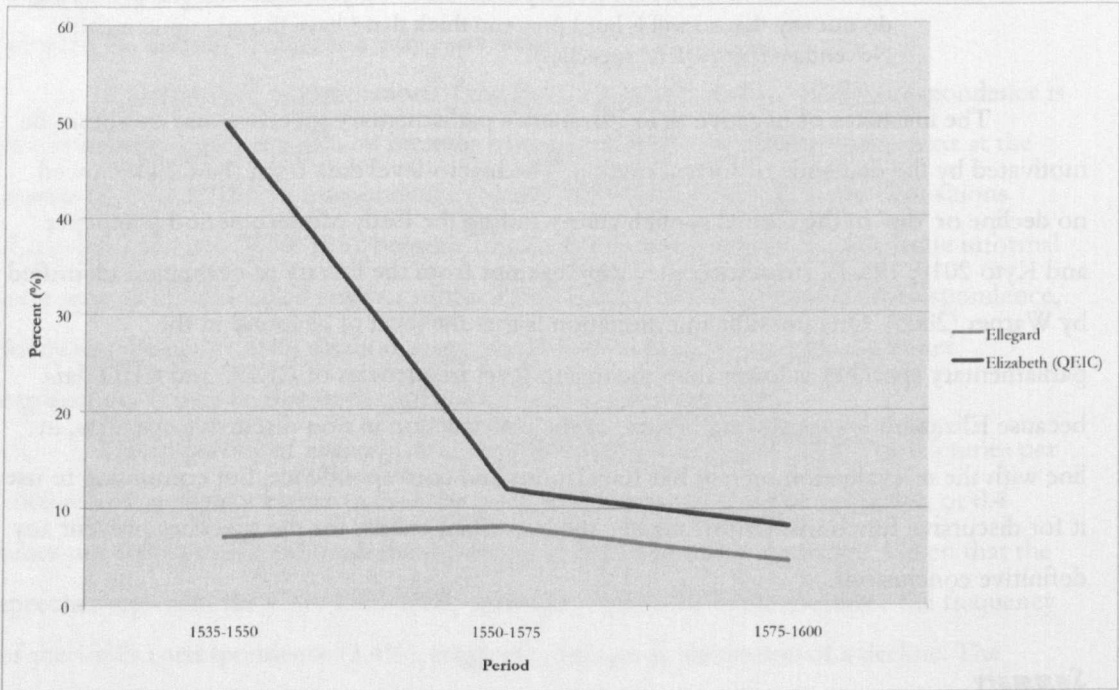
Figure 6: Affirmative *do* (%), Ellegård (1953) and QEIC (all genres).
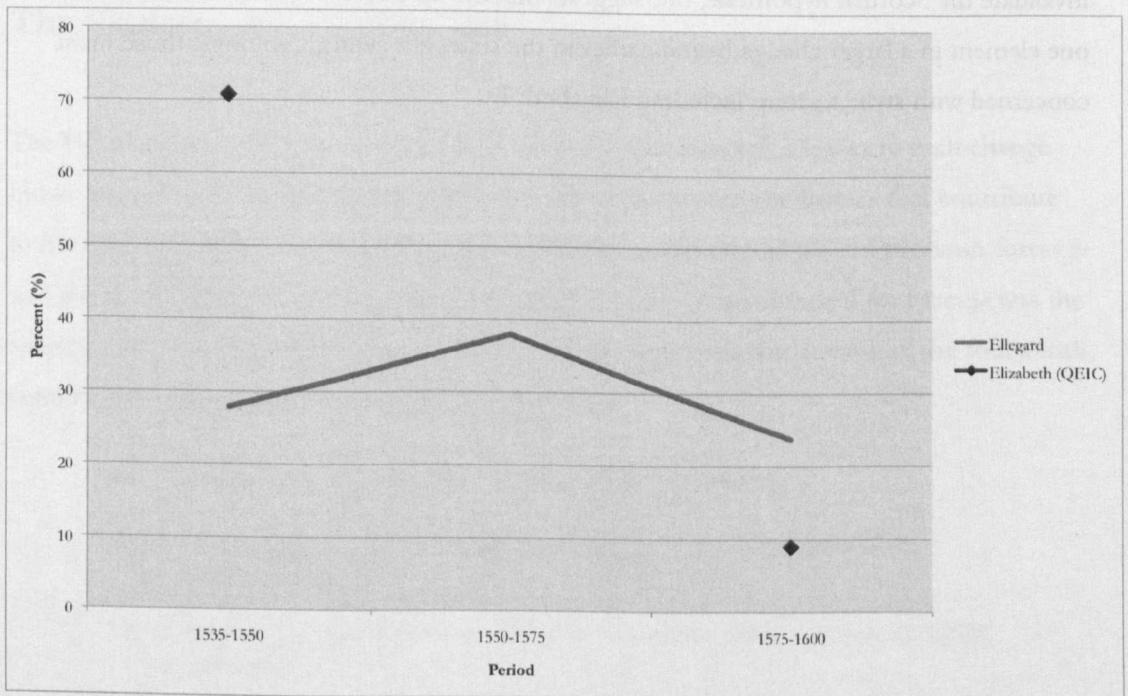
Figure 7: Negative *do* (%), Ellegård (1953) and QEIC (all genres).

My analysis has also shown that the contexts of use for negative *do* and affirmative *do* are similar in Elizabeth's idiolect. Previous studies suggest that the two variants influenced and promoted the other in EModE (e.g. Nurmi 1999, Rissanen 1999), but other approaches have preferred to treat the two variants as distinct and independent forms; Wischer's (2008) investigation of the demise of affirmative *do*, for example, makes only a passing reference to the negative context (2008: 139). My idiolectal analysis provides persuasive evidence that the development of the two contexts were intertwined, at least in Elizabeth's idiolect.

As my final point in my analysis of *do*-periphrasis, I wish to reflect on Nurmi's Scottish hypothesis. In the previous chapter, I found little evidence that the decline of affirmative *do* in Elizabeth's correspondence was a result of accommodation with James VI. My findings for negative *do* provide an even stronger case against the accommodation hypothesis, with James VI the main recipient of negative *do* in the post-accession period. Stylistic variation provides a more convincing explanation for the decline in QEIC.

Whilst this does not disprove Nurmi's hypothesis, it is somewhat jarring that Elizabeth anticipates the later macro-level trend, but for reasons seemingly unconnected to those stated by the Scottish hypothesis. What seems more likely is that Elizabeth was at the leading edge of the stylistic re-evaluation of periphrastic *do* and implemented the change across her writing from the 1580s onwards. By the time the stylistic re-evaluation had begun to filter through to the mid-range – i.e., the main bulk of informants in CEEC – the Scots had arrived at the Court. The infrequency of periphrasis in their dialect may have reinforced the stylistic re-evaluation currently underway in EModE. Thus my idiolectal data does not

invalidate the Scottish hypothesis, but suggests that the accession of James VI was merely one element in a larger change begun earlier in the sixteenth century, amongst those most concerned with style: a group including Elizabeth I.

The Replacement of *Ye* by *You*

The following five chapters are thematically linked, with Elizabeth a leader in each change. However, as I will show, there are similarities and differences in the factors that contribute to her leading position. The present chapter investigates the second person pronoun forms *ye* and *you*. In the fifteenth century, the second-person pronoun was marked for case: *ye* was the subject form (55) and *you* the object (56). The forms show variation as early as the fourteenth century, with *you* replacing *ye* in subject position (57).

> 55. **Ye** shall commonly see (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

> 56. I will send **you** word of them (January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

> 57. **You** shall find that few princes will agree (November 1585, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Over the course of the fifteenth century, the generalisation of *you* to both positions became more frequent. The situation in the sixteenth century is one of considerable variation, with the forms occurring in both subject and object position (Lass 1999: 154). In the subsequent analysis I follow the methodology used by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) to collect the macro-level data in CEEC, and focus on the variation of subject-position pronouns only. I identified all instances of the forms *ye* and *you* in subject position in QEIC using the *AntConc* concordance program. My dataset excludes accusative and infinitive clauses (e.g. *I pray ye/you do something*), as Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 61) found these contexts to be 'sites of confusion'. The methodology does not limit the appreciation of the *ye/you* variable in Elizabeth's idiolect, as *ye* does not occur in object position in QEIC.[35]

Results

The results for *ye/you* in the QEIC correspondence are shown in Table 28. *You* is the generalised form in subject position in Elizabeth's idiolect, with the change complete in the pre-accession period. There is no indication that this linguistic change was influenced by her accession, or indeed that there was even a process of change over the course of her life. The correspondence results suggest that Elizabeth adopted the incoming variant from childhood.

---

[35] The second-person pronoun *thou* occurs infrequently in Elizabeth's correspondence, presumably reflecting her recognition of *you* as the polite and decorous pronominal form socially appropriate for epistolary writing (see Lass 1999: 152-3).

	Total ye and you	% you
Pre-accession correspondence	28	100
Post-accession correspondence	405	99.8

Table 28: Second person pronoun forms (*ye/you*), subject position only. % *You*. QEIC correspondence.

Elizabeth's uptake of *you* in the pre-accession period contrasts considerably with the macro-level figures. Although *you* generalised very quickly, taking only 80 years (1480-1560) to progress from the incipient to complete stages of a change, the macro-level real-time data shows that *you* accounted for 37% of forms in subject position in the 1520-1559 sub-period; i.e. the mid-range stage of the change. It then rose to 96% in 1560-1599 when the change completed (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 60, 218; see Table 29). The difference in Elizabeth's uptake and the CEEC figures is statistically significant for both periods (p > 0.001).

	Total ye and you	% you
1520-1559	4254	37
1560-1599	2755	96

Table 29: *You* (%) in subject position in CEEC. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 218).

Social Factors

The first social factor that appears relevant to Elizabeth's participation in the change is her age. It is likely that her youth during the early stages of the change in the mid-sixteenth century encouraged her rapid acquisition of *you* in subject position, in contrast to the older generations. The CEEC data shows generational patterns in the progression of the change. In the 1520-1539 period, Elizabeth's father Henry VIII (b. 1491) uses *you* 52.6% of the time, whereas the older Thomas Wolsey (b. 1473) does not use *you* at all (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 101-3). Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 96) include results for Elizabeth based on the CEEC sub-file, and, interestingly, they also find her to be a leader in the change; she is one of the youngest informants in their dataset for the 1540-1559, and one of the few to use *you* exclusively at this time. There is thus persuasive evidence that age is a factor in Elizabeth's leading uptake of *you*.

However, I consider 'age' as a sole factor to be an unsatisfactory explanation for Elizabeth's linguistic leadership. As Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg acknowledge of their CEEC results, 'there is no unfailing correspondence between the age of an informant and his or her choice of variant' (2003: 96), although they fail to expand on the relation this statement has to Elizabeth, for example, or for other informants. However, the CEEC results illustrate their point clearly. In 1540-1559 sub-period, Henry VIII uses *you* 80% of the time. Yet his contemporary in generation, Thomas Cromwell (b. c. 1485) does not participate

in the change at all and continues to use *ye* in subject position (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 102). The patterns exemplify a principle of sociolinguistics that a speaker's linguistic choices arise from multiple, intersecting factors (Bayley 2002: 118). Thus, the role of other social factors in the change, as well as other linguistic factors, may offer further explanation for Elizabeth's leading position in the change.

Examining the CEEC macro-level results, another relevant social category for my analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect is gender, and particularly in relation to the biographical evidence for her early childhood. In CEEC, women lead the uptake of *you* throughout the sixteenth century. In the 1540-1559 sub-period, women use subject *you* 75% of the time, whereas male informants show a lower usage of 53.1% (Nevalainen 2000: 54). The near-complete stage of the change in the language of female informants offers a better match with Elizabeth's pre-accession idiolect. The strength of the correlation increases if the prominent role of women as Elizabeth's companions and educators in her formative years is taken into account (Borman 2009: 44-61, 99-126). (58-60) show the use of *ye/you* by several women connected to Elizabeth's childhood, taken from PCEEC.

58. I knowe not wether **ye** be aparaphryser or not, yf **ye** be lerned in that syence yt ys possyble **ye** may of one worde make ahole sentence (Catherine Parr, 1547; ORIGIN2, 152).

59. I parceyv strange newes concernyng a sewte **you** have in hande to the Quene for maryage; for the soner obtayneng wherof **you** seme to thynke that my lettres myghte do you pleasure (Mary Tudor I, 1547; ORIGIN2, 150).

60. Wherein as **you** shall doo that which to youre honor, truthe, and dutie aperteyneth, so shall we remembre the same unto you and yours accordingly (Jane Grey, 1553; ORIGIN2, 185).

The macro-level trends for social rank and domicile support my hypothesis. In the 1520-1559 sub-period, the upper-ranks use subject *you* around 40% of the time, a figure much lower than the pre-accession frequency in QEIC (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 142). I should point out that this figure counts male informants only. Likewise, the generalisation of *you* is at the mid-range stage at the Court for the same period (1520-1559) (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 171-2). In social terms, Elizabeth's age and gender provide the best correlates for her leading uptake of *you* in the pre-accession period.

Familial connections may also be relevant. The CEEC data showed that Henry VIII uses *you* 80% of the time in 1540-1559; a progressive frequency that is even more striking given his death in 1547. Elizabeth's sister Mary, represented in (59), also appears to prefer *you*. Catherine Parr, on the other hand, continues to use *ye* in subject position (58). The biographical accounts suggest that Elizabeth had much greater contact with Parr in the 1540s than she did with her father or sister, living in the Queen's (later Queen Dowager's) household until 1548. Perry (1990: 25) suggests Elizabeth's contact with her father was most

likely in official contexts, such as listening to his speeches. Whilst this may have influenced Elizabeth's political ideologies, it is less clear if it explains her uptake of *you*.

In the post-accession period, the change completes across the macro-level and Elizabeth's usage is now the norm.

Stylistic Factors

For the next stage of my analysis, I consider the role of stylistic factors in Elizabeth's usage. In his discussion of EModE morphology, Lass (1999: 154) notes that one effect of the generalisation of *you* was the restriction of *ye* to 'special registers'.[36] My evidence of *ye/you* in Elizabeth's idiolect has so far been drawn from her correspondence, one of the less formal and literary genres in QEIC. Lass's comments suggest that Elizabeth may show stylistic sensitivity in her use of variable. To investigate this hypothesis, Table 30 shows the findings for *ye/you* in the three genres in QEIC.

	Total (ye/you)	% you
PreA correspondence	28	100
PostA correspondence	405	99.8
Speeches	27	100
PreA translations	5	0
PostA translations	34	100

Table 30: *You* (%) out of *ye/you*. Subject position only. QEIC.

Predominantly, the figures support the evidence in the correspondence. In the post-accession period, the parliamentary speeches and translations contain 100 percent *you* in subject position, suggesting that *ye* lacked even a specialist stylistic function in Elizabeth's post-accession idiolect.

In the pre-accession translations, the results do not follow the trends seen in the contemporary correspondence. Instead, *ye* occurs five times, and *you* not at all in subject position. An explanation lies in the pronominal system Elizabeth appears to be using in these texts, adopting the second-person pronominal system of ME, rather than the Early Modern system seen in her correspondence. Second-person *thou/thee* are the main second-person pronouns in the pre-accession translations, with over 250 tokens, and are used to refer to singular persons. Subject *ye* and object *you* refer to plural referents, see (61), explaining why *ye/you* occurs comparatively infrequently in these works.

> 61. Wherefore the apostle doth teach us, that such an opinion that we have of God which is uncertain and without order, is ignorance of God. In the time (said he) that **ye** did not know God, **ye** did serve unto those which naturally be no Gods (1545, Calvin, QEIC translation).

---

[36] I take 'special registers' to mean high register, literary genres such as religious prose.

The results could indicate that Elizabeth's idiolect changed from the archaic ME system to the EModE system in only a couple of years. However, this seems unlikely. The macro-level data shows that in the 1520-1559 sub-period, a third of the informants studied show variable grammars, i.e. use both *ye* and *you* in subject position (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 92-3); given the generalised status of *you* in Elizabeth's pre-accession correspondence, it seems improbable that she would change her usage from the old to the new system so rapidly, without any evidence of the transitional stage.[37]

Instead, I believe that the distribution of second-person pronouns in the pre-accession translations is evidence of stylistic variation. The pre-accession translations are pious, formal works, designed to display Elizabeth's scholarly abilities (Teague 2000: 33). Whilst they may not exemplify the 'special register' to which Lass refers (1999: 154), the conscious utilisation of the older pronominal system for these works suggests that the advanced stage of the generalisation of *you* in Elizabeth's idiolect made the second-person pronoun forms stylistically significant in more formal, literary genres. In the post-accession translations, this aspect is no longer apparent, with *you* generalised throughout.[38]

Interactive and Systemic Factors

In the final stage of my analysis, I consider both interactive and systemic factors in Elizabeth's use of *ye/you*; in particular, I focus on the single example of *ye* in the post-accession correspondence, which is located in an autograph postscript to a scribal letter (62):

> 62. Though you have some tainted sheep among your flock, let not that serve for excuse for the rest. We trust you are so carefully regarded as naught shall be left for your excuses, but either ye lack heart or want will, for of fear we will not make mention as that our soul abhors (October 1593, to Edward Norris, QEIC correspondence).

The tone of the postscript is both affectionate and instructive. Elizabeth addresses Edward Norris as 'Ned', and warns him to keep a close eye on the men ('sheep') in his service. Yet, there is little at an interactive level that would explain why Elizabeth would use *ye* in this

---

[37] Unfortunately, there are no comparative forms from the years when the translations were written, 1544 and 1545, in the correspondence corpus. The 1544 letter written to preface Elizabeth's translation of Navarre contains only object-position *you* (1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

[38] In the post-accession translations, the frequency of *thou* is also much lower than the earlier compositions. When viewed alongside the data for *ye/you*, it seems probable that Elizabeth changed her stylistic evaluation of the pronominal paradigm from a numerical to socially structured system. The dominance of polite *you* in the translations, for example, fits with the social significance of the pronoun seen in the late sixteenth century amongst the upper ranks (Lass 1999: 152-153). Unfortunately, the low frequency of *thou* in Elizabeth's correspondence and speeches (the more interactive genres in QEIC) means I am unable to pursue this feature of her idiolect further. See Nevala (2004) for a discussion of *thou/you* in CEEC.

letter, rather than in other letters of a similar tone and function. In addition, whilst the form occurs in subject position, the addressee is singular, not plural, and therefore is not compatible with the ME system she uses in the pre-accession translations.

In fact, the explanation for *ye* may be systemic. In addition to subject *ye*, EModE also contained a weakened (unstressed) form of *you*, also spelled <ye> and a probable cause of confusion between the two pronominal case forms (Lass 1999: 154). If we look at the example above, *ye* indeed occurs in a weak position, with stress falling on the second syllable of 'either' and the verbs 'lack' and 'want'. This implies that the pronoun may reflect Elizabeth's pronunciation of the weak form of *you* rather than a true instance of nominative *ye*.

Summary

My analysis reveals that Elizabeth was a leader in the replacement of subject *ye* by *you*, with the change complete in the pre-accession period. Her young age, and her contact with female speakers who also led the change, are the most convincing social correlates. The link with a familial "lect" is also possible, based on the uptake of Henry VIII and Mary I, although this was problematic when incorporating the biographical context. My analysis also found that stylistic factors were relevant to Elizabeth's usage in the pre-accession period. Her stylistic sensitivity to the variant may have been heightened by the advanced stage of the change in her idiolect, leading to her decision to use the ME pronominal paradigm in the pre-accession translations. The significance of stylistic variation in Elizabeth's idiolect, and its relationship with her position in a linguistic change will be seen again in the chapters that follow.

First- and Second-Person Possessive Determiners

The second variable for which I have found Elizabeth to be a leader of the change is the replacement of the long (*n*-forms) first- and second-person singular possessive determiners (*mine* and *thine*) with the short (*n*-less) forms (*my* and *thy*). By the start of the sixteenth century, the change was already under way, although developing at different rates according to the phonological context. The switch to *my* and *thy* was complete in consonant-initial contexts (63) by 1500 (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 62). The change was a slower process in other environments, with the long forms 'preferred before vowel-initial nouns' (64-65), and to a lesser extent initial-<h> during the sixteenth century (66-67) (Lass 1999: 147).

63. the order of **my** writing (31st December 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

64. **mine** estate of health (1548, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

65. against me or **my** estate (4th July 1602, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

66. **mine** honour, and honesty (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

67. it is true upon **my** honour (January/February 1585, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Because the influence of phonological environment is so significant in the macro-level trends, I incorporate this systemic factor into my overall treatment of Elizabeth's idiolectal data. To account for the different rates of change, I have sorted the tokens into three categories, vowel-initial, <h>-initial and *own* (a word-specific category), using the *AntConc* concordance program to identify the relevant tokens. I consider each category independently and collectively, in order to make like for like comparisons with the different combinations of categories used in the baseline studies.[39]

In Elizabeth's correspondence there are very few second-person possessive determiners, and so I have made the decision to discuss the few tokens of *thy/thine* separately, and qualitatively.[40] My quantitative and general discussion concentrates on the first-person forms in the QEIC correspondence. The macro-level data I use for comparison

---

[39] Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) present the CEEC real-time data for each environment individually, before grouping vowel-initial and *own* contexts together to discuss the different social factors. As will be seen, this decision does not always allow for the best evaluation of Elizabeth's preferences.

[40] Schendl (1997: 179) reports similar difficulties when collecting second-person pronoun data in his multi-genre corpus study.

represents both first and second-person possessive determiners. This should not affect the accuracy of my analysis; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), for instance, make no remarks that suggest the rate of the change differs between the first and second-person forms.

As expected, Elizabeth uses *my/thy* categorically in consonant-initial contexts and thus I exclude this environment from my analysis.

Results

The results for Elizabeth's correspondence (Table 31) indicate that her uptake of *my* was at an advanced stage in two of the three contexts. In vocalic and <h>-initial contexts, the frequency of *my* is around 85% in the pre-accession correspondence, meeting the threshold for a completed change. In the post-accession correspondence, the figures reach 100%.[41] Only the lexis-specific context *own* shows a slower uptake. Here, *my* accounts for only one of the seven tokens in the pre-accession period (14.3%), placing it at the earliest 'incipient' stage of the change. This rises to the 'nearing completion' stage in the post-accession period, with a rapid shift to 63.2% (12 of the 19 tokens).[42] In two of the three contexts, therefore, there is no evidence of a linguistic shift in response to Elizabeth's accession. It seems likely that the increase of *my* in *own* contexts in the post-accession period reflects the general progression of the change in her idiolect, rather than being triggered by her accession.

	Total: vocalic	% my - vowel	Total: <h>	% my - <h>	Total: own	% my - own
PreA	7	85.7	8	87.5	7	14.3
PostA	68	100.0	31	100.0	19	63.2
Overall	75	98.7	39	97.4	26	73.1

Table 31: *my* (%) out of *my/mine* in three phonological contexts. QEIC correspondence.

Overall, the increase in *n*-less variants that I have identified in Elizabeth's correspondence fits with the diachronic trends in CEEC. The pattern of diffusion across the three contexts also coheres to the macro-level trends, with <h>-initial contexts at the most advanced stage, vocalic contexts second-most advanced, and *own* contexts lagging behind.

The CEEC data uses sub-periods that do not match my pre- and post-accession division, but the token distribution in Elizabeth's correspondence means that the same figures can be used for comparison. In the vocalic contexts, Elizabeth's usage is ahead of the curve; in <h>-initial contexts she is behind (although well within the completed stage of the

---

[41] The difference between the pre- and post-accession figures for <h>-initial and *own* contexts is significant (p > 0.5) and vocalic contexts are very significant (p > 0.01).
[42] No other lexis-specific contexts appear to be relevant in Elizabeth's idiolect.

change). It is in *own* contexts that Elizabeth's usage stands out, appearing to lag behind the CEEC norm in the 1540-1579 period (Table 32).

	% my/thy: vowel	*% my/thy: <h>*	*% my/thy: own*
1500-1539	36	82	12
1540-1579	70	99	36
1580-1619	93	-	60

Table 32: *my/thy* (%) in three contexts. CEEC. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 218).

Before I proceed with my analysis, it is necessary to highlight a potential difference between the QEIC correspondence data and macro-level CEEC data for this particular context. In Elizabeth's letters, *mine* is spelled fully in <h>-initial and vocalic contexts. In *own* environments in her correspondence, however, she does not modify the determiner form. Instead, she alters the adjective e.g. <my none> and <my own>. In May (2004a), his modernized transcripts of Elizabeth's pre-accession correspondence render <my none> as 'mine own' (e.g. 2004a: 108). The logic behind his editorial decision is understandable for the intended readership. However, the OED recognises *nown* (<none>) as a distinct and contemporary alternative to *own*, originally derived through meta-analysis in the fourteenth century (*OED* Online [accessed 05/05/11]) (meta-analysis is common throughout Indo-European languages; e.g. the transformation of 'a nadder' to 'an adder'). The OED citation list for *nown* includes two examples by Elizabeth (from a letter to Edward Seymour, included in QEIC). This suggests that incorporating 'my none' into the *own* category for a comparison with CEEC is a questionable decision, if in fact she distinguished between *own* and *nown* as two separate adjective forms.[43]

However, treating *nown* as a distinct context to *own* makes it difficult to calculate the figures for the variable in a reliable way. Whilst a good number of the tokens are derived from manuscripts from which I have made my own transcriptions, others in the corpus are based on modern editions and it is difficult to determine if they too follow May's editorial approach.

As I later show with examples from PCEEC, the CEEC data includes *own* and *nown*, although it appears that Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg chose not to distinguish between the two adjectives in their macro-level analysis. Therefore, my analysis will continue to treat the examples of <my none> as comparable with the long form 'mine own'. However, the possible distinction Elizabeth makes between adjective forms may well explain

---

[43] Wiggins (2011) reports that *nown* is used as pet name in the correspondence between Bess of Hardwick and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. It is feasible that the pet name is a derivative usage of the meta-analysed adjective, given its personal reference and sense of possession.

the lag in this context compared to other phonological environments, and I am mindful of that fact in the following discussion.

A final point that should be addressed before I continue my analysis is the evidence for second-person possessive determiners. The five tokens of *thy/thine* all occur in one letter, addressed to Elizabeth's godson John Harington. The letter is very short and Elizabeth enclosed it with a copy of one of her Parliamentary speeches (1576, QEIC speeches). The note is one of only three letters in QEIC to contain *thou* second-person forms, rather than *you*.

68. Boy Jack, I have made a clerk write fair my poor words for **thine** use, as it cannot be such striplings have entrance into Parliament Assemblies as yet. Ponder them in **thy** hours of leisure and play with them till they enter **thine** understanding, so shalt thou hereafter perchance find some good fruits hereof when **thy** godmother is out of remembrance, and I do this because **thy** father was ready to serve and love us in trouble and thrall (March 1576, to John Harington, QEIC correspondence).

The six tokens show the same distributional pattern as the figures for *my/mine*. *Thine* occurs only in vowel-initial contexts, with *thy* found in consonant-initial and <h>-initial environments. There are no examples of *own*. The lack of tokens is, unfortunately, a common problem when working with historical data. The polite second-person pronoun *you* was the conventional address-form in Early Modern correspondence, and *thou/thy/thine* was less common, particularly in the letters by royalty (Lass 1999: 149; Nevala 2004: 170).

Social Factors

CEEC data suggests that gender, social rank and domicile all played a part in the diffusion of the *n*-less variants from the late fifteenth century onwards, indicating that social factors may help to explain the patterns in Elizabeth's idiolect. As I noted above (footnote 39), the CEEC data combines vocalic and *own* contexts when calculating the influence of the different social factors, and excludes <h>-initial environments from discussion. For comparison, I have re-calculated Elizabeth's idiolectal data in the same way (see Table 33). Admittedly, combining these two contexts in an analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect is less than ideal, as the uptake of *my* is far more advanced in the vocalic environment (100% in 1580-1619 sub-period) than in *own* contexts (62.5%).

Period	% *my - vocalic and own contexts*
1540-1579	52.9
1580-1619	92.9

Table 33: *my* (%): vocalic and *own* contexts combined. QEIC correspondence.

At the macro-level, women lead the uptake of *n*-less variants throughout the sixteenth century; what Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 119) refer to as a

'systematic gender advantage'. Based on the combined results in Table 33, it appears that Elizabeth's usage correlates more closely with male informants (50%) for the 1540-1579 period rather than female informants, who use *my/thy* 60% of the time. However, I believe the difference between vocalic and *own* contexts is important here. Examination of PCEEC shows that <my none> occurs only once in the letters of sixteenth-century female informants, in a letter penned by the elderly Anne Gresham in 1582:

69. so that I mey in goy my **nown** (Anne Gresham, 1582; BACON, II, 197).

By contrast, *nown* occurs in letters by three different male informants in PCEEC. The majority of examples occur in the correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and this finding is interesting from a biographical perspective; Dudley was Elizabeth's contemporary, and a childhood friend before he assumed his position at the Court (70).[44]

70. as one that desyreth no name but **my none** name (Robert Dudley, 1586; LEYCEST, 94).

<mine own> is by far the more common construction in the letters of both male and female informants in PCEEC, including a letter by Elizabeth's sister Mary I. This suggests that Elizabeth's use of <my none> is fairly unusual and lends further support to my hypothesis for her distinct conceptualisation of this environment.

If my analysis proceeds on the assumption that female informants led the change in both phonological contexts, Elizabeth's high uptake of *my* in vocalic contexts (85.7%) correlates most closely with this gender; her usage is well above the CEEC average of 70% for the 1540-1579 period and thus presumably inline with the progressive uptake of female informants. As I also hypothesised in my analysis of *ye/you*, Elizabeth's contact with her early caregivers is a plausible explanation for Elizabeth's exposure to, and subsequent uptake of, *n*-less variants.

The domicile information supports my hypothesis. Even though the data represents the combined vocalic and *own* contexts, the change at the Court in 1540-1579 has only just entered the mid-range stage of the change (> 35%) (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 180); for example, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester (in PCEEC), writing in 1545, consistently uses *mine* in vocalic contexts. The figures show that there is little similarity between Elizabeth and others in her domicile at this time.

The social rank data is more complicated. In the 1540-1579 period, the upper-rank (male only) informants use the *n*-less variants 60% of the time (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 143); a figure comparable with the 52.9% I identified in Elizabeth's idiolect.

---

[44] In a cursory examination of sixteenth-century letters in other collections, I also found *my nown* in the letters of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, written in the 1570s (see Murdin 1759: 169-170).

However, it is not clear how the figure for the upper-ranks fits with the stage of the change in the Court domicile – where many members were also upper-ranking males.

On reflection, the dissimilarity between Elizabeth and the Court supports my hypothesis that the change was instigated during Elizabeth's early childhood, when her exposure to female caregivers was greatest. As a change from below, *my/thy* did not gain ground in more learned circles until the end of the sixteenth century. The peripheral position of women at the Court, such as those involved with Elizabeth's household, suggests a plausible channel through which the forms could enter Elizabeth's repertoire. Her youth may also have enhanced her receptivity to the form.

However, it is difficult to explain quite how Elizabeth came to use the adjective form *nown*, which most likely contributes to the significant lag in the *own* context, compared to her progressive usage in the vowel- and <h>-initial environments.

Stylistic Factors

In his discussion of the change in EModE, Schendl (1997) suggests that the influence of non-systemic factors (i.e. factors other than environment) was negligible in the first half of the sixteenth century, with the variants becoming stylistically significant only in the later decades. Analysing the multiple genres in the HC alongside a self-compiled supplement, he suggests that the long forms 'were the stylistically unmarked forms before vowels' in the early sixteenth century, with no clear patterns of use according to the formality of the genre (Schendl 1997: 185). His analysis of genres written in the latter-half of the century, by contrast, shows a clear gradation across the formal to less formal genres, with the latter containing the greater proportion of *n*-less variants (Schendl 1997: 182). Evidence from private correspondence leads him to propose that vowel-initial short forms 'acquired a stylistic marking as informal' in the final decades of the sixteenth century (1997: 187). His corpus includes a small number of letters between Elizabeth I and James VI, and his stylistic interpretation leads him to suggest that the presence of vowel-initial *my/thy* in these letters is 'surprising' (1997: 186). He was presumably unaware of the advanced stage of the change in Elizabeth's idiolect as a whole (excepting <*own/nown*>), and the dominance of vocalic *n*-less variants in her earliest correspondence.

The stratification of the change in the macro-level CEEC data that I discussed above provides further support for Schendl's general claims. Whilst the data provides no direct insight into the stylistic and interactive associations of the variable, the progression of the change from below, and the delayed uptake of the Court, suggests that *my/thy* forms did not acquire the prestigious associations that would have caused them to supplant *mine/thine* more rapidly. The preservation of the long forms in poetic styles as a 'conscious archaism' in

100

LModE texts (Schendl 1997: 180; see also Lass 1999: 147) is a further sign that the change progressed more slowly in formal and literary genres.

My results for the three genres in QEIC are shown in Table 34. The translations contain first- and second-person possessive determiners and I have included both forms in the figures. The speeches, as with Elizabeth's correspondence, contain only the first-person forms.

	Total (n- and n-less forms)	% my
PreA correspondence	14	50
PostA correspondence	87	92
Speeches	24	20.8
PreA translations	31	41.9 (including *thy*)
PostA translations	10	90 (including *thy*)

Table 34: First- and second-person *n*-less possessive determiners (%). Vocalic and *own* contexts combined. QEIC.

The token frequency in the translations and speeches is low, and thus my discussion treats the figures as a guideline only. However, the picture created by the cross-genre comparison suggests stylistic variation is present in both the pre- and post-accession periods. The pre-accession translations contain a slightly higher proportion of *n*-forms than the contemporary correspondence (p > 0.01) (the data for this genre is taken from the 1544 text, as the 1545 work contains no tokens). There are two properties of note in the pre-accession translation, each of which contrasts with the pre-accession correspondence. Firstly, *my* occurs in vocalic contexts much less frequently (30%) in this genre than in Elizabeth's contemporary correspondence (85.7%), and the greater use of the outgoing *n*-form could be stylistically motivated.

Secondly, in the Navarre manuscript Elizabeth uses *own* e.g. <myne own>, rather than the *nown* form I identified in her correspondence (see 72). Furthermore, the *n*-form *mine* occurs twice in this context. There were no examples of *mine* (only *my*) in the correspondence. This provides further evidence for my argument that *my* + *nown* was distinct from *my/mine* + *own* in her idiolect.

71. satisfy **mine ignorance** and fault (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

72. through **mine own** ill will (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

73. by **my own** fault (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

The differences between the two pre-accession genres can be explained as stylistic variation. The higher frequency of *n*-forms in vocalic contexts and the use of *mine own* (rather than *my nown/own*) in the translation are compatible with the macro-level trends connecting *n*-forms to more formal genres. In my analysis of *ye/you*, I found that Elizabeth used the ME pronoun system in the pre-accession translations. I think it is likely that the possessive

determiners reflect a similar stylistic shift, in order to create a more literary and formal style – one perhaps appropriate to the religious subject. As a comparable genre, Schendl (1997: 182) found that *n*-variants were the dominant form in the bible (based on samples in the HC) throughout the sixteenth century.

In the post-accession translations, the stylistic variation is less pronounced. There is only one example of an *n*-form, second person *thine* in an *own* context (74). In the other nine tokens the *n*-less variants occur in vocalic and *own* contexts, including an example of *nown* (75).

74. All they that were, either have perished by their stubbornness or were saved by thy mercy. So it follows that either none doth live, or they that breathe be won **thine** own (Cicero, 1592, QEIC translations).

75. It ill becomes Philosophy to leave alone an innocent's way. Shall I dread **my nown** blame (Boethius, 1593, QEIC translations).

Schendl hypothesises that the stylistic association between the *n*-forms and more formal texts strengthened in the latter-half of the sixteenth century. In Elizabeth's usage, the correlation is clearest in the pre-accession translations, not in the later texts. Schendl's stylistic hypothesis fits her idiolect most convincingly in the earlier decades.

The frequency of *n*-variants in Elizabeth's post-accession speeches reveals a different trend.[45] In this genre, *my* accounts for only 20.8% of forms in vocalic and *own* environments.

76. for **mine** own life (24th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

77. the trust of **mine** assured strength (1576, QEIC speeches).

However, there are problems regarding the accuracy of these figures. The only autograph example occurs in the 1567 speech, 'my admonitions' (1567, QEIC speeches). The remaining examples of vocalic and *own* contexts survive as apographs only, in the 1576 speech, and the two from 1586. Frustratingly, there are no examples in the other autograph speeches from the 1560s. Thus, I am unable to comment on the variation between <own/nown> in these texts. However, the vocalic environments do show a lower percentage of the incoming *n*-less variant (22%) than in Elizabeth's post-accession correspondence. One possible cause for the greater frequency of the *n*-variants in this genre is the communicative context. The phonological environments are a clear influence on the progression of the change, and it is plausible that the factor would be most influential in genres where articulation and prosody are foregrounded, such as orations, rather than in

---

[45] The difference between the speeches and the post-accession correspondence is statistically significant (p > 0.001).

102

those designed for written transmission (e.g. correspondence or translations). However, it is also important to consider the possibility of scribal interference, even in the 1586 manuscripts that are annotated by Elizabeth's hand. As a result, I hesitate to make any definitive statements about Elizabeth's practice in her speeches.

Overall, my comparison of the correspondence and translations suggests that stylistic variation is a relevant factor in Elizabeth's usage of this variable in the pre-accession period, with the older *n*-variant forms more likely to occur in more formal genres. The correlation is less apparent in the post-accession period, although the speeches may show a stylistically sensitive pattern. As a result, I consider Elizabeth to be a stylistic leader of the change, as well as a linguistic leader in the conventional sense. Whilst I concur with Schendl (1997: 189, fn. 5) that period divisions are necessarily fuzzy, the difference between the pre-accession translations and correspondence suggests that she anticipated the stylistic associations of the *n*-variant, which Schendl dates to the latter-half of the sixteenth century.

Interactive Factors

My stylistic analysis suggests that Elizabeth modified her usage according to the formality of the genre. In the final section, I now examine her correspondence to ascertain if the interactive elements (recipient, function and compositional context) have any discernable influence upon her use of *my* or *mine*. First-person *mine* (or *my nown*) occurs only fifteen times in the QEIC correspondence. The data shows little evidence that the *n*-forms pattern by recipient or by function. She uses *n*-forms in both address forms and within the main body of the letter.

78. to stand in **my nown** wit (21st February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

79. Scribbled with **my own** wracked hand this 23 day of July (1563, Nicholas Throckmorton, QEIC correspondence).

80. I am that prince that never can endure a menace at **my** enemy's hand (May 1594, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

81. **Mine own** Crow (1597, Lady Margaret Norris, QEIC correspondence).

In sum, interactive factors have little explanatory power. I have already shown that Elizabeth's letters contain the lowest frequency of *n*-variants of the three QEIC genres. It seems probable that the greater informality of her correspondence reduces the level of stylistic markedness attached to the variants at the opposite end of the formality spectrum. Coupled with the advanced stage of the change in her idiolect, this leaves little scope for local, interactive significance. The low profile of the variable would explain why she makes

little distinction in her letters to James VI or any other recipient (cf. Schendl 1997), despite adjusting her preferences for other linguistic features in the same genre.

Summary

The QEIC data offers a complex picture of the *n*- and *n*-less variants in Elizabeth's idiolect. In <h>-initial and vocalic contexts, the change is well developed, placing her amongst the leaders of the change in the pre- and post-accession periods. There is no evidence that her accession affected her preferences for the variable. My analysis of social factors identifies age and gender as key correlates that, when combined with biographical evidence, create a probable scenario between Elizabeth and her caregivers to explain the early and rapid adoption of the *n*-less variant (*my*). Stylistically, my data also indicates that Elizabeth was a leader in attaching stylistic significance to the long *n*-variant, with different patterns found in her pre-accession correspondence and translations. My results illustrate how the focused data of an idiolectal analysis can highlight the range of aspects involved in linguistic variation and in turn expound the relationship to macro-level language change.

The merits of a multi-factored approach also emerge in my analysis of the complexities of the *own* context, with the identification of the *own* and *nown* forms in Elizabeth's writing both intriguing and methodologically problematic. Of the three contexts, *own* clearly lagged behind in her idiolect, a ranking that correlates with the macro-level norm. However, I am not convinced that the CEEC category corresponds to Elizabeth's usage. The presence of <mine own> in the 1544 translations, versus <my none> and <my own> in the pre-accession correspondence may simply be a spelling curiosity – a by-product of Elizabeth's youth and the greater inconsistency of her spelling at this time (see the final chapter in Part II). Yet, when considered alongside the results for pre-vocalic contexts in the translations, which show a greater frequency of *n*-variants than the contemporary correspondence, there is persuasive evidence that she conceptualised the two forms of the adjective *own* differently and distinctly. If so, then my data in fact represents a two-part change. Firstly, the switch from *mine* to *my* – a change that is largely complete in the pre-accession period and accords with the other contexts, making Elizabeth a clear leader of the change. Secondly, the more idiosyncratic shift from *nown* to *own*; a slower process that lasts into the post-accession period. There is no indication that the shift correlates with her accession, with *nown* found as late as the 1590s.

This is a minor, arguably innocuous, component of Elizabeth's idiolect, but it is difficult to explain (working on the premise that the Queen did distinguish between the adjective forms). The presence of *nown* in the letters of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester is an intriguing coincidence, given biographical history, but I have no ready explanation for it. I

have unfortunately been unable to access the original manuscripts of Elizabeth's early tutors, such as Roger Ascham's letters, to clarify if similar evidence can be identified, and as I have already outlined, the modernized spelling in published editions hides the evidence of the original spelling.[46] (This is a good example of the differences between publications produced for literary and historical research, and the standard required for linguistic analysis). Should further autograph manuscripts become available this would be an interesting element to pursue.

---

[46] In his English letters, Ascham uses <mine own> (e.g. Giles 1864: 21, 23, 47, 101) and less frequently <my own> (e.g. 1864: 47), although the modernised spelling may disguise *own* and *nown* variation.

Multiple Negation vs. Single Negation

The current chapter investigates the replacement of multiple negation with single negation. Multiple negation denotes two or more negators co-occurring in the same sentential negative structure. In single negation, the secondary negators are replaced with 'non-assertive indefinites' (*any, ever*) (Nevalainen 2000: 49). My methodology follows the narrow criteria used in previous macro-level studies (e.g. Nevalainen 2000, 2006c and Kallel 2007) and focuses on the negative clauses only where non-assertive forms are possible. To give an example, the following quotation (82) from Elizabeth's 1545 translation uses multiple negation (*no + never*). The same structure as non-assertive single negation is shown below (83) (no + *ever*):

> 82. **no** man did **never** tremble more miserably (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

> 83. **no** man did **ever** tremble more miserably (modified).

Previous studies do not specify the negators used for their search criteria (e.g. see Kallel 2007: 48, fn. 6). Using the *AntConc* concordance program, I identified nine forms current in EModE: *not, no, none, nor, neither, never, ne* and non-assertives *any, ever*. A construction is classed as one example of either multiple or single negation, regardless of the number of negators or non-assertive forms present; thus (82) is one token of multiple negation.

Results

The QEIC correspondence contains a low number of multiple and single negation constructions, with 67 examples identified overall: 12 constructions for the pre-accession period and 55 for the post-accession period. This limits the statistical significance of the data. It is difficult to determine if the token count reflects a property of Elizabeth's idiolect (i.e. she preferred other negation strategies) or a broader symptom of Early Modern correspondence. Nevalainen (2000, 2006c) makes no mention of quantitative limitations in CEEC, and Kallel (2007), whose study focuses on the correspondence of the upper-ranks, does not provide the word-counts for his corpus; I did, however, find a related discrepancy between the number of *not* tokens in QEIC correspondence and quantity of data for the negative *do* variable.

Nevertheless, the results for QEIC correspondence suggest that multiple negation is a marginal construction in Elizabeth's idiolect, with just one construction in the pre-accession correspondence (0.16 times per 1000 words) and four constructions in the post-

accession letters (0.11 times per 1000 words). Elizabeth thus shows a clear preference for single negation. The 90% + frequency indicates the change had reached the completion stage (> 85%) in her pre-accession idiolect and remained stable throughout her life (Table 35).

	Total	% single negation
PreA correspondence	12	91.7
PostA correspondence	55	92.7

Table 35: Single Negation (%). QEIC correspondence.

The completion of the change in the pre-accession period marks out Elizabeth's usage from her many of her contemporaries. For instance, the frequency of single negation is 70.8% and 'nearing completion' during the sub-period 1540-1579 in CEEC (Table 36). Kallel's results, drawn from Early Modern correspondence written by the upper-ranks (but not royalty), shows a less striking contrast with Elizabeth's usage (Table 37). By the end of the century, the continued spread and diffusion of the variant at the macro-level means that Elizabeth's usage is more comparable with her contemporaries.[47] In this change, as in the previous chapters, there is no evidence that she modified her usage in response to her accession.

	1500-1539	1540-1579	1580-1619
CEEC	52.3%	70.8%	88.7%
Elizabeth	-	92.9%	93%

Table 36: Single Negation (%) in QEIC correspondence and CEEC (adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 221).

	1525-1549	1550-1574	1575-1599
Kallel's corpus	51%	95.7%	98%
Elizabeth	90%	100%	93.6%

Table 37: Single Negation (%) in QEIC correspondence and Kallel's self-compiled corpus (adapted from Kallel 2007: 33-4).

Systemic Factors

In this chapter, it is necessary to examine the role of systemic factors in the data prior to analysing the social, stylistic and interactive elements. Macro-level studies have found that clause complexity affects the rate of the change. Distinguishing between noncoordinate and coordinate constructions e.g. *not...neither/nor*, Nevalainen (2000: 50) and Kallel (2007: 33-4) find that coordinate constructions lag behind the noncoordinate forms. Because of the low token counts for QEIC, it is possible that either noncoordinate or coordinate structures are

---

[47] The macro-level studies by Nevalainen and Kallel differ in the date of the change's completion. Kallel's letter corpus shows that multiple negation is all but obsolete by the 1590s (Kallel 2007: 32-4), whereas the uptake of single negation is somewhat slower in CEEC. Based on the descriptions of both corpora, it seems likely that Kallel's selection of correspondence by educated, male writers skews his data towards those informants who led the change, unlike the more representative composition of CEEC. I address this aspect and the relevance to Elizabeth's idiolect below.

over-represented, with potential consequences for my interpretation of Elizabeth's position in the change. Recalculating the results for QEIC correspondence into noncoordinate and coordinate structures finds that both structures are present in the data, with noncoordinate structures more frequent. Comparison reveals a difference between negation strategies, with coordinate constructions more likely to use multiple negation ($p > 0.001$). The greater proportion of noncoordinate structures may thus have some influence on the overall percentage, but not unduly so.

The evidence for the distribution of coordinate and noncoordinate structures (Table 38), and its relation to Elizabeth's position in the change, shows only a synchronic picture of her usage because of the low token counts for the variable. However, if I recalculate the figures from Kallel's macro-level corpus (2007) for a comparable period, the same synchronic pattern of distribution is evident (Table 39). Thus the lag in coordinate structures in Elizabeth's idiolect accords with the macro-level trends. This is an interesting correlation: the progression of the change at a systemic level shows the same patterning in her correspondence as at the macro-level, despite the greater rapidity of the change in her idiolect.

	Total	% Single negation
Noncoordinate	48	97.9
Coordinate	19	78.9

Table 38: Single negation (%) in noncoordinate and coordinate constructions. QEIC correspondence.

	Total	% Single negation
Noncoordinate	504	82.7
Coordinate	203	65.0

Table 39: Single negation (%) in noncoordinate and coordinate constructions, upper-ranking letter writers for the period 1525-1599. Adapted from Kallel (2007: 33-4).

Kallel (2007: 46-7) proposes that the switch from multiple negation to single negation was driven by semantic ambiguity. He suggests that double negators underwent lexical reanalysis in the Early Modern period, resulting in two concurrent denotations in multiple negative constructions: either a) a single negative meaning or b) a double negation. The new status of the second negator, which could now operate independently as well as part of the sentential negation, required clarification, leading to the introduction of non-assertive pronouns. The lag identified in coordinate constructions may reflect a lesser ambiguity of these structures compared to noncoordinate configurations, and offer an explanation for the different distribution of the structures in Elizabeth's idiolect, despite the generally advanced stage of the change.

The multiple negation coordinate constructions in QEIC correspondence show an intriguing consistency in form. The collocate *nor never* occurs in three of the four post-

accession constructions, possibly used as an intensifying expression. Rissanen (1999: 271) notes that *never* was a common means of emphatic negation in EModE.

> 84. trust I pray you **never** a Conqueror With trust of his kindness **nor never** reign precario more (16th March 1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The repetition suggests that the construction may have had a semi-fossilised or idiomatic status in Elizabeth's idiolect, which would limit the significance of semantic ambiguity. At the same time, the restriction of multiple negation to predominantly formulaic contexts provides further proof of the advanced stage of the change in her idiolect.

Social Factors

Elizabeth's high usage of single negation in the pre-accession period indicates that she was a leader in this linguistic change. Her age is a probable contributing social factor. The CEEC data (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 221) indicates that, overall, the change was at the 'nearing completion' stage in the period 1540-1579, with the majority of informants showing a preference for single negation. Elizabeth, as the part of the younger generation, would be most receptive to the incoming form. The significance of age in this change fits with other linguistic variables I have analysed in her idiolect that emerged at a similar time.

Yet, evidence from the macro-level indicates that age is not the only relevant social factor in Elizabeth's usage. I have already outlined Kallel's hypothesis for a language-internal motivation for the decline of multiple negation, and showed the systemic variation in Elizabeth's idiolect that corroborates his proposal. Sociolinguistic studies indicate that single negation was a change from above, and entered through the upper-ranks of society. This does not disprove Kallel's hypothesis, but rather shows the social dimension of the change.

Rissanen's (2000) study of the HC found that fifteenth-century statutes contain some of the earliest and most frequent examples of non-assertive negation compared to other genres, e.g.

> Provided that this acte be **not** available to **eny** person for **any** entre syn the first day of this present parliament (c. 1490, cited in Rissanen 2000: 122).

The language of statutes is characterised by its concern for accuracy, non-ambiguous reference and clarity (Rissanen 2000: 125). Based on Kallel's hypothesis, it would therefore be in texts such as statutes where we would first expect to see signs that semantic imprecision was a concern.

The social implications of the stylistic development emerge in the social groups involved in the composition of such texts. In their discussion of CEEC data, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 145-6; also Nevalainen 2006c: 263) observe that the fifteenth-

110

century figures show the upper-ranks to be the clear leaders of the change. By the decades of Elizabeth's childhood, the leading position of the upper ranks has been surpassed by another social group: social aspirers (see Table 40). Social aspirers are the speakers consistently found to be most aware of linguistic connnotations (Chambers 2003: 103-5), and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 152) suggest that single negation developed prestigious social significance by the mid-sixteenth century, due to the early association with the upper-ranks and official genres such as statutes, explaining social aspirers' leading position in the change.

	1520-1559	1560-1599
Elizabeth	92%	94%
CEEC: Nonprofessional upper ranks	46%	90%
CEEC: Upper-rank professional	41%	82%
CEEC: Social aspirers	80%	98%

Table 40: Single Negation (%). QEIC correspondence and CEEC social ranks (male informants only). Adapted from Nevalainen (2006c: 263).

Being from the upper-ranks of Tudor society, we would expect Elizabeth's uptake in the pre-accession period to correlate with non-professional informants. However, comparison shows that her uptake of single negation differs from these groups ($p > 0.01$) and instead there is a greater similarity between Elizabeth (92%) and social aspirers (80%).

The definition of social aspirer used by the CEEC corpus – an individual who climbed two ranks or more (see Nurmi 1999: 42) - is an inaccurate description of Elizabeth's situation in the pre-accession period; whilst her position in relation to the succession varied, her social rank did not change. One interpretation of the social rank data is that Elizabeth's contact with the upper-ranking male informants, as part of her social group, introduced her to the incoming variant, with her age consequently boosting the progression of the change in her idiolect. Yet, an argument can also be made that the intrinsic values concerning language and its social significance were relevant to the young princess, particularly the emphasis placed upon her education to become 'as learned as possible' (Somerset 1991: 15). As a member of the younger generation at Court, it is possible that Elizabeth's uptake of single negation was spurred by her awareness of the form's prestigious associations, which led her not only to adopt the variant used by her learned superiors, but to surpass them in frequency. In sociolinguistic terms this phenomenon is recognised as hypercorrection; the 'overzealous' uptake of a variant in 'a sociolect that is not native to [the speaker]' (Chamber 2003: 64). (I consider the fit of concept with Elizabeth's idiolect more broadly, and at greater length, in Part III.) Elizabeth's educators, as learned men from the universities, offer a plausible scenario for her contact to the prestigious and learned associations of the form in childhood. Her rigorous schooling in Latin, a language where multiple negation is not a possible construction, may also have influenced her usage.

By the 1560-1599 period, the change to single negation is nearly complete across the upper ranks, making Elizabeth's usage comparable with all three groups.[48]

There is also a clear difference in the macro-level trends for male and female informants, with men leading the change. In the 1580-1610 sub-period, single negation accounts for 80% of examples used by female informants in CEEC, and 91% of examples for male informants (Nevalainen 2000: 54). Elizabeth shows a better fit with male informants. The correlation, I suggest, reflects the similarity in educational opportunities between the upper-ranking males and Elizabeth, exposing them to the prestigious associations of single negation, as a change from above.

My interpretation is supported by the similarity between Elizabeth and the preferences of her domicile, the Court. Nevalainen (2000: 50) reports that informants at the Court were at the forefront of the change throughout the sixteenth century, although she does not provide specific figures. In order to provide some quantitative data for comparison, I have calculated the frequency of single negation in the PCEEC sub-files for three men close to Elizabeth at the Court: William Cecil, Francis Walsingham and Robert Dudley. As well as meeting the criteria for leaders of the change – located at Court, highly educated and from the upper ranks – these men are also Elizabeth's (near) contemporaries in generation: William Cecil b. 1520, Walsingham b. 1532 and Dudley b. 1532/3. Thus, the data provides a generational comparison with Elizabeth as well as for social rank and domicile factors. The similarity between the four idiolects is apparent. Only Walsingham lags behind in his uptake of the variant, and it seems likely that the trend arises from an over-representation of coordinate constructions in his correspondence, the context that does not promote single negation as readily as noncoordinate constructions.

	Total	% single negation
Elizabeth	47	93.6
William Cecil	28	96.4
Francis Walsingham	11	81.8
Robert Dudley	29	96.5

Table 41: Single negation (%) 1580-1599 (QEIC correspondence and PCEEC sub-files).

Elizabeth's post-accession usage therefore correlates with the usage of others of her social rank and domicile, and – by implication – her education level.

---

[48] The CEEC data confirms my suspicions that Kallel's (2007) dating reflected the bias towards the upper-ranks in his corpus material. Using the CEEC upper-ranks only, the figures for the two studies are much closer.

The decline of multiple negation has traditionally been viewed as a prestige issue. Seventeenth and eighteenth century prescriptive grammarians condemned the form because of the lack of a comparable construction in Latin and its apparent illogical meaning (i.e. two negatives = positive) (Kallel 2007: 27). However, the research presented and discussed in this chapter has shown that the dating of the change largely precedes these prescriptive criticisms. Richard Ingham's proposal that the uptake of single negation 'may embody natural language change rather than prescriptivist pressure' seems highly plausible (Ingham 2008: 123).

However, this does not preclude the possibility of prestige factoring into the progression of the change after its initiation by other processes. The sociolinguistic data indicates that the emergence of single negation was a change 'from above', and the form potentially acquired prestige through its association with particular social groups and genres. The rapid uptake by social aspirers in the mid-sixteenth century supports this hypothesis. To test the significance of the theory for Elizabeth's idiolect, in this section I look for evidence of stylistic variation. The results for her correspondence show that the change had reached completion in the pre-accession period. Based on my hypothesis that Elizabeth considered single negation the prestigious variant, I expect the frequency of single negation to be similar in all genres in the pre- and post-accession periods.

	Total	% single negation
PreA correspondence	12	91.7
PostA correspondence	55	92.7
Speeches	6	83.3
PreA translations	29	55.2
PostA translations	6	66.7

Table 42: Single negation (%). QEIC correspondence, speeches and translations.

The results for the pre-accession translations do not support my hypothesis. Multiple negation is more frequent than expected, with single negation accounting for only 55.2% of constructions. Interestingly, the majority of constructions containing multiple negation in the pre-accession translations are noncoordinate constructions, whereas multiple negation only occurred in coordinate constructions in the correspondence. The presence of multiple negation in the context that did not lag in the adoption of single negation grants the results for the pre-accession translations additional significance.

The figures could indicate that single negation was not as established in Elizabeth's early idiolect as I initially thought. Yet, if the figure is representative of her overall preferences, the distribution suggests she changed her preferences to the incoming

construction in the space of four or five years (1544-1549). It is difficult to correlate this with the biographical information. My analysis of social categories suggests that Elizabeth's education greatly influenced her uptake of single negation, through her knowledge of Latin and exposure to the linguistic preferences of her educators. This education was well underway by the time the translations were composed; Sir John Cheke, William Grindal and Roger Ascham had all tutored Elizabeth by the end of 1545 – the year the second translation was completed. Thus, we would expect their influence to emerge in these texts.

The figures may instead show stylistic variation. One explanation for the greater frequency of multiple negation is the influence of the translations' original language upon Elizabeth's chosen constructions. Both texts were translated from French, a language that uses two-part negators (e.g. *ne...pas*). The texts show occasional lexical and syntactic traces of their French heritage; in the translation of Calvin, for example, there are ten instances of the French conjunction *et*. Another option is that, in keeping with the evidence for other linguistic features in these texts, Elizabeth deliberately used multiple negation to create an 'archaic' tone in the work, perhaps appropriate to the formal and pious subject-matter.[49] This interpretation is not without problems, however, as it is difficult to fit her stylistic choice with my theory that Elizabeth's uptake of single negation was influenced by the variant's contemporary prestige.

A third explanation is that Elizabeth uses multiple negation as an emphatic device, appropriate for the didactic and pious topics addressed in the translations. Rissanen (1999: 272) notes that the combination *not none* was used emphatically in written texts, prior to its replacement by the non-assertive construction *not any*, and I have already noted a possible emphatic multiple structure in Elizabeth's use of *nor never*. Examples from the pre-accession translations show similarities, often co-occurring with other emphatic markers such as affirmative *do*:

85. There was **never no** man that *did* see (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

86. nevertheless **no** man *did* **never** tremble more miserably at every time (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

Translation was valued highly during the sixteenth century, and the young Elizabeth was displaying her academic ability in creating both works for her stepmother Catherine Parr. Thus, I am inclined to view the frequency of multiple negation as stylistic variation, combining the three explanations I have outlined above and in line with the trends for other linguistic features I have identified in this genre.

---

[49] For instance, multiple negation occurs more frequently in formal genres than less formal genres in the ME period (Iyeiri 1998: 138).

114

The results for the post-accession translations suggest that stylistic variation is also relevant to Elizabeth's later writing. The token count for these texts is low, but nevertheless there is a difference in the distribution of single and multiple negation between the two translations. The four tokens of single negation occur in the prose translations of Cicero (e.g. 87) and the two tokens of multiple negation are found in Boethius. My interpretation is that the multiple negation may be stylistically motivated in the latter text, a suspicion that is further enhanced by the presence of the Middle English negator *ne*, which had largely fallen out of use by the end of the sixteenth century (Rissanen 1999: 270); certainly, there are no other examples of the form in QEIC. By contrast, the Cicero prose uses negators typical of Elizabeth's contemporary speeches and correspondence.

87. as **no** age shall **ever** be so far (1592, Cicero, QEIC translations).

88. Hope though **naught ne** fear (1593, Boethius, QEIC translations).

Caroline Pemberton (1899: xiv) notes that Elizabeth uses archaic lexis in her version of Boethius, including 'ancient' terms not found in Chaucer's fourteenth-century translation. The presence of multiple negation, particularly with *ne*, fits the archaic style Pemberton observes.

Stylistic variation is least evident in the parliamentary speeches. The frequency of single negation is 83.3%, similar to the post-accession correspondence, although based on a small number of tokens. The single token of multiple negation occurs in a coordinate construction, the context that promoted the variant in Elizabeth's letters. The construction is another example of *nor never*, the negator combination seen in her contemporary correspondence.

Summary

Single negation provides another example of Elizabeth leading a linguistic change, with the change completed in her idiolect in the pre-accession period. The rapid uptake indicates that her accession had no detectable affect on her linguistic preferences for the variable. Instead, my analysis suggests that her education contributed to the promotion of the form in her idiolect, helping to explain the correlation with others of her rank and domicile, and the contrast with the female majority of CEEC who lagged behind in the change. Her education may also explain the evidence I found of stylistic variation in the pre-accession religious texts, and in the later translation of Boethius. When compared to the other linguistic features I have discussed so far, it is becoming clear that the same factors do not necessarily contribute to Elizabeth's leading position in a change. The social factors promoting single negation i.e. Elizabeth's education contrast with the hypothesised role of her female

caregivers in the uptake of subject-position *you* and first- and second-person possessive determiners.

Animacy and Relative Marker: *who/which*

In this chapter, I investigate the progression of the personalisation of the English relative system in *wh-* relatives in Elizabeth's idiolect.[50] Over the course of the Early Modern period, the choice of *wh-* relative marker*, who, which* and *whom*, was increasingly influenced by the animate status of the antecedent. In subject position, the relative marker *who* began to replace *which* with animate antecedents. Relative *who* is first attested in 1426 in the Paston Letters, located in the closing formulae with reference to God, before expanding to occur in non-formulaic contexts with animate antecedents of both divine and non-divine status in the sixteenth century (Rissanen 1999: 294-5). The "dehumanisation" of *which* took longer, and *who* and *which* co-occurred with animate antecedents well into the seventeenth century in Standard English (Rissanen 1999: 294, Dekeyser 1984: 71-2, Adamson 2007). The objective form *whom* has a different developmental history to *who*, occurring in English from the Middle English period, and is much better established as a marker of animacy in the sixteenth century (Rissanen 1999: 293).

Results

I begin my analysis by focusing on subject-position relative markers, *which* and *who*. The frequency of each marker with animate antecedents in Elizabeth's correspondence is shown in Table 43.[51] For the present, the category 'animate' incorporates divine and spiritual beings, as well as humans (singular and plural). The non-animate antecedent category comprises everything else. The results indicate that the association of *who* with animate referents is well established in Elizabeth's idiolect.[52] Taken as a proportion of both markers with animate antecedents, *who* accounts for 100% of tokens in the pre-accession period (admittedly with a low token count) and 92.2% in the post-accession period.

	Total (who/which)	*% who*
Pre-accession correspondence	4	100%
Post-accession correspondence	51	92.2%

Table 43: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which*. QEIC correspondence.

---

[50] As a group, *wh-* relatives are highly sensitive to social and stylistic factors during the Early Modern period (e.g. Romaine 1982), and provide significant insight into the relationship between Elizabeth's idiolect and her biography. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of my present study to investigate other properties of relativisation.

[51] I do not differentiate between *which* and *the which* in my analysis of animacy. For a discussion of these forms as individual markers, see the following chapter.

[52] The difference between the animate/non-animate status of the antecedent with each marker is highly significant (p > 0.001) in the post-accession period. The token count is too low to assess the pre-accession period statistically.

In CEEC, subject-position *who* accounts for 59% of animate antecedents taking *who* or *which* in the first half of the sixteenth century (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 112). This figure rises to 76% percent in the 1560-1599 period (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 118; see Table 44). Comparing these results with those from the QEIC correspondence, Elizabeth is at the head of the change in both periods, with the difference in latter period statistically significant (p > 0.01).

	Total (who/which)	% who
1520-1550	249	59
1560-1599	487	76

Table 44: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which*. CEEC (adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 118).

It is possible to assess the personalisation of the *wh-* relatives from another perspective. Although it is convenient to treat *who* and *which* as a bipartite variable, and my analysis frequently follows the macro-level studies in adopting this approach, the dehumanization of *which* and the emergence of *who* are in fact distinct, if connected, changes in the EModE relative system. This can be clearly shown if the percentage of animate antecedents is calculated separately for each marker, from the total occurrences with animate and non-animate antecedents (Table 45).

	Total who	% who (animate)	Total which	% which (animate)
Pre-accession correspondence	4	100%	10	0%
Post-accession correspondence	49	95.9%	51	7.8%

Table 45: Animate *who* and *which* (%) out of all tokens (animate and non-animate antecedents). QEIC correspondence.

In QEIC correspondence, the dehumanization process of *which* has almost completed, with less than 10% of *which* tokens taking animates, figures that reaffirm Elizabeth's leading position in the personalisation of the relative system. Macro-level studies show that *which* took animate antecedents about 30% of the time in the sixteenth century as a whole (Rissanen 1999: 294); indeed, Dekeyser's (1984: 71) corpus-based analysis of the seventeenth century finds that the average frequency for *which* is still around 10%. The role of *who* as a marker of person is also clearly established in Elizabeth's idiolect, with over 90% of tokens occurring with animate antecedents.

Systemic Factors

Before I consider the social factors for this linguistic feature, it is necessary to confirm my interpretation of Elizabeth's leadership in this change. Currently, the breadth of the animate category may create a misleading picture of her usage. As I noted above, the relative marker

118

who originated in the closing formulae of correspondence to mark reference to the deity, a function that was well established in English before Elizabeth's birth. The generalization of *who* to non-divine antecedents took longer, and macro-level studies trace the process throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. Because my analysis for Elizabeth's idiolect is so far based on her correspondence, the high frequency of animate *who* may be a consequence of closing formulae. This would make her usage less advanced than initially thought.

To assess this possibility, I have categorised the animate antecedents into different types: God, spirit, king, human (singular) and human (plural), and calculated the percentage of *who* for each category (Table 46).

	Total (*who/which*)	% *who*
God	18	100
Spirit	1	100
King	4	100
Human (sing.)	25	96
Human (pl.)	7	57

Table 46: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which* by antecedent category. QEIC correspondence.

Elizabeth uses *who* exclusively to refer to the deity, spiritual beings and monarchs. In the singular human category, *who* is also the dominant variant, although it is not exclusive (96%). In the final category *who* is the least dominant, accounting for 57% of tokens with plural human antecedents. The results in Table 46 represent the overall distribution of *who* and *which* in the QEIC correspondence; the four tokens in the pre-accession correspondence are too few to be used for diachronic quantitative comparison. However, they can offer qualitative insight into Elizabeth's early usage. Three occur with God as an antecedent, and the fourth has a human (singular) antecedent (89-92). I believe this indicates that *who* was established as a non-formulaic marker in her adolescent idiolect. There is no clear evidence that *who* expanded into different categories over time.

89. in God's hand **who** keep you from all evil (June 1548, to Thomas Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

90. God (**who** shall judge my truth (17th March 1554, to Mary I, QEIC correspondence).

91. As knoweth God **who** judgeth all (29th October 1555, to William Paulet, QEIC correspondence).

92. desiring you to give him thanks for me, **who** can ascertain you of mine estate of health (1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

I can also assess the non-formulaic function of *who* in Elizabeth's correspondence by examining the syntactic category of the antecedent. Macro-level studies indicate that the spread of *who* began with divine and non-divine explicit referents of person, such as proper

names. It then diffused across to less explicit forms, encompassing collective nouns and pronominal forms such as demonstratives (e.g. *those*) on a similar scale to the semantic development from deity > human (Hope 1994: 39; Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 118). To calculate the significance of this systemic factor in Elizabeth's idiolect, I have categorised the animate antecedents of *which* and *who* into three syntactic groups: *proper name/title, common noun* and *pronoun*. When the percentage of *who* is calculated for the combined tokens (*who/which*) in each group, it appears that her selection is sensitive to the syntactic explicitness of the antecedent.

	Total (who/which)	% who
Proper name/title	24	100
Common noun	14	93
Pronoun	17	82

Table 47: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which* by syntactic category. QEIC correspondence.

In the most explicit category, *proper name/title*, Elizabeth only uses *who*. This includes 18 references to God (God, Lord, the Almighty), as well as spiritual (Fame) and human antecedents (Lord Chamberlain, Monsieur). *Who* is also the preferred marker with common nouns, with only one antecedent of this type occurring with *which* in Elizabeth's correspondence (93).

93. to request this just desire, that you never doubt my entire good will in your behalf and do protest that if you knew even since the arrival of your **Commissioners (which** if they list they may tell you) the extreme danger my life was in (January 1587, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

In the least explicit category (*pronouns*) there is greater variation. *Who* accounts for 82% of the tokens, with *which* occurring three times: twice with a demonstrative and once with a reflexive pronoun.

The four tokens for the pre-accession correspondence again prevent me from accurately measuring the diachronic development. Three tokens occur with proper names, and one with a common noun, and I have subsumed these into the overall figures. The level of generalisation for *who* in the post-accession period, however, suggests that the change was probably at an advanced stage in Elizabeth's adolescent idiolect; there is no evidence to indicate that this was a rapid development, and nothing to indicate that her accession had a direct influence on the variable.

The macro-level data supports my interpretation, with Elizabeth's leadership in the generalisation of *who* evident when compared with the CEEC data (Table 48). CEEC shows only 60% *who* in the least explicit category (*pronouns*) for 1560-1599, compared with 82% for the whole QEIC correspondence.

	Total who/which	% who
Proper name	177	92.4
Common noun	190	68.0
Pronoun	98	60.0

Table 48: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which* by syntactic category. CEEC 1560-1599. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 118).

The restrictiveness of the clause may also influence the selection of *who* or *which* in Elizabeth's idiolect. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 119) found that *who* accounted for a greater proportion of markers in non-restrictive clauses than restrictive clauses (see Table 49).

	CEEC: Total who/which	% who	Elizabeth: Total who/which	% who
Restrictive	99	43	15	86
Non-restrictive	364	84	21	90

Table 49: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which*. CEEC, adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 119) and QEIC correspondence.

In the QEIC correspondence, the restrictiveness of the clause appears to have only a minor influence upon Elizabeth's selection of marker, although the low token counts require caution. 90% non-restrictive clauses (94) occur with *who* and 86% restrictive clauses occur with *who* (95). Animate *which* occurs twice in each context.

94.   the **enemy, who** careth for neither of us, make not a scorn (December 1588, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

95.   remember **her who** never yet omitted any part (July 1596, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The systemic factors thus support my interpretation of the diachronic trends in QEIC correspondence that the generalisation of *who* was at an advanced stage in Elizabeth's idiolect, making her a leader in this linguistic change. The dehumanization of *which* is similarly well established, and limited to the least explicit animate categories.

Social Factors

The next stage of my analysis is to consider the social factors that may contribute to Elizabeth's leadership in the change. It is widely held that *who* first developed in formulaic contexts as a result of influential Latin letter-writing manuals on English epistolary practice. The subsequent diffusion of *who* into other contexts was therefore a change 'from above', as the form permeated down via the educated elite who were familiar with Latin and Classical standards (Rissanen 1999: 294, D'Arcy and Tagliamonte 2010: 385). Some of the earliest users of non-formulaic *who* in the early sixteenth century include Lord Berners and Thomas Elyot, both of whom were upper-class, highly educated individuals (Hope 1994: 39).

121

The CEEC data, however, suggests that *who* rapidly acquired prestigious connotations (Table 50).

	Total (who/which)	% who
Upper ranks	104	49
Middle ranks	27	74
Social climbers	99	78
Lower ranks	10	0

Table 50: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which* in CEEC 1520-1550. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 112).

In the early sixteenth century, informants from the middle ranks and social climbers use *who* with animate antecedents over 70% of the time. By comparison, the upper-ranks use *who* only 49% of the time. These figures provide a different perspective on Elizabeth's early adoption of *who*, and suggest that her leading uptake may be driven by her awareness of the prestigious associations of the marker (I made a similar hypothesis for her uptake of single negation, another change from above).

Elizabeth's age also warrants consideration; as a member of the younger generations during the mid-sixteenth century, she would also be more receptive to the incoming variant than many of her contemporaries.

The domicile data indicates that Elizabeth is a leader in the change throughout her life. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 118) provide figures for the CEEC domiciles for 1560-1599 (Table 51).

	Total who/which	% who
Court	204	81
London	42	83
North	4	100
East Anglia	237	69

Table 51: Animate *who* (%) by domicile. CEEC 1560-1599. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2002: 112).

Elizabeth's near-exclusive use of *who* in the post-accession period is ahead of the usage of others at the Court. Here, *who* has reached the upper-end of the 'near-completion' stage at 81%, significantly lower than Elizabeth's completed usage (p > 0.001). The difference between Elizabeth and her domicile is surprising if we consider that many courtiers were also educated to a high level, familiar with Classical languages, and thus potentially receptive to any prestigious connotations.

I am not aware of any macro-level investigations that consider the role of gender as a social factor. The provenance of the change suggests that men would lead the generalisation of *who*, based on the trends for other changes from above during this period (e.g. the decline of multiple negation; see Nevalainen 2006c), reflecting the greater

educational opportunities for this gender. To provide some information for this social factor, I have examined PCEEC letters by sixteenth-century female informants. The writers largely represent the upper echelons of Tudor society (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 45), including royalty (e.g. Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland) and the nobility (e.g. Arabella Stuart, Jane Grey), and many received a high level of education. The data is not substantial enough to provide a quantitative overview of the change (which may explain the lack of a macro-level gender analysis), but from a qualitative perspective the replacement of *which* with *who* for animate antecedents appears more likely in letters written by highly educated women towards the end of the sixteenth century. For example, Margaret Tudor, writing in 1504, uses *which*:

> 96. Thomas , **whych** was footman to the Quene my moder (Margaret Stuart [n. Tudor], 1504; ORIGIN1, 42).

Who is the dominant form in the mid-century letters written by Elizabeth's sister Mary I, and her contemporary and childhood acquaintance Jane Grey – women of a comparable educational background and, in the case of Jane Grey (b. 1537), close in age. In the latter half of the century, *who* appears to be the preferred form for animate antecedents amongst the upper-ranking women, including Elizabeth D'Oyly and Arabella Stuart.[53]

> 97. Mr Smythe, **who** telleth me (Elizabeth D'Oyly/Neville, 1583; BACON, II, 236).

Whilst necessarily impressionistic, the PCEEC data appears to support my interpretation that the education of an informant was an important dimension of the generalisation of *who* and dehumanisation of *which* in the sixteenth century. A more nuanced view of gender is not possible from the present data.

Interactive Factors

The origin of *who* in epistolary formulae, and its subsequent diffusion across the upper ranks, means that the form is part of conventional epistolary practice in the Early Modern period. My analysis of interactive factors for *who* and *which* thus considers how Elizabeth's usage compares with these norms, and how they may explain her leading position in the change. The first important feature of the QEIC correspondence data is the presence of formulaic *who*. Formulaic *who* formed part of the *conclusio*: 'the formal ending, often involving a blessing and the place and date of the letter' (Richardson 2007: 56). The earliest example of *who*

---

[53] CEEC does not document the level of Elizabeth D'Oyly's education, but as the daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who professed an interest in educational matters and ensured his sons received a high level of education (ODNB [last accessed 06/06/11]), we can speculate that she received an above-average education for her gender.

occurs in a letter dating from 1548, addressed to Thomas Seymour (89, above).[54] The dating reveals that Elizabeth was familiar with the epistolary formulae from an early age. Perhaps the tuition of Catherine Ashley or Dr Richard Cox, also tutor to the young King Edward VI (Borman 2009: 77-8) introduced her to the epistolary convention, as part of her early Latin schooling. Certainly, from this date onwards, formulaic *who* as part of the blessing in the *conclusio*, is an established component of Elizabeth's letters; 17 of the 18 references to God with *who* in the QEIC correspondence occur in the closing formulae of a letter.

98. In God's hand **who** keep you from all evil (June 1548, to Thomas Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

99. As knoweth God **who** ever bless you and guide you (September 1589, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The evidence of Latin-influenced formulaic *who* supports my hypothesis that Elizabeth's education is significant for this change. However, this does not necessarily entail that she would also use *who* for non-formulaic, non-deity contexts, or that she would be a leader in the change. To explain *who* in those contexts, the socio-historical background offers a persuasive scenario. Rissanen suggests that the spread of *who* in the sixteenth century was driven by social pressures arising from

> the polite and formal expression of Tudor and Stuart society, which probably emphasise[d] the observation of the 'personality' of the reference (Rissanen 1999: 294).

Elizabeth's social status and experiences, as both princess and queen, position her within those circles that would be interested in 'polite and formal expression'. As Borman observes, Elizabeth's early education under Catherine Ashley covered titles of address (2009: 77; see also Perry 1990: 29), which may have highlighted *who* as a marker representative of deferential, formal and polite language appropriate to her station.[55] Elizabeth's sister Mary I, who had a comparable social status, also uses non-formulaic *who* in letters from the mid-sixteenth century:

100. I am nothyng able to perswade her to forget the losse of **hyme** [Henry VIII], **who** is as yet very rype in myn owne remembrance (1547, Mary Tudor I; ORIGIN2, 151).

---

[54] Marcus (2008: 214) reports that the manuscript of this letter is unusual, because Elizabeth has decorated the border of her text using red ink. The letter is addressed to Thomas Seymour, on whom Elizabeth is assumed to have had an adolescent crush 'at the very least'. The presence of the closing formula, therefore, could be interpreted as another "adornment", differentiating the letter from those previously written by Elizabeth (i.e. those to Catherine Parr).

[55] The legacy of this instruction is evident in the sibling address terms used in the post-accession letters between Elizabeth and James VI of Scotland.

The social pressures at the interactive level would not have changed at the point of Elizabeth's accession, offering an explanation for why my results show little evidence of a change anchored around this event.

Stylistic Factors

The final stage of my analysis considers the influence of stylistic factors in Elizabeth's usage. The prestigious and learned origins of *who* in English are reflected in its macro-level distribution in different genres. Catherine Ball's (1996: 246-7) diachronic corpus study found that *who* generalised rapidly in written mode genres, whereas spoken genres used *which* for both animate and non-animate antecedents through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Raumolin-Brunberg's analysis of the language of Sir Thomas More corroborates the stylistic patterning; the two instances of *who* in her corpus occur in 'one of the most complex and formal registers, official letters' (Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 232). Of the three genres representing Elizabeth's idiolect in QEIC, I consider her correspondence to have the closest affinity to spoken, informal language. The advanced stage of the change in her letters therefore suggests that there should be minimal stylistic variation in the more formal and literary speeches and translations. Ball's macro-level data leads me to expect that *who* and *which* in these genres will show a comparable distribution with the correspondence.

	Total (who/ which)	% who
Pre-accession correspondence	4	100
Post-accession correspondence	49	91.8
Speeches	6	50
Pre-accession translations	83	16
Post-accession translations	16	94

Table 52: *who* (%) with animate antecedents out of *who/ which*. QEIC.

The findings do not support my hypothesis (Table 52). The most striking result is for the pre-accession translations, which contain only 16% *who* with animate antecedents. To investigate this figure further, I have re-calculated the results according to antecedent category. As Table 53 shows, the distribution of *who* and *which* replicates the macro-level pattern of diffusion that I discussed above, with *who* occurring most frequently with God (40%) and least frequently with human antecedents.

	Total (who/which)	% who
God	20	40%
Spirit	1	0%
King	-	-
Human (singular)	32	9%
Human (plural)	31	6%
Other	1	0%

Table 53: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which* by antecedent category. QEIC pre-accession translations.

The occurrences of *which* with deity antecedents are especially interesting given the purported Latinate provenance of *who* via epistolary formula, which granted the marker a prestigious status from the beginning of the Early Modern period. The presence of *which* with deity antecedents (e.g. 101) is unexpected, particularly given the pious topic of both works.[56]

101. Bountiful God, brother, and true Moses, **which** doth all things with goodness, and justice (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

102. **God, who** doth inspire the hearts of the faithful (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

The syntactic category of the antecedent appears to have more influence on Elizabeth's marker selection than the antecedent category. Categorising the deity antecedents into proper names, common nouns and pronominal forms, for instance, shows that the frequency of *who* decreases as the syntactic explicitness of the deity antecedent also declines (Table 54).

	Total (who/which)	% who
Deity: proper name	12	66.7
Deity: noun	1	0
Deity: pronoun	7	0

Table 54: Animate *who* (%) out of *who/which*. Deity antecedents only, by syntactic category. QEIC pre-accession translations.

In the proper name category (e.g. *God, Lord*), *who* accounts for over half the tokens at 66.7%, whereas there are no examples with nominal or pronominal antecedents. *Which* occurs in the more complex clauses in the proper name category, either referring to multiple antecedents and/or containing intervening material between the antecedent and relative marker (e.g. 101). Rissanen (1999: 295) has suggested that ambiguity between antecedent and the relative clause was a common trigger for *which* in EModE, and this would certainly explain the distribution seen here. The same pattern is evident across the syntactic categories for all types of animate antecedents.

---

[56] Elizabeth's preferences in her translations contrast with the attitudes of later centuries. Beal notes that animacy and marker became a prescriptive concern in the eigthteenth century. The grammarian Lowth, for example, 'explicitly condemns the use of *Our Father, which* […] in the King James Bible (1611)' (Beal 2004: 76). Presumably, he would have found Elizabeth's translations similarly offensive.

If Elizabeth were using animate *which* for stylistic purposes, I would expect *which* to occur more evenly across the different antecedent and syntactic categories, rather than diffusing in a pattern that corresponds to the progression of the change at the macro-level. I therefore find the distribution of *who* and *which* in the pre-accession translations to offer more persuasive evidence for systemic variation. The pre-accession translations are my only data for animate *who/which* in the mid-1540s; unfortunately, the first token in the QEIC correspondence occurs in a letter written in 1548 (98). The three-year gap between these works and the first letter spans Elizabeth's adolescent years (ages 12-14), suggesting that my interpretation that the personalisation of the relative system was at an advanced stage in Elizabeth's pre-accession idiolect, based on her correspondence, may have been premature. Whilst the presence of *who* in the translations confirms that this marker was active in Elizabeth's idiolect throughout her youth, it is possible that the dehumanisation of *which*, as a related but distinct change, developed more slowly, over the course of the pre-accession period. The biographical evidence provides a possible motive: Elizabeth received tuition from Classicists Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham in the 1540s, who replaced her earlier (female) tutors (Borman 2009: 77-8).

If this is the case, then the evidence still supports my hypothesis relating to the social and interactive factors. *Who* becomes the more frequent form over the course of the pre-accession period, whilst the dehumanisation of *which* sees the marker restricted to the least explicit antecedent categories. Both developments parallel Elizabeth's advancing age and education, and her increasing participation with the social events at the Court. These experiences would foreground the social and interactive associations of *which* and *who* that I noted above, and potentially accelerate the change to the completed stage in her later adolescent idiolect.

The pre-accession data does not change Elizabeth's leading position in the post-accession period. The post-accession translations show a near-exclusive use of *who* with animate antecedents; the only exception is a single token of animate *which* in the Boethius translations (103). Interestingly, animate *which* occurs alongside a multiple negation construction and the combination of archaic features suggests Elizabeth may have deliberately selected *which* for stylistic purposes. This may explain why she uses interrogative pronoun *who* in the same quote, but not relative *who*.

> 103. 'Who suffered' quoth she 'these stage's **harlots** approach this sick man? **Which** not only would *not* ease his sorrow with *no* remedies but with swift venom nourish them?' (1593, Boethius, QEIC translations).

Overall, the results for the post-accession translations conform to the existing trend in Elizabeth's correspondence, and support my hypothesis based on Ball's (1996) macro-level data.

The parliamentary speeches, on the other hand, do not support my hypothesis. In this genre *who* accounts for only 50% of animate antecedents, a frequency much lower than the post-accession correspondence or translations. The macro-level data offers a possible precedent: Ball (1996: 246) found the dehumanisation of *which* to be much slower in trial records and other genres representing formal spoken language, a feasible comparison with Elizabeth's parliamentary speeches.

However, the distribution of animate *which* warrants attention. Significantly, the three tokens all occur in the 1576 speech and the syntactic categories shows that *who* is used only to refer to the deity, with all human antecedents marked by *which*.

> 104. **the Almighty who** will preserve you safe (1576, QEIC speeches).

> 105. Can **a prince, which** of necessity must discontent a number to delight (1576, QEIC speeches).

> 106. **one which** yieldeth you more thanks (1576, QEIC speeches).

In the other speeches, as with the other post-accession genres, Elizabeth uses *who* with human antecedents in both more and less explicit syntactic categories. It seems improbable that she would deviate from her general preferences for one speech. Instead, I suggest that the frequency of animate *which* is the result of third-party interference. My transcription of the speech is based on an apograph that itself was based upon a contemporary copy. The concentration of animate *which* in this speech may reflect the scribe's preferences, whose own use of *who* and *which* was not at quite so advanced a stage as Elizabeth's practice (e.g. *who* with deity but not human antecedents).

This is the first evidence I have found to suggest that the 1576 speech may not be an accurate representation of Elizabeth's idiolect, although I was concerned that this might be the case when selecting the text for the corpus (see Appendix). I consider the implications of this finding further in Part III. On the premise that my interpretation is accurate, it would be interesting to know at what point the 1576 text deviated from Elizabeth's original; did the Queen see the copy before it was sent to her godson, complete with changes, or did she approve the text without seeing the transcribed version? This particular case emphasises the need for an investigation into the relationship between Elizabeth and her scribes.

Overall, my analysis of stylistic variation shows that the factor has only a small influence on Elizabeth's usage of *who* and *which*. Comparison of the genres has instead revealed the possible diachronic development of the change in the pre-accession period, and the scribal interference in the post-accession 1576 speech: perhaps not the expected findings, but nevertheless highlighting the value of cross-genre comparison in a sociolinguistic idiolectal study.

128

Objective case: whom/which

My analysis of the generalisation of *who* and the dehumanisation of *which* has focused on the subjective case. In the final section, I briefly consider the distribution of object-position markers *which* and *whom*. The figures for *whom* in QEIC indicate that it was the dominant form for animate antecedents in Elizabeth's idiolect (Table 55).

	Total (whom/which)	*% whom*
Pre-accession correspondence	2	100
Post-accession correspondence	43	100
Speeches	2	100
Pre-accession translations	31	87
Post-accession translations	9	100

Table 55: *whom* out of *whom/which* (%) in object/prepositional position. QEIC.

Only in the pre-accession translations is there evidence of variation, a pattern that correlates with the lower level of *who* also seen in these texts; *which* occurs with deity and human antecedents in proper name, noun and pronominal categories. The greater frequency of *whom* (87%, compared to only 16% *who*), however, offers support for my hypothesis that the personalization of the relative system stabilised in Elizabeth's idiolect during her adolescence. If she were selecting animate *which* for stylistic purposes, then I would expect this to occur as extensively in object position as in subject position.

107. he is the **God whom** they must honour (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

108. he is **God alone, the which** we all must worship (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

Overall, animate *whom* is well established in Elizabeth's idiolect. It is possible that the trends for *whom* and the infrequency of animate *which* in object position contributed to her uptake of *who*, through analogy.

Summary

My analysis of *who* and *which* with animate antecedents shows that Elizabeth was a leader of the change during the sixteenth century. The social correlates indicate that her age, rank and level of education were important factors in explaining the advanced stage of the change, and there is no evidence that Elizabeth modified her usage in response to her accession. Developments in her education and social interaction during the pre-accession period, however, may have hastened the personalisation process in her adolescence. The results indicate that a series of biographical elements and events, rather than the most obvious social change (her accession) shape and influence the developments in Elizabeth's idiolect. I consider this issue more fully in the conclusion.

Which and *The Which*

In this chapter I discuss a change in which Elizabeth does not show leadership, but instead lags behind the macro-level trend: the replacement of relative marker *the which* with *which*. The life span of *the which* in English was relatively brief. First attested in northern dialects in Late Middle English, *the which* diffused into southern varieties and temporarily became a competing variant with relative marker *which* at the beginning of the Early Modern period (Rissanen 1999: 296-7). By Elizabeth's lifetime, however, the northern variant was already on the wane, with its replacement, *which*, reaching the 'near-completion' stage of the change (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 74), and by the end of the sixteenth-century the replacement of *the which* by *which* had completed.

Results

The results for the QEIC correspondence are shown in Table 56. At present, I do not discriminate between different types of relative clause, i.e. adnominal or sentential types. My results show that the generalisation of *which* was at the upper-edge of the near-completion stage in Elizabeth's youth, accounting for 83.1% of tokens. In the post-accession period, the change has reached completion with *which* the dominant variant at 98.2% (p > 0.001).

	Total (which/the which).	% which
PreA	59	83.1
PostA	166	98.2
Overall	225	94.2

Table 56: *which* (%) out of *which/the which* tokens. QEIC correspondence.

The overall percentage of *which* in the QEIC correspondence (94.2%) is very similar to the macro-level norm for the sixteenth century, with CEEC informants using *which* 96.6 % for the period 1520-1619 (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 222). However, it appears that the development of the change in Elizabeth's idiolect progressed at a different rate than at the macro-level, despite the similarity for the overall percentages. The pre-accession frequency is lower than the macro-level average of 90.8% (for the sub-period 1540-1579) (see Table 57).

	Total which/the which	% which
1500-1539	1423	89.6
1540-1579	2552	90.8
1580-1619	3975	97.6

Table 57: *Which* (%) out of *the which/which* in CEEC. Adapted from Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 222, Table 12).

131

The difference marks the division (< 85%) between 'near-completion' and completion' stages, although it is not statistically significant. However, within the context of Elizabeth's idiolect, any suggestion of lag is striking and contrary to the norm. The pre-accession data reveals an even more interesting diachronic distribution under closer study. All *the which* tokens for the pre-accession correspondence occur in letters dating from the 1540s, after which the variant does not occur again until a letter to James VI written in 1588. The difference between the two decades of the pre-accession period, the 1540s and 1550s, is statistically significant (p > 0.5) and the diachronic distribution suggests that Elizabeth modified her preferences in the early 1550s. The change cannot, therefore, be explained by the social changes connected to her accession. Instead, other biographical experiences may be significant.[57]

Social Factors

Macro-level trends indicate that gender and domicile are the most significant social factors for this linguistic change. In CEEC, male informants lead the change: in 1500-1539, men use *which* around 90% of the time with women's usage hovering around 75% (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 128). By the period of Elizabeth's adolescence and early reign, 1540-1579, the difference narrows and both groups use the variant about 90% of the time. When Elizabeth's pre-accession usage is compared with the CEEC sub-period, the frequency of 83.1% suggests that she in fact lagged behind both genders.

However, I believe it is significant that Elizabeth's earliest years fall within the final decade of the 1500-1539 sub-period, when the difference between genders is more pronounced. Scholars (McIntosh 2008: para. 29, Borman 2009, esp. 44-126) have commented on the influence of Elizabeth's caregivers during her childhood, and the presence of *the which* in Elizabeth's 1540s correspondence may show the linguistic effect of this influence, with the female caregivers exposing Elizabeth to the form from earliest childhood. I have made a similar argument for the influence of female speakers in other changes during her childhood.

To test this hypothesis, I examined the frequency of *the which* and *which* in the letters of female informants involved in Elizabeth's early upbringing, although PCEEC offers only a few relevant examples. The letter by Catherine Parr contains only *which*. In the two letters representing Mary I, the dominant form is *which*, but there is one example of *the which*. The

---

[57] Elizabeth's usage is not as striking as that of Sabine Johnson, where *the which* accounts for over 90% occurrences in Sabine's letters in CEEC (1520-1550). Nevalainen (1996b: 82) suggests that her 'relative lack of exposure to the changing literary usage of the time' could explain her unusual preference.

132

overall scarcity of the outgoing variant at this time means that the macro-level corpus cannot offer much evidence to support the correlation with female informants specifically connected to Elizabeth's early life. However, Nevalainen suggests that unfamiliarity with the literary trends of the period could affect the rate of an individual's replacement of *the which* by *which* (1996b: 81). The women of the Elizabeth's household, whilst educated, would potentially be less familiar with current literary trends than their male contemporaries.

Gender thus provides the strongest, if chiefly theoretical, correlate for this period. The macro-level figures for domicile, whilst significant in the fifteenth century, show that the Court, London and North use *which* around 90% of the time in the 1520-1559 sub-period (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 176). The similarity across the social spectrum is also shown by social rank; in 1520-1550 the nobility use *which* 94%, social climbers 89% and non-gentry 87% (Nevalainen 1996a: 68).[58]

In the post-accession period, Elizabeth's usage is comparable to the macro-level trends across the social categories.

The point of interest for this variable therefore lies in her earliest usage, and my remaining analysis will focus on the pre-accession period. Currently, the social factors offer one reason for the lag in the generalisation of *which*. They cannot explain the apparent rapid completion of the change in the 1550s.

Systemic Factors

In ME *the which* occurs 'particularly in contexts in which an unambiguous link between the relative clause and the antecedent is needed' (Rissanen 1999: 297), such as relatives with sentential antecedents. Rissanen (*ibid.*) states that ambiguous contexts remain the favoured location for *the which* until the end of the sixteenth century. In order to establish if this specialist usage relates to, and may explain, the frequency of *the which* in Elizabeth's idiolect, I have examined five contexts that may require an unambiguous link:

1. Non-restrictive clauses, which do not limit the reference of the antecedent and thus have a greater scope for ambiguity.[59]

---

[58] These figures use the 1994 version of CEEC. Unfortunately, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) do not provide specific figures in their discussion, which uses CEEC 1998.

[59] Over the years, scholars have debated the validity of the restrictive/non-restrictive distinction, particularly in EModE (e.g. Romaine 1982, Dekeyser 1984, Hope 1994). However, the apparent significance of non-restrictive clauses in macro-level accounts made the categorisation a necessary one for the present analysis. I omit five tokens for my analysis of this context in the post-accession correspondence, where I found the semantic distinction to be ambiguous. One ambiguous token is excluded from the pre-accession translations.

2. Continuative clauses, which are clauses in coordination rather than with a subordinate structure. They are a particular type of a non-restrictive clause, with a weak tie between the relative marker and the antecedent; e.g.: 'we can send you more **which** with all speed we mean to do' (December 1601, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

3. Clauses with sentential antecedents, which are less explicit than nominal antecedents.

4. Clauses with the marker used as a determiner, which always occurs in non-restrictive clauses, and are thought to be the product of foreign linguistic influence and 'the demand for structural clarity' (Rissanen 1999: 296); e.g.: 'And therefore have I (as for assay, or beginning, following the right notable saying of the proverb aforesaid) translated this little **book** out of French rhyme [...] **The which book** is entitled, or named the mirror or glass, of the sinful soul (31st December 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

5. Prepositional clauses, which have a greater level of complexity than other relative marker syntactic positions.

I have calculated the percentage of *which* and *the which* in each context, from all the tokens for each marker in QEIC correspondence. This method provides a more accurate picture of the function of each relative marker in Elizabeth's idiolect than calculating the percentage of *the which* in each context. For example, *the which* accounts for 25% of non-restrictive tokens for both markers in the pre-accession period, which simply illustrates the low frequency of *the which*. By calculating the figures for each marker individually, I find that all instances of *the which* in the pre-accession corpus occur in non-restrictive contexts, whereas only 63.3% *which* tokens occur in non-restrictive clauses in the data. This suggests that *the which* had a narrower systemic function than *which* in Elizabeth's idiolect. The results for the five contexts for *the which* and *which* are shown in Figure 8 and Table 58.

134
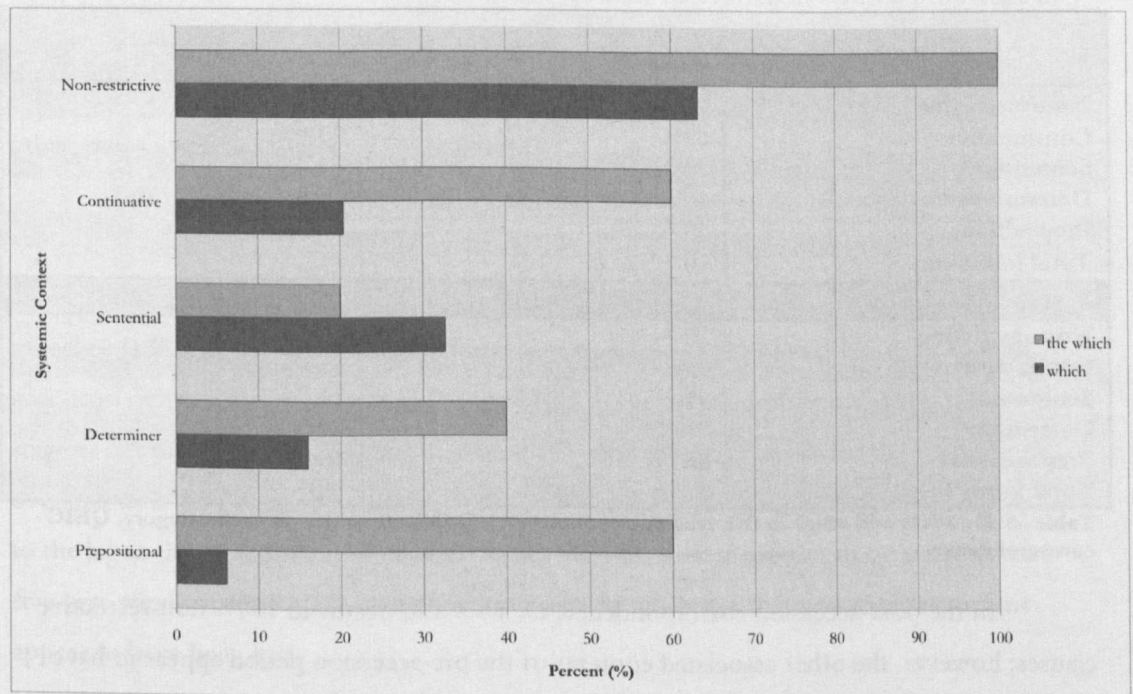
Figure 8: *the which* and *which* in five systemic contexts (%). Pre-accession QEIC correspondence.

In the QEIC pre-accession correspondence there is a clear connection between *the which* and four of the five contexts. The outgoing relative marker occurs only in non-restrictive clauses, and half of the tokens are located in continuative clauses. Over a third of the tokens use the marker as a determiner.[60] The prepositional context is also a significant factor in promoting Elizabeth's use of *the which*, with 60% of *the which* markers found in this context (p > 0.001). This fits the macro-level data; in the HC prepositional relative clauses account for the majority of *the which* in the sixteenth century (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000).

The scope and function of *which* in the pre-accession period is much broader, and a lower proportion of tokens occur in the five contexts. The low percentage (6.1%) for *which* in prepositional clauses, in particular, suggests that Elizabeth preferred to use *the which* for this context in the pre-accession period. My results suggest that *the which* had a specialist role in her idiolect, relating to semantically complex clauses, a distribution that can be described as grammatical specialization, a postulated symptom of a variant's outgoing status in a language (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000).

---

[60] The figures for restrictiveness of the clause and continuative clauses are statistically significant (p > 0.5); determiner type and sentential clauses are not.

	% *the which*	% *which*
Pre-accession		
Non-restrictive	100%	63.3%
Continuative	60%	20.4%
Sentential	20%	32.7%
Determiner	40%	16%
Prepositional	60%	6.1%
Total forms (n.)	10	49
Post-accession		
Non-restrictive	100%	87.6%
Continuative	0%	15.3%
Sentential	0%	22.7%
Determiner	0%	2.5%
Prepositional	66.7%	22.1%
Total forms (n.)	3	163

Table 58: *the which* and *which* in five systemic contexts (%). Duplicate tokens in each category. QEIC correspondence.

In the post-accession correspondence, *the which* also occurs in 100% non-restrictive clauses; however, the other associated contexts of the pre-accession period appear to have no significance in Elizabeth's later idiolect, and the results are not statistically significant. The data for *which* indicates that the complex clause types comprise a lower proportion of relative clauses overall in the post-accession period. The data suggests that the stylistic properties of the 1540s letters, potentially leading to a greater proportion of syntactically complex relative clauses, may have contributed to the frequency of *the which* in this period.

Stylistic Factors

The stylistic distribution of *which* and *the which* during the Late Middle and Early Modern periods has been characterised as 'disordered heterogeneity' (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000: 221).[61] Raumolin-Brunberg's (2000) analysis of the fifteenth-century samples in the HC finds little consistency. *The which* is the more frequent form in some formal genres (fifteenth-century depositions), whereas *which* is the dominant marker in others (statutes and non-private letters) (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000: 216). In the sixteenth century (1500-1570), the distribution remains haphazard. In the breakdown by individual samples for the sub-period, texts with a frequency of *the which* higher than 20% include private letters, travelogues, diaries, handbooks and treatises. Yet other samples of the latter three genres occur with less than 10% *the which* (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000: 217).

It is thus difficult to summarise the stylistic significance of *the which* at the macro-level during Elizabeth's lifetime, with 'individual and textual variation' occurring with no discernible connection to broader conventions of genre or style (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000:

---

[61] Perhaps as a result, few studies have attended to the relationship between genre and variant; Romaine (1982), for example, does not distinguish between *which* and *the which* in her analysis.

221). On this basis, a feasible hypothesis is that *the which* had different stylistic properties in different idiolects, a suggestion that may explain the concentrated use of *the which* in Elizabeth's 1540s correspondence. If so, we would expect to find supportive evidence in the other, more literary examples of her writing.

Table 59 shows the percentage of *the which* in Elizabeth's translations and speeches. My first observation is that the diachronic distribution seen in her correspondence represents an idiolect-wide change in preference; there are no instances of *the which* in her parliamentary speeches (1563-1586), nor in her post-accession translations (1592 and 1593). In the pre-accession translations, *which* is at 73.5%, equating to the 'near-completion' stage: the same stage as her pre-accession correspondence.[62] The date of composition for the translations overlaps with the dating of *the which* in Elizabeth's letters. If stylistic associations contribute to the lag in the replacement of *the which* in her idiolect, then it appears to be confined to a five-year window: 1544-1549. After that, any stylistic attributes that promote the variant appear to have been lost.

	Total *the which/which*	% *which*
PreA translations	268	73.5
PostA translations	35	100
Speeches	30	100

Table 59: *which* (%) out of *the which/which*. QEIC translations and speeches.

To gain a better impression of the cross-genre distribution of the variable, and to focus on the years of lag in Elizabeth's idiolect, Table 60 shows recalculated frequencies using the 1540s correspondence only. The proportion of *which* in the 1540s correspondence is 76.2%, comparable with the translation frequency of 73.5%.

	Total (*the which/which*)	% *which*
Correspondence: 1540s	42	76.2
Translations: 1540s	268	73.5

Table 60: *the which* (%) out of *the which/which*, 1544-1549. QEIC correspondence and translations.

I suggest above that *the which* had a specialised systemic function in Elizabeth's correspondence, and I have found the same trend in Elizabeth's pre-accession translations, again calculating the percentage of *the which* and *which* individually for each context (Table 61).

---

[62] The difference between the pre- and post-accession translations has a p value > 0.001.

	% *the which*	% *which*
Non-restrictive	90.1%	66.3%
Continuative	39.4%	5.1%
Sentential	15.5%	5.6%
Determiner	22.5%	4.6%
Prepositional clause	33.8%	1.5%
Total forms	71	197

Table 61: *The which* tokens and *which* tokens in five systemic contexts (%). QEIC pre-accession translations.

My results may show that *the which* was an idiosyncratic feature of Elizabeth's idiolect during the 1540s, before her preferences changed and *the which* fell out of use. The macro-level studies give this explanation clear precedent: the HC trends show no discernable genre-based pattern, but there is evidence of idiolectal and text-specific variation. Raumolin-Brunberg (2000: 215-6) notes that texts in different genres written by the same author show comparability in the frequency of *the which*. Rissanen also acknowledges that the form is 'favoured by certain authors' (1999: 297). One could simply use the concept of idiolectal variation to explain the findings for Elizabeth's 1540s correspondence and translations.

However, the biographical and socio-historical context allows me to offer a more precise explanation. In the ME and EModE periods, the progression of *wh-* relatives in English was largely a change from above, with upper-ranking, educated authors promoting the forms in formal and literary genres (Rissanen 1999: 295). The ambiguous 'loosely appended relative clauses', which I analysed as systemic factors, are associated with the 'influence of Latin and Latinate prose', and the Latin relative marker system (*ibid.*). Thus, *which* and *the which* are the tools with which to achieve the literary and stylistic ideals of sixteenth-century prose; determiner *(the)which*, for example, is explicitly identified with 'the literate mode' in Rissanen's account (1999: 296). In the 1540s, an intense decade for Elizabeth's education, she may have noted the prestigious and specialised role of *the which* in learned and literary texts, and made an association between particular systemic contexts and the marker in her own writing. The rather earnest use of the determiner context illustrates the connection between style and form (109, 110), particularly when compared with the more organic examples found in her later writing (111).[63]

109. wherefore I trust you shall never find that fault in me, to **the which thing** I do not see that your grace has made any direct answer at this time (21st February 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

110. it should please God to mitigate his judgement: **The which thing** thou couldst not obtain (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

---

[63] Elizabeth's stepmother Catherine Parr also uses this determiner type, although with *which*: 'suche as ye schall thynke convenyent, **wyche thynge** obtayned $shall $be{TEXT:schalbe} no small schame to yowr brother' (Catherine Parr, 1547; ORIGIN2, 152).

111. the good justice that with your own person you have been pleased to Execute together with the large assurance that your words have given to some of my ministers **which all** doth make me ready to drink most Willingly (15th May 1588, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

In my other analyses, I have found that the patterns for a variable in Elizabeth's pre-accession translations are often a heightened or contrasting version of the distribution seen in her correspondence; e.g. the frequency of affirmative *do* or the use of the ME pronoun system. In the case of *(the)which*, it appears that the stylistic significance of *the which* was equally relevant to both genres in her pre-accession writing.

Interactive Factors

For the final stage of my analysis, I examine the role of interactive factors. Letters for the 1540s represent only three recipients: Catherine Parr, Edward Seymour and Thomas Seymour. Only Parr and Edward Seymour receive letters containing *the which* or *which*, although the omission of Thomas Seymour is most likely a reflection of the limited corpus data for this individual (one short letter), rather than evidence of interactive variation. The letters to Parr and Edward Seymour contain both *the which* and *which*. *The which* occurs in only one of three letters to Parr: the 1544 preface to Elizabeth's translation of Navarre:

112. the words (or rather the order of my writing) **the which** I know in many places to be rude (June 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

All five letters to Edward Seymour written during the "Seymour Affair" contain examples of *the which* (e.g. 113). An earlier letter to him, written in 1548, contains no tokens of either relative marker.

113. these are shameful slanders, for **the which** besides the great desire I have to see the King's Majesty I shall most Heartily desire your Lordship (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

The letters to Parr and Seymour differ in their compositional context and function; my analysis of other linguistic features in the letters to Seymour, for instance, has highlighted aspects connected to more spoken and discursive linguistic modes (e.g. affirmative *do*). The preface to Elizabeth's translation, addressed to Parr, is carefully constructed and shares the literary tone of the text that follows it. Thus, the interactive context appears to have little influence upon Elizabeth's selection of the variant. Systemic, social and stylistic factors have a more significant role in her status as lagger.

Summary

Overall, the marginal status of *the which* in Elizabeth's idiolect conforms closely to macro-level norms for the sixteenth century. The diachronic developments show no evidence that Elizabeth modified her usage in response to her accession, reinforcing my suspicion that her accession, whilst a historically significant event, may not be the most significant episode for her idiolect.

Instead, Elizabeth lags behind the macro-level norm in her earliest writing (1544-9), a trend I have explained by the possible contact with her female caregivers in her early childhood, as well as the development of a specialised systemic function connected to prose ideals of the sixteenth century. However, it is curious that *the which* disappears so abruptly after 1549. The literary and rhetorically influenced correspondence to Edward VI, written only a few years later (1551-3), contains plenty of prepositional and non-restrictive clauses that promote *the which* in her earlier correspondence.

I propose that Elizabeth's biographical experiences can offer a persuasive explanation for the change in preference after 1549. In 1550, when she turned seventeen years old, she began to attend the Court frequently, building a positive relationship with her brother, King Edward VI. Elizabeth's activities and social experiences in the 1550s were a significant change from the preceding years, when Elizabeth was still under the protection of her stepmother Catherine Parr. It is plausible that the change in Elizabeth's social context provided an extralinguistic impetus that accelerated the loss of *the which*. I believe it is significant that the HC sample of King Edward's diary from this time shows no examples of outgoing variant *the which* (Raumolin-Brunberg 2000: 217).

Throughout my analysis, I have characterised Elizabeth's position in this change (in the 1540s, at least) as a 'lagger'. However, as the closing point to this chapter I believe the description needs to be refined. Smith (1996: 114) makes a useful distinction between types of language change. His terms 'innovative failure' and 'innovative success' distinguish new forms in the language according to their period of functionality. The decline of *the which* is one of innovative failure, the Northern form losing out to a variant, *which*, that was already established — indeed, too firmly established — in the language. Elizabeth's status as lagger in this change refers to her slower-than-average loss of the failed form. This, I believe, is significantly different to cases where the lagger status is defined by the slow acquisition of an innovative success, an incoming form that goes on to become the generalised norm in the language (e.g. negative *do*).

It is possible to speculate that, from a synchronic perspective, Elizabeth may have perceived *the which* as the new, incoming form, with qualities distinguishing it as a prestigious and learned variant. Had *the which* made a more definitive impression on the English

140

language, Elizabeth's early preferences may again have placed her in the 'leader' category. Instead, the events of the 1550s caused her to re-evaluate the form and replace it with *which*. Conceptualising the change in this way emphasises the importance of Elizabeth's stylistic sensitivity to language in her participation in language change. She may well be a lagger in a quantitative, diachronic sense, but this is because her valuation of the variant at a stylistic level, which occupied a clear systemic role in her idiolect, differed from the macro-level norm. My results do not suggest her lagger status reflects a conservative attitude towards language change.

Superlative Adjectives

In the previous chapters, my analysis has found little correlation between the diachronic patterns and Elizabeth's accession. In the present chapter, I discuss my findings for a linguistic feature that does show a connection with this biographical event - superlative adjectives.[64] In the Early Modern period, there were three methods for creating a superlative: the synthetic variant using terminal inflection, *-est* (114); the analytic variant with periphrastic *most* (115); and the double form, which combines both methods (116).

> 114. Your **dearest** chamber (16th March 1589, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).
>
> 115. My **most dear** brother (September 1589, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).
>
> 116. Your **most necessariest** weapons (3rd December 1600, to Charles Blount, QEIC correspondence).

The inflection method dates back to Old English, and periphrasis – whilst previously held to have emerged in Middle English (e.g. Pound 1901: 3) – has recently been back-dated to the Old English period as well.[65] The third method, the double form, is far less common, accounting for only 2% of superlatives in the EModE section of the Helsinki Corpus (Kytö and Romaine 1997). As Kytö puts, the double form is 'of sporadic use only; the real rivalry is between the inflectional and the periphrastic form proper' (Kytö 1996: 128). Thus, I analyse Elizabeth's superlatives as a bi-partite system, and include a separate analysis of the double superlative at the end of this chapter.

The superlative variable is not a linguistic change of the kind I have investigated in the preceding chapters – neither periphrasis nor inflection has generalised to the detriment of the other. Instead, the Early Modern period saw a movement away from free variation towards systematic variation, whereby the choice of method is largely predictable based on systemic and stylistic factors. It may be for this reason that historical sociolinguists have yet to conduct a macro-level investigation of the superlatives, but have instead focused upon systemic and stylistic variation, and the development of the system now found in PDE. As a result, my own analysis has a slightly different comparative focus than that of the preceding chapters.

---

[64] In the initial research for this chapter, I also analysed comparative adjectives. Elizabeth's preferences showed minimal diachronic or stylistic variation, and I have omitted the data to focus on superlatives. However, many of the macro-level studies I consult assess both comparative and superlative forms in their analysis. My comparisons are made with the superlative data only, unless otherwise stated.

[65] See González-Díaz (2006) for a discussion of the Old English evidence.

Whilst some linguists (e.g. Lass 1999) discuss adjective and adverb superlatives collectively, I have restricted my analysis to adjectives following the methodologies of previous studies (Kytö 1996, González-Díaz 2003, 2008). I disregard adjectives that change lexical form i.e. *bad, worst* and focus on those that are modified only by inflection or periphrasis: e.g. *happy, happiest, beautiful, most beautiful.* I identified *-est* and *most* tokens in QEIC using the *AntConc* concordance program, before manually checking and sorting the tokens into a database.

Results

In the QEIC correspondence, periphrasis is Elizabeth's preferred strategy and accounts for 61.1% of all superlative forms. The diachronic distribution shows that her preference for periphrasis is most pronounced in the pre-accession period, with a frequency of 84%. In the post-accession period this figure drops to just over half, at 57.3%. The difference between periods is statistically significant (p > 0.5). The decrease in periphrasis over time fits with the macro-level trends. Results from the HC (all genres) show that inflection was the rising variant, increasing from 47% in the Late Middle English period to over 50% in the Early Modern period (1500-1710) (Kytö 1996: 129, Kytö and Romaine 1997). In the correspondence sub-section of the HC, Kytö (1996: 131) reports an overall percentage of 66% inflection for the Early Modern period (1500-1710), similar to the figure for the QEIC correspondence.

Systemic Factors

In this section, I assess the influence of systemic factors on the formation method of superlatives in Elizabeth's idiolect; factors that have now regularised and can be used to predict the choice of inflection or periphrasis in PDE (González-Díaz 2008: 77). The first factor I examine is word length (syllable count). Analysis of the HC has led Kytö and Romaine (1997) to describe it as 'a powerful factor' in the Early Modern period.[66] Over 70% of monosyllables take inflection at the start the Early Modern period, rising to 90% by 1700. Trisyllabic words (and longer) take periphrasis over 95% of the time. Only disyllabic words show a more variable distribution between the two methods, although Kytö's (1996: 133) analysis of the HC found that periphrasis accounted for over 60% of disyllables in the Early Modern period. I have calculated the relationship between word length and superlative method in QEIC correspondence, shown in Table 62.

---

[66] In her extensive qualitative survey of the Early Modern period, Louise Pound offers a more tentative interpretation, suggesting the associations were 'well on the way, but not fully established' in Elizabeth's lifetime (Pound 1901: 10).

144

Word length	Inflection	Periphrasis
Monosyllables	54 (81.8%)	12 (18.2%)
Disyllables	14 (19.2%)	59 (80.8%)
Trisyllables (+)	0 (0%)	36 (100%)

Table 62: Inflection/Periphrastic superlatives (%) by word length. QEIC correspondence.

The rate of inflection with monosyllables, at 81.8%, shows a convincing correlation with the HC trends. The frequency of inflection in this word-length is largely attributable to recurrent and consistently modified adjectives. For instance, *greatest* occurs 19 times in the superlatives data, and other recurrent monosyllabic adjectives, such as *sure* (n=5), *high* (n=5), *meet* (n=4) and *safe* (n=2) also occur only with the inflected form. Some monosyllables do show variation in comparison strategy: *dear* occurs three times with inflection and three times with periphrasis; *true* occurs only once with inflection and twice with periphrasis. Unfortunately diachronic analysis of the monosyllabic items is not possible, as the token count (n = 5) for the pre-accession period is too low.

In her survey of adjective comparatives, González-Díaz suggests that 'the higher the frequency of the adjective, the greater the likelihood of inflectional forms being selected' (González-Díaz 2008: 77). Whilst comparatives and superlatives show different properties in the history of English (e.g. Kytö and Romaine 1997), Gonzalez-Diaz's hypothesis provides an accurate prediction of the properties of monosyllabic superlatives in the QEIC correspondence.

High frequency items also occur in the trisyllabic (+) data, suggesting that they may contribute to the exclusive use of periphrasis for this word length; the periphrastic superlative *most affectionate* occurs 16 times in the correspondence, for example. The correlation between polysyllables and periphrasis fits with the macro-level trends identified in historical corpora (Kytö and Romaine 1997). Again, the pre-accession correspondence data for trisyllabic forms (n = 3) is insufficient for diachronic analysis.

Finally, the relationship between disyllabic adjectives and formation method also fits with the macro-level patterns, with Elizabeth's clear preference for periphrasis (80.8%) at the upper-end of the figures identified at the macro-level. Kytö's (1996) study of the E1 and E2 periods in the HC (1500-1640) finds an average frequency of 79% periphrasis, with a slight decline between the two periods (see Table 63).

Period	Disyllables: inflection	Disyllables: periphrasis
E1 (1500-1570)	12 (14%)	72 (86%)
E2 (1570-1640)	16 (33%)	33 (67%)
Overall	28 (21%)	105 (79%)

Table 63: Inflection/periphrasis (%) in disyllabic adjectives. Helsinki Corpus (all genres). Adapted from Kytö (1996: 133).

In the QEIC correspondence, the token count for disyllabic adjectives is higher than the other word lengths, and I can examine the data diachronically. The findings show that disyllabic adjectives promote periphrasis in the pre-accession period, with 16 of the 17 tokens formed with this method (94.1%). In the post-accession data, the rate of periphrasis drops to 75% (42 of 56 tokens), showing a parallel decline with the overall (cross-genre) figures from the HC. Recurring adjectives may explain the dominance of periphrasis in Elizabeth's pre-accession correspondence: 12 of the 16 periphrastic superlatives constitute only three adjective forms, *humble*, *noble* and *hearty*, and Elizabeth uses periphrasis consistently for each.

Previous macro-level analyses have focused on the disyllabic group when analysing systemic factors. This is because disyllables show the greatest variation in the selection of inflection or periphrasis, indicating that they are susceptible to systemic properties other than word length (e.g. González-Díaz 2008: 75-88). One property is the ending of the adjective. Whilst a range of endings has been identified as promoting one method over the other (see Elzinga 2006: 759; Kytö and Romaine 2000: 181, Lass 1999: 156, Kytö 1996: 136), my analysis is restricted to the available forms in QEIC correspondence. Table 64 shows the six most frequent endings for the disyllabic superlative adjectives, listing the expected formation method where applicable (based on Lass 1999: 156) and the number of tokens for each method in Elizabeth's correspondence.

Word ending	Expected	PreA inflection	PreA periphrasis	PostA inflection	PostA periphrasis
ed	–	–	–	0	22
en	periphrasis	–	–	1	0
ful	periphrasis	1	2	5	5
ing	inflection	–	–	0	7
le	inflection	0	10	1	0
y	inflection	0	3	5	4

Table 64: Word ending and formation method (number per period). Disyllables only. QEIC correspondence.

The influence of this systemic factor appears minimal. In general, Elizabeth's usage is fairly erratic, with the exception being the past participle –*ed*, which occurs 22 times with periphrasis in the post-accession period, and–*ing* with all seven tokens taking periphrasis. The endings -*le* and –*y* show no clear correlation with the macro-level norm: less than half of the tokens ending in –*y* take inflection, and only 1 of the 11 tokens ending in –*le* occur with the synthetic variant. Interestingly, Kytö notes that periphrasis also 'hangs on' with these word endings in the EModE HC data, contrary to the accepted literature (1996: 136). The word ending –*ful*, which in LModE is most likely to take periphrasis (Kytö and Romaine 2000: 181), occurs 6 times with inflection and 7 times with periphrasis in Elizabeth's

correspondence. Some adjectives even occur with both methods (*most careful, carefulest*). The influence of word ending is thus difficult to determine, with Elizabeth's preferences correlating and deviating at different points. My uncertainty indicates that Elizabeth does not lead the change in regards to this systemic factor. Other factors must instead contribute to the high frequency of periphrasis in her pre-accession correspondence, and the subsequent decrease in periphrasis in the post-accession period.

As well as adjective-specific properties, the wider systemic context can also influence the selection of superlative method in EModE. One particular type is the sequential superlative (117):

> 117. our **most noble and virtuous** queen Catherine (June 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

In Elizabeth's correspondence, sequential forms account for 14.8% (26 of 175) of all tokens, and these occur in both the pre- and post-accession periods, and all but one occurs with periphrasis. [67] Proportionally, this equates to almost a quarter of the periphrastic superlative tokens in the correspondence data (statistically significant $p > 0.001$). Interestingly, the exception does not use inflection, but instead contains both periphrasis and inflection to modify the adjectives separately (118):

> 118. Your **most** assured and **faithfullest** sister and cousin (1st August 1583, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

The final systemic factor I wish to discuss is the type of superlative. As a true superlative expression, the adjective should have a reference point (i.e. the item with which it is being compared). However, examining the QEIC correspondence, there is only one token that occurs in an expression of explicit comparison:

> 119. I may die the **shamefullest** death that **ever any** died afore I may mean any such thing (17th March 1554, to Mary I, QEIC correspondence).

The majority of superlatives from Elizabeth's correspondence are 'elative (absolute) superlative[s]' (Pound 1901: 57), also known as 'laudatory superlatives' (Kytö 1996: 136), which have no point of comparison. Pound's analysis of EModE literary texts shows that elatives were frequent in the late fifteenth century, and continue to be prevalent throughout the sixteenth century, including the writings of Thomas Elyot and Roger Ascham (Pound 1901: 58); Kytö (1996: 136) makes a similar observation in regards to the frequency of elative superlatives in the EModE HC data. Pound (1901: 58) observes that elatives are used 'before

---

[67] I have counted each sequence of superlative adjectives as one token; i.e. example 117 is one periphrastic superlative, as my count recognises the single example of *most* as modifying both adjectives. An exception is example 118, where I have counted each distinctly modified adjective as one token each.

titles, in phrases of compliment, in direct address, in exclamations'. The implied interactive properties suggest that closer analysis of this factor may reveal a connection to the trends in Elizabeth's correspondence. I continue my analysis of this type in the section that follows.

Interactive Factors

Whilst elative superlatives account for all except one of the examples in Elizabeth's correspondence, it is possible to further refine the category into the different contexts (i.e. function) in which the elatives occur. A third of all elative tokens in the QEIC correspondence occur in the opening and closing sections of Elizabeth's letters, thus showing semi-formulaic qualities. I term these address-form superlatives (120):

> 120. Your **most** loving cousin and sovereign (1575, to Walter Devereux, QEIC correspondence).

The connection between address-form superlatives and periphrasis is striking, with 96.6% tokens taking periphrasis. By comparison, elative superlatives that do not occur in address-form contexts take periphrasis only 43.6% of the time (p > 0.001). This indicates that, without the address-form superlatives in the data, Elizabeth's preferred formation method would be inflection.

	Total periphrasis and inflection	% Periphrasis
Address-form	58	96.6
Non-address-form	117	43.6

Table 65: Periphrasis (%) in address-form and non-address-form adjectival superlatives. QEIC correspondence.

In their analysis of the HC, Kytö and Romaine include correspondence in the periphrasis category, a group that otherwise contains genres 'less likely to reflect spoken language' (Kytö and Romaine 1997). In her earlier study, Kytö (1996: 138) explains this apparent abnormality. She observes that the high percentage of periphrasis documented in private correspondence across the Early Modern period is attributable to the 'highly rhetorical use of adjectival comparison' in epistolary formula, i.e. address-form superlatives. She does not provide any figures.

In Elizabeth's correspondence, the address-form superlatives overlap with the systemic factors I discussed above. The address-form superlatives are mainly disyllabic (*noble, humble, faithful*) or trisyllabic (+) forms (*excellent, affectionate*) with a high percentage of periphrasis. They are also high frequency adjectives; for instance, 15 of the 16 occurrences of trisyllabic periphrastic *affectionate* occur in closing subscriptions. Disyllabic *assured* (21 tokens) and *loving* (7 tokens) are also predominantly address-form superlatives, and Elizabeth consistently modifies these adjectives with periphrasis. Address-form superlatives also

overlap with the word-ending data. The most consistent context, the 22 examples of past participle *–ed* modified by periphrasis, all occur in adjectives used in Elizabeth's subscriptions.

The type of superlative, as an address-form or non-address form, can also help explain variation in Elizabeth's choice of method for particular adjectives. The adjective *dear* occurs six times in QEIC correspondence: three periphrastic and three inflected forms. The periphrastic examples are all address-form (e.g. 121). Conversely, two of the inflected forms are non-address-form elative superlatives positioned in the main body of the letter (e.g. 122). The third inflected form is an address-form (123). However, the context is somewhat different from the other examples, as it occurs in that letter's exterior address label rather than as part of the letter itself.

121. My **most dear** brother (1593, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

122. soon after to be extolled to your **dearest** chamber (1589, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

123. To my **dearest** brother and Cousin the King of Scots (1586, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

From one perspective, the dominance of the address-form superlatives skews my data, and prohibits accurate analysis of the general patterns of inflection and periphrasis in Elizabeth's idiolect. Yet, conversely, the data provides a valuable insight into her usage specific to her correspondence; the superlatives in address-form contexts characterise her use of the linguistic feature in this particular interactive and generic context and hence provide important evidence of the role of *style* in her idiolect.

Indeed, the insight offered by these forms allows me to suggest that the address-form superlatives explain the decrease in periphrasis between the pre- and post-accession periods. Significantly, the diachronic change is connected to the function of the address-form superlatives, and their sensitivity to social relationships. Elizabeth's different social status, before and after her accession, affects her use of this particular type of superlative. The correlation between address forms and social status has been identified elsewhere in sixteenth-century correspondence. Nevala (2004) examines the diachronic development of address forms in CEEC using a socio-pragmatic framework, and finds them to be a powerful tool in creating and maintaining social relationships in epistolary communication.

Some of her most interesting findings in relation to my analysis concern the address forms used by social climbers. In letters to individuals who ascend the social ranks, she found that the writers would address the recipient in different ways, before and after their promotion; for example, letters addressed to Thomas Cromwell before his ascent are less deferential than after he assumed the title Earl of Essex (2004: 123-4). Another interesting

finding is Nevala's suggestion that the selection of periphrasis for address-form superlatives is a highly formalised feature of Early Modern correspondence. Nevala observes that 'intensifiers such as *very*, *entirely* and *most* often appear in the material' (2004: 87), and this applies particularly to address-forms in the honorific category (e.g. 2004: 91). She further notes that opening address forms are 'more bound to address rules' – such as the formulaic use of intensified expressions – than the closing formulae, which 'can be more freely constructed' (2004: 124).

Nevala's observations support my interpretation of Elizabeth's correspondence. In the pre-accession period, the most frequent address-form superlatives are deferential and flattering terms; *noble*, *humble* and *excellent* are typical adjectives of the period and Kytö remarks upon the prominence of the first two forms in her study of address-form superlatives in private correspondence in the HC (1996: 136). The *OED Online* states that *humble* was common in formal correspondence of the period, used to mark the recipient's superior status over the sender (*OED Online* [accessed 31/05/11]). The intensified form *most humble* is therefore an exaggerated marker of deference; Elizabeth uses it in letters addressed to Catherine Parr, Edward I and Edward Seymour. *Noble* as a "courtesy title" dates from the late 14ᵗʰ century (*OED Online*). In the pre-accession correspondence, Elizabeth only uses the adjective in its superlative form, suggesting it had a highly formalised role as a marker of deference to the recipient.

124. To our **most noble** and virtuous queen Katherine (31ˢᵗ December 1544, to Catherine Parr, QEIC correspondence).

125. To the **most noble** King Edward VI (1552, to Edward VI, QEIC correspondence).

126. Like as a shipman in stormy weather plucks down the sails, tarrying for better wind, so did I, **most noble** King, in my unfortunate chance a Thursday pluck down the high sails of my joy and comfort (c. May 1553, to Edward VI, QEIC correspondence).

127. When I revolve in mind (**most noble** Queen)' (1556, to Mary I, QEIC correspondence).

The address-form superlatives in the post-accession correspondence communicate Elizabeth's equal and indeed superior relationship with the recipient.[68] In this period, address-form superlatives include adjectives such as *affectionate*, *assured* and *loving*; these forms are not listed as elative in Kytö's (1996) analysis of the HC correspondence. Significantly, address-form superlatives are not used consistently in the closing lines and subscription of Elizabeth's post-accession correspondence; un-intensified expressions such as 'your loving kinswoman' (26ᵗʰ February 1570, to Henry Carey, QEIC correspondence) are also found. In

---

[68] My discussion of deferential and superior address could be re-worked within the framework offered by politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987), which distinguishes between negative and positive politeness. Whilst there is insufficient space in my present analysis, Nevala (2004) offers a detailed, diachronic account of Early Modern correspondence address using this approach.

another contrast with her early correspondence, address-form superlatives are less common in the opening lines of post-accession letters. The formulaic superlative adjectives have been replaced with less intensified address-forms, 'my lord' (11th April 1572, to William Cecil, QEIC correspondence) or 'my dear brother and cousin' (7th August 1583, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

To summarise: in the pre-accession period, address-form superlatives constitute the majority of superlative tokens. These occur primarily in the opening lines of the letters and use highly formulaic expressions of deference (*most noble*, *most humble*) appropriate to Elizabeth's social status, thus providing a significant contribution to the percentage of periphrastic superlatives in this period. In the post-accession period, the change in Elizabeth's social status allows for a greater degree of flexibility in the opening and closing formulae. As a result, the address-form superlatives are less frequent, and make up a lower proportion of superlative tokens. Overall, the diachronic differences in the correspondence superlatives are connected to the changes in Elizabeth's social status specifically associated with her accession.

As an additional point, Elizabeth's correspondence suggests that social climbers change the address-forms that they use, as well as the change in address-forms used *to* social climbers documented by Nevala (2004).

Stylistic Factors

I now analyse the distribution of periphrasis and inflection in the other QEIC genres, in order to establish how Elizabeth's preferences fit with the macro-level norm, and if they also show a change connected to her accession. The trends in the HC indicate that 'matter-of-fact text types' encompassing handbooks and spoken mode genres show a preference for inflection. More literary genres, including philosophical and religious treatises, are more likely to use periphrasis (Kytö 1996: 130, Kytö and Romaine 2000: 185). It has been suggested that the distribution may reflect the written origin of the periphrastic form and the association with Latinate lexis. The patterns may also relate to the greater markedness of the periphrastic form, which allows the element of degree and the adjective to be individually foregrounded, and would be more plausible in literary, rhetorical texts (Kytö 1996: 123, Kytö and Romaine 2000: 185; González-Díaz 2008: 89).

	Total inflection/periphrasis	Periphrasis (%)
Pre-accession correspondence	25	84%
Post-accession correspondence	150	57.3%
Speeches	20	15%
Pre-accession translations	13	84.6%
Post-accession translations	61	3.3%

Table 66: Periphrastic (%) superlatives. QEIC speeches and translations.

The results for the three genres in QEIC are presented in Table 66. The frequency of periphrasis in the parliamentary speeches is 15%, much lower than the post-accession correspondence (57.3%), and the difference is further illustrated when re-calculated according to word length (Table 67).

	Monosyllabic	Disyllabic	Trisyllabic (+)
Speeches	12 (0%)	6 (50%)	2 (0%)

Table 67: Periphrastic (%) superlatives by word length, out of inflected and periphrastic tokens. QEIC speeches.

Most striking is Elizabeth's use of inflection, not periphrasis, for the trisyllabic and quadsyllabic adjectives (128, 129):

128. If I should say the **sweetest** tongue or **eloquentest** speech that ever was in man were able to express that restless care (1576, QEIC speeches).

129. I might be thought **indifferentist** judge in this respect (1576, QEIC speeches).

Although the numbers are not large enough to be statistically significant, I suggest the trisyllabic (+) adjectives are persuasive evidence for a stylistic difference between Elizabeth's speeches and correspondence. Periphrasis accounted for all trisyllabic (+) words in her letters.

Another difference between the speeches and post-accession correspondence is the superlative type. Elative superlatives comprise the majority of tokens (65%) in the speeches, but to a lesser degree than in the correspondence. The resultant effect on the rate of periphrasis is clear in the non-elative examples: 6 of the 7 true comparison superlatives (out of 20 superlatives overall) take inflection. More significantly, there are no address-form superlatives in the speeches data, and this is the type of superlative with which Elizabeth most consistently uses periphrasis. Thus adjectives also found in Elizabeth's correspondence, such as *humble* and *noble*, are formed using inflection in the speeches because of the difference in function: address-form and non-address-form.

130. to give Him my **humblest** thanks (12th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

Overall, the greater frequency of inflected forms in this genre correlates with the macro-level trends, which showed that spoken genres (excluding correspondence) contain a larger proportion of inflected forms.

In the pre-accession translations, periphrasis is the dominant method. Whilst the token counts are fairly low, the 84.6% periphrasis is nearly identical to the contemporary figure for Elizabeth's correspondence (84%). The disyllabic and trisyllabic forms, which account for just over half of the tokens, take 100% periphrasis and this may skew the data slightly. Yet three of the five monosyllabic forms also use the periphrastic strategy, which I

believe indicates the prominent position of periphrasis in these texts, despite the low token counts. The superlatives are primarily comprised of elative adjectives, but there are no address-form contexts. Instead, the non-address-form superlatives contribute to the intensified and emphatic expressions in the religious prose:

131. When I was going in the **most deep** place of hell (1544, Navarre, QEIC translations).

132. Therefore the **most wicked** men are an example unto us (1545, Calvin, QEIC translations).

When compared with the macro-level data, there is a strong case for stating that Elizabeth's preferences in the pre-accession period as a whole epitomise Kytö and Romaine's (2000: 185) assertion that literary texts and correspondence show a preference for periphrasis during the Early Modern period. However, it is important to emphasise that whilst the figures are nearly identical (c. 84%), Elizabeth's choice of method is sensitive to very different functions in each genre: the literary, more formal style in her translations and the formulaic address-form superlatives in her correspondence.

In the post-accession translations periphrasis accounts for only 3.3% of superlatives, a clear downward trend that mirrors the decline of periphrasis in Elizabeth's correspondence, as well as fitting the macro-level development. However, the actual percentage of periphrasis is much lower than the comparative material would predict. In Kytö's (1996: 131) investigation of the HC, for instance, handbooks contained the lowest level of periphrasis at 27%. The low frequency of periphrasis in Elizabeth's post-accession translations can partly be attributed to systemic factors. The majority of tokens are monosyllabic adjectives, which are known to promote inflection in her idiolect. Two disyllabic adjectives take periphrasis. Yet there is also an inflected trisyllabic form and, like the example in Elizabeth's parliamentary speeches, this is a marked form compared to the patterns in her correspondence:

133. among all your deeds this day hath won you the **generalest** praise (1592, Cicero, QEIC translation).

Boethius contains only inflected superlatives, largely occurring with monosyllabic adjectives. The lack of periphrastic forms is interesting, as we might have expected the different syllable lengths of each method to be deployed in the sections of verse.

One explanation for the low frequency of periphrasis in the post-accession translations is that it is a stylistic decision prompted by the source language of the original texts. Elizabeth composed both translations from Latin, and it is possible that her preference for inflection in the later period (evident in the speeches and non-address-form superlatives in her correspondence) is further enhanced by a desire to mark her English version from the source language.

Overall, my results for Elizabeth's speeches and translations complicate the trends I identified in her correspondence. In the translations, there is a decisive shift from periphrasis to inflection across the two periods but this cannot be explained by a decrease in address-form superlatives. The figures suggest that Elizabeth attached stylistic significance to the periphrastic method in her pre-accession writing, and re-evaluated this over time; if she had attached prestige to the periphrastic method in the post-accession period, then I would expect it to occur at least in most salient contexts, such as trisyllabic (+) adjectives. Instead, inflection is the dominant and preferred method. The parliamentary speeches corroborate her post-accession preferences for inflection. If my hypothesis is correct, then Elizabeth's usage corresponds to the macro-level trend that saw inflection increase over time, but to an exaggerated degree.

The role of Elizabeth's accession in the diachronic trends is less clear in the more literary material, most likely because they lack the social interactive properties that explained the change in address-form superlatives in the correspondence.

Double Forms

My discussion so far has treated superlative formation as a bipartite system. In this section, I examine the third option that was also available to speakers during the sixteenth century: the double superlative. The status of the third comparison strategy in Early Modern English has been described as 'marginal' and limited to 'literary language' (Kytö and Romaine 2000: 173). Whilst some vital work has been conducted on the social dimension of double comparatives (e.g. González-Díaz 2003, Kytö 1996), Early Modern double superlatives remain largely overlooked. In this section I offer new information on the construction. The relative infrequency of double superlatives in EModE, compared to the inflected and periphrastic forms, has allowed me to compile my own macro-level baseline using the sixteenth-century files in PCEEC. My discussion compares the new PCEEC data with the results for Elizabeth's idiolect from QEIC. I identified double superlative forms using the *AntConc* concordance program, allowing for spelling variants when searching PCEEC.

Results

In their study of superlative forms, Kytö and Romaine (1997, also Kytö 1996: 129) note that double superlatives comprise an average 2% of all superlative forms in the Early Modern section of the HC, with a downward trend across the period. My results for PCEEC suggest that the doubled form is also marginal in the letters corpus, although I have not been able to calculate the percentage. The normalised frequencies (0.08 per 10,000 words, falling to 0.01

154

per 10,000 words) offer a persuasive alternative perspective on the peripheral status of the double superlative in the corpus, and also show a downward trend.

In QEIC, my results show that double superlatives are also marginal in Elizabeth's correspondence, comprising 2.2% of all superlative forms. However, the double superlative may occur more frequently in her post-accession correspondence than the macro-level norm. Whilst there are no examples in the pre-accession correspondence, the post-accession data shows a normalised frequency of 0.12 times per 10,000 words; rare, but not as rare as the PCEEC figure of 0.01 times per 10,000 words.

Although little sociolinguistic work has been conducted on EModE double superlatives, González-Díaz (2003, 2007) provides some informative results for double comparatives that suggest the double comparative had social significance during the Early Modern period. Her analysis of dramatic dialogue found that Shakespeare, who contributes 66% of the examples in her study, aligns the form with 'the speech of important members of society' such as kings (e.g. Lear) or noble Romans and also the dialogue of social climbers (González-Díaz 2007: 646).

My analysis of periphrastic and inflected superlatives, above, found that the relationship between frequency of adjective and formation method was compatible with a hypothesis that González-Díaz had made based on the comparative forms (2008: 77). It is therefore appropriate to establish if the social properties of the double comparative also apply to double superlatives in the same period. To this end, I have analysed the distribution of the forms in PCEEC according to the social rank of the informant.
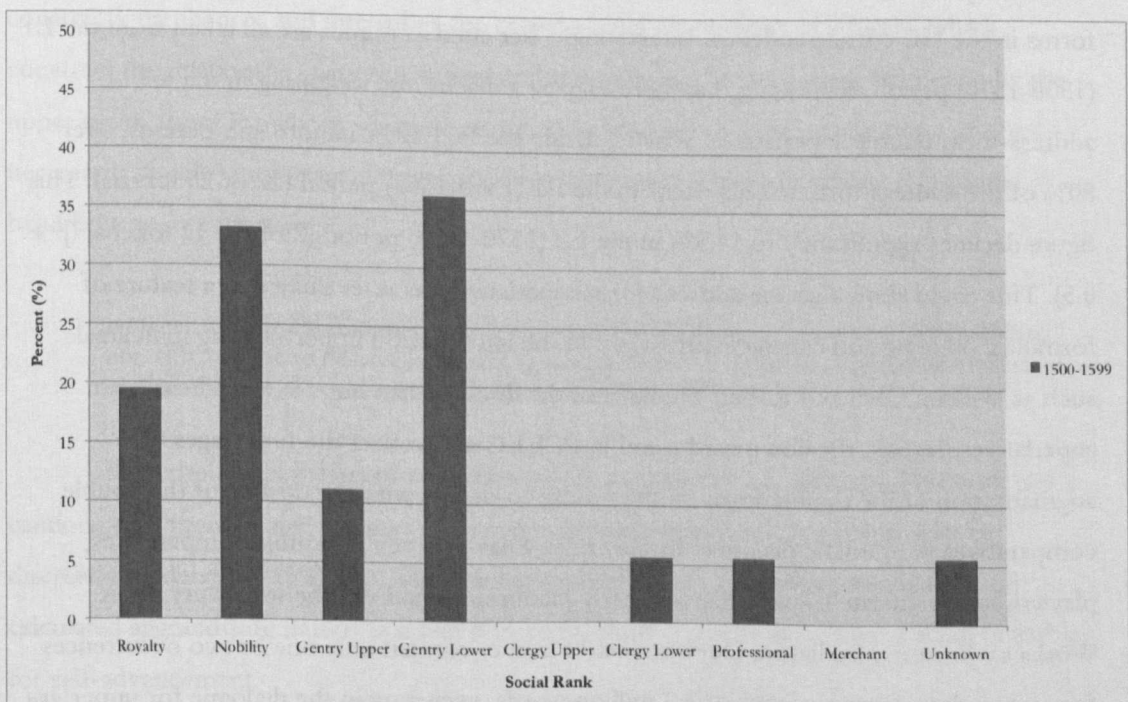
Figure 9: Distribution (%) of double superlatives by social rank, 1500-1599. PCEEC.

The results suggest that double superlatives were socially stratified, with a clear weighting towards the upper-ranks including informants of royal and noble status. This includes the sisters of Henry VIII, Mary and Margaret Tudor, and Elizabeth's own courtiers Robert Dudley and William Cecil. The trend initially suggests that Elizabeth conforms to the linguistic preferences of her peers in her (marginal) usage of double superlatives.

However, the correlation is less convincing when the data is examined qualitatively. Mary Tudor, Queen of France, and Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland (both writing to their brother, King Henry VIII) use the double superlative in an elative address-form context:

134. My **most derest** and ryt entierly belowyde Lord (1515, Mary Tudor; ORIGIN1, 124).

135. And the Holy Trenyte have you my **most derest** broder in tuycion and Governance (1515, Margaret Stuart [n. Tudor]; ORIGIN1, 129).

In (134) the double superlative sits in a cluster of emphatic statements designed to flatter and show respect towards the sovereign in the opening superscription to the letter. (135) is extracted from the subscription, and has similar qualities. Other users of the double superlative in an address-form context include Anne Boleyn writing to Cardinal Wolsey in 1528. Her use of the double superlative forms part of an opening expression of humility:

136. My Lord, in my **most humblyst** wyse that {in} my powuer hart can thynke I do thanke your Grace for your kynd Letter (1528, Anne Boleyn; ORIGIN1, 306).

Kytö (1996: 138-9) also notes that double superlatives typically occur in address-forms in the HC correspondence. Interestingly, her cited examples are all taken from the E1 (1500-1570) period, suggesting that there may be a diachronic weighting in the use of address-form double superlatives. When I divide the PCEEC data into sub-periods, over 80% of the address-form tokens occur in the E1 (1500-1569) period (22 of 25 tokens). This figure declines significantly to 14.3% in the E2 (1570-1639) period (2 of the 11 tokens) ($p > 0.5$). This could show that the address-form superlative was re-evaluated as a feature of formulaic opening and closing expressions; in the latter period upper-ranking individuals such as William Cecil and Robert Dudley use the double form but not as address-form superlatives. In fact, the downward trend in PCEEC may reflect the first stages of stigmatisation of the double form, as the timing co-occurs with the decline of the double comparatives in dramatic dialogue. In González-Díaz's survey of double comparatives, playwrights of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period use the form very rarely. Works by Jonson, Middleton, Heywood and Fletcher contain only one or two occurrences for each author, from a corpus of 3.3 million words, occurring in the dialogue for upper *and* lower class characters. González-Díaz (2003: 94) explains the difference by referring to the

156

age of the playwrights, all being of a generation younger than Shakespeare; the shift indicates the '*very beginnings* of the loss of prestige of double forms'.

In the PCEEC correspondence, the decreasing frequency of the address-form double superlative feasibly shows the same phenomenon. The important social role of address forms in opening or closing epistolary formula make this context a logical starting point for the stylistic re-evaluation of the double superlatives. My interpretation can be developed further by considering the rhetorical style shown in examples 134-136. The clustering of intensifying deferential and flattering forms, including the double superlative, compares to the rhetorical figure of *hyperbole*. George Puttenham's cautionary definition of *hyperbole* (the over reacher) states that:

> This maner of speech is used, when either we would greatly advaunce or greatly abase the reputation of any thing or person, and must be used very discreetly, or els it will seeme odious, for although a prayse or other report may be allowed beyond credit, it may not be beyond all measure (1589/2007: 108).

In her astute discussion of the figure, Katrin Ettenhuber remarks that Puttenham's account is 'genre-specific: the main province of hyperbole is now epideictic, the rhetorical form in which reputations can be made or destroyed' (2007: 200). She suggests that Puttenham was thinking of the environment of the Elizabethan Court, and the principles of 'how to make friends and influence people', when composing his definition. In such a context, *hyperbole* is an inappropriate tool for social negotiation 'incompatible with prudence and discretion' (*ibid.*).

The address-form double superlative fits neatly into the epideictic category. The construction enhances and intensifies the conventional expressions of address, which construct the relationship between author and recipient, and is used most frequently by the upper ranks; those for whom social decorum and social advancement were most (if not necessarily equally) important. Puttenham's contemporary, Henry Peacham, considered hyperbole as an important

> sentence or saying surmounting the truth onely for the cause of increasing or diminishing, not with purpose to deceive by speaking untruly, but with desire to amplifie the greatnesse or smalness of things by the exceeding similitude (1593: 31).

Hyperbole, as a means of amplification, is a useful device, although Peacham, too, cautions that 'there be not too great an excesse in the comparison: but that is may be discreetly moderated' (1593: 33). The line between genuine superlative experiences and calculated aggrandising flattery is a fine one, particularly if one is addressing a King or noble for self-advancement.

Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* was published in 1589, and it is striking that his Court-specific advice for the use of *hyperbole* coincides with the decline of the double superlative in PCEEC. As a device, it is possible that the hyperbolic role of the double superlative was considered unfit for the epistles of Elizabethan nobles and gentry in the latter-half of the sixteenth century. The relationship between double superlatives, *hyperbole* and correspondence would appear to be a rich area for future research.

In the previous sections of this chapter, I found that (periphrastic) address-form superlatives comprised a large proportion of the QEIC correspondence data, leading me to expect the double forms to occur in the same context, particularly as Elizabeth is also a member of the social groups (upper-ranks, the Court) who use the construction most frequently in PCEEC. Yet the QEIC correspondence does not meet my expectations. Only one double superlative is used as an address-form:

137. Your **most Assuredest** Sister and Cousin /Elizabeth R" (1ˢᵗ July 1588, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

138. I must not omit for conscience sake to speak a few words of the master of gray with whom I have had long discourse in which I find him the **most greediest** to do you acceptable service that I have ever heard any (October 1594, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

139. I rejoice with who is **most gladdest** that at length (though I confess almost too late) it pleaseth you so kingly and valiantly to resist with your person their outrecuidant malignant attempt (October 1594, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

140. And learn this of me, that you must make difference betwixt admonitions and charges, and like of faithful advices as your **most necessariest** weapons to save you from blows of princes mislike (3ʳᵈ December 1600, to Charles Blount, QEIC correspondence).

Most interesting, however, is the absence of address-form double superlatives in Elizabeth's pre-accession correspondence. The PCEEC data shows that the form occurred in expressions of humility and deference, a function that corresponds to the address-form periphrastic superlatives I identified in her early correspondence. The PCEEC evidence also shows that double superlatives were common in letters by Elizabeth's counterparts of social rank and domicile at this time. The lack of address-form double superlatives is therefore surprising, showing a deviation from the interactive style choices of her contemporaries. One hypothesis is that Elizabeth did not approve of the address-form double superlative during her youth; perhaps anticipating the 'odious' connotations decried by Puttenham (1589). However, this interpretation is weakened by the example in the post-accession period. Further research is needed if we are to confidently attribute the absence of address-form double superlatives to Elizabeth's preferences, rather than to the limited correspondence data available for the pre-accession period.

In Shakespearian dialogue, González-Díaz found that the double comparative construction typically co-occurs with other markers of more formal or high register speech, such as periphrastic *do* and the *–th* variant for third-person singular verbs, providing support for a reading of the doubled form as a marker of learned, upper-class speech (González-Díaz 2003: 91). In other genres, the double comparatives occur in blank verse or poetic prose, also associated with the high style (2003: 91).

The decline of address-form superlatives in the PCEEC data is not paralleled by the frequency of non-address-form examples. These maintain a steady, if infrequent position in the corpus, making it difficult to judge if stylistic associations, as identified for comparatives, have any relevance for this form.

My previous results for the literary genres indicated that Elizabeth was highly sensitive to the current stylistic significance of linguistic forms. It is therefore surprising that she does not appear to have attached any explicit association of prestige to the double superlative in either the pre- or post-accession period. There are no examples in the QEIC speeches or translations, despite many occurrences of inflected and periphrastic superlatives. On this basis, we might ascribe double superlatives more informal or less literary associations in Elizabeth's idiolect, an interpretation that would suggest that the stylistic significance of double superlatives differed at the macro-level from that of comparatives in EModE. Further analysis is needed to ascertain the prevalence of the construction across different genres of the Early Modern period to establish if Elizabeth's usage corresponds with macro-level trends.

Summary

The most significant finding in this chapter is the connection I have identified between the superlative formation method and Elizabeth's accession. The change in her social status affected her epistolary address-forms, and in turn influenced the proportion of periphrastic address-form superlatives in the correspondence data. My analysis highlights the importance of accounting for the interactive and stylistic dimensions when interpreting trends in linguistic data. Whilst the macro-level results hinted at the role of address-form superlatives, my analysis of Elizabeth's correspondence found that discriminating between superlative type was highly significant in my interpretation of the patterns in her idiolect. This is the first linguistic feature analysed in my study to show a correlation with her accession, and I believe it is significant that the address-form superlatives that show change have an explicit interactive function.

The chapter also provides new information about double superlatives in EModE. The diachronic trends in the macro-level PCEEC data suggest that the double superlative has particular social and stylistic associations, comparable with the socio-stylistic evidence identified for double comparatives in the same period (Gonzalez-Diaz 2003). My results also highlight the importance of address-forms, both in the macro-level data and in Elizabeth's own correspondence. The lack of double address-form superlatives in her pre-accession correspondence, when compared with the consistent use of the form by others of her social rank, is both interesting and unexpected. Indeed, the role of social and stylistic factors in the PCEEC and QEIC data suggests that further research into the double superlative would be a fruitful pursuit, in order to understand how the form transformed from a productive address-form expression in EModE to a stigmatised construction in the eighteenth century.

160

Royal we and Other Pronouns of Self-reference

In this chapter, I discuss a linguistic feature intrinsically related to Elizabeth's accession: her acquisition of the first-person singular form *royal we*. Because *royal we* was a pronominal form specific to the reigning monarch, I am unable to compare her use of the pronominal variable with the CEEC macro-level baseline. Instead, I draw on precedents identified in historical and literary sources to help understand the conventions of use, and establish if Elizabeth's usage conforms or differs. In the final section of the chapter, I discuss other forms of pronominal self-reference that also develop after her accession, and consider how they function alongside *royal we* in her idiolect.

Background and Previous Studies

Fisher, Richardson and Fisher suggest that *royal we* was first used in royal correspondence in the twelfth century:[69]

> Until 1189 English kings used the first person singular to refer to themselves in all documents, but after the coronation of Richard I the royal chancery adopted the practice current in European chancelleries and English Episcopal chancelleries of using the plural of majesty (1984: 9).

By the sixteenth century, *royal we* was firmly established as the official royal self-reference pronoun. Correspondence issued under the royal signet of Henry VIII, for example, consistently uses *we* to refer to the King:

> Right Reverende Fadre in God, right trusty and welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, We grete you well. By a post of thEmperours, passing oute of Flaunders in Spayne by this waye, We wrote unto you our last letters (1525) (Record Commission 1849: 476).

The practice continues into Elizabeth's reign. In the scribal letters produced by her administrative centre, many of which were signed and endorsed by Elizabeth, *royal we* is used consistently for first-person self reference:

---

[69] The OED cautiously dates the first attested usage of *royal we* to Old English. The more convincing examples date from 1225 onwards, closer to the date proposed by Fisher, Richardson and Fisher, in a proclamation of Henry III: 'we hoaten all vre treowe in þe treowþe þet heo vs oȝen þet heo stedefesteliche healden and swerien' (OED Online [last accessed 06/06/11]).

Elizabeth R. Trusty and wellbeloved, we greete you well. Understanding by a letter of **our** cousin, th'erle of Bedford to **our** Secretarie that he thinketh you to be not out of danger there by malice, in so much time as some pistles have ben shot into the howse where you lodge ; **we** have thoughte it meete, not only to advise you, if you fynde any such perrill, but also to lycence you to withdraw yourself for a tyme to Barwicke : pretending the same to be for your own pryvate busynesse, in sort, as you may returne to your charge upon occasion. Gyven under **our** signet at **our** Palais of Westminster, the third of October 1565 the seventh yere of **our** reign (3rd October 1565, Sir Thomas Randolph. BL MS Lansdowne 8 fol. 27. Scribal text with signature – my emphasis).

However, how this compares to the status of *royal we* in autograph texts by a king or queen is less clear, which has led Katie Wales to remark that the status of the pronoun in the language of monarchs before Queen Victoria 'is hard to tell' (Wales 1996: 64). Fisher, Richardson and Fisher make a curious observation when discussing a signet letter that they suggest was written by Henry V. In addition to the handwriting evidence – the script 'is firm and practiced, but not that of a professional scribe'[70] – they cite as evidence of authorship that the letter is the only one in their collection 'which uses first person "I"'; the majority all use royal we' (Fisher, Richardson and Fisher 1984: 12). Perhaps unexpectedly, they put forward the absence of the royal pronoun as evidence for royal authorship. Thus, there is no reason that the conventions governing *royal we* in Elizabethan scribal correspondence will extend to Elizabeth's autograph writing. As the quotations from QEIC in previous chapters indicate, the presence of *I* suggests that different rules apply to her choice of first-person pronoun.

Speakers use pronouns to express 'social, political and rhetorical issues of culture, relationships and power' (Wales 1996: xii). The highly specialised social, political and rhetorical facets of *royal we* may explain its continued use from the Middle Ages into Elizabeth's reign, and indeed into PDE. Wales' impressive survey of the English pronominal system is concentrated on PDE. For the sixteenth century, there is an additional dimension to *royal we* that relates to the Tudor conception of kingship. The theory of the 'King's Two Bodies' was a legal stance designed to resolve the paradox that existed between the mortality of the sovereign and the perpetuity of the realm over which they reigned. The resolution was a 'twin-born majesty' made up of the *body natural* and the *body politic* (Kantorowicz 1957: 4-5). In the words of Elizabeth's contemporary, Edmund Plowden, the power of the crown, 'the office, government and Majesty royal', existed as the *body politic* – the immortal, invisible and infallible essence of kingship with governance over all his subjects. The *body natural* was the inferior body of the reigning sovereign, susceptible to frailty, weakness and death, yet it was nevertheless paramount in providing a suitable vessel (Kantorowicz 1957: 7). Together, these

---

[70] But cf. Benskin (2004: 12, fn. 16), who suggests it could simply be a difference in hand 'between secretary and anglicana', rather than a non-professional hand of the King.

two components formed 'one unit indivisible, each being fully contained within the other' (Kantorowicz 1957: 9; for further discussion of the theory see Kantorowicz 1957).

My investigation of *royal we* in Elizabeth's idiolect is one of the first analyses of the pronoun to use authentic monarchic language. The few discussions of the form in the Early Modern period have tended to focus on dramatic dialogue. These, however, offer insight for my study. The fictionalised, dramatised representation of *I* and *royal we* in a monarch's language reveals how the pronouns were understood by Elizabeth's contemporaries, and potentially by Elizabeth herself.

Angus McIntosh and Colin Williamson (1963) provide a detailed reading of the first-person pronouns in Shakespeare's *The Tragedie of King Lear*. Williamson, in his part of the article, focuses on Act 1, Scene 1, where Lear distributes his kingdom amongst his three daughters. He argues that the pronoun shifts between *I* and *royal we* are linguistic props designed to convey Lear's character, and his relationship with others, to the audience. *Royal we* symbolises Lear's public, monarchic role and *I* the private, human man. Williamson concludes that as a pair the first-person pronouns function as 'an index' of Lear's attitude to his identity and emotional state (McIntosh and Williamson 1963: 57). I have listed the different features he describes in tabular form (Table 68).

I	*Royal we*
Intimacy	Distance
Private	Public
Personal	Business
Emotional	Detached
Spontaneous	Rehearsed
Informal	Formal

Table 68: Index of *I* and *Royal We*.

Williamson's reading suggests that *royal we* was the linguistic equivalent of the royal crown or throne; a symbol of specifically monarchic power that dominated other facets of the speaker's identity.

Whilst *Lear* was first performed after Elizabeth's death (c. 1604), similar indexical associations are present in earlier Shakespearian dramas. *Richard II*, written c. 1595, is a particularly good example. The concurrent plots show the fall of Richard and the rise of Bolingbroke, highlighting the differences between the two holders of the English crown. One such difference is their use of first-person pronouns. *Royal we* is Richard II's primary mode of self-reference (56.1%) (Table 69).

	Total	*Royal we (%)*
Richard II	237	56.1
Henry IV (Bolingbroke)	54	27.8

Table 69: *Royal we* (%) in the dialogue of Richard II and Henry IV. Figures for Henry IV are taken from Act 4, Scene 1 onwards, after his accession.

Critics such as Tillyard (1944: 262) have described Richard as a "ceremonial" king: a 'king by unquestioned title and by his external graces alone'. The frequency of *royal we* contributes to the characterisation, highlighting the significance of kingship for his identity and outlook on events. He uses *royal we* to demonstrate and ensure his authority over his subjects:

RICHARD II:	Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
	Which I with some unwillingness pronounce:
	The sly slow hours shall not determinate
	The dateless limit of thy dear exile;
	The hopeless word of 'never to return'
	Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.
MOWBRAY:	A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege,
	And all unlook'd for from your Highness' mouth [...]
RICHARD II:	It boots thee not to be compassionate;
	After **our** sentence plaining comes too late. (Act 1, Scene 3)

By contrast, Bolingbroke is presented as a "man of action", and one less obsessed with royal power. The lower frequency of *royal we* is a contributing linguistic feature to his characterisation. Richard unwittingly illustrates the difference between the men in their attitude to kingship, and its manifestation in their linguistic self-representation, when he muses:

RICHARD II:	How did he [Bolingbroke] seem to dive into their hearts
	With humble and familiar courtesy
	What reverence he did throw away on slaves [...]
	With **'Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends'**
	As were **our England** in reversion his
	And he **our subjects'** next degree in hope (Act 1, Scene 4)

The evidence from *Richard II* and *Lear* suggests that *royal we* was a key part of the idiolect of a fictionalised monarch. This may be partly due to the requirements of the stage, as the indexicality and significance of the pronoun are a means of conveying identity and character to the audience. Yet it seems unlikely that Shakespeare would entirely fabricate the contrastive difference between *I* and *royal we*. In the following analysis I consider how Elizabeth's usage of *royal we* and *I* compares to the dramatic representation.

Results

I used the *AntConc* concordance program to identify all instances of *I* (*I, me, my/mine*) and *we* (*we, us, our*) in QEIC. I then assessed each instance of *we* to remove examples of *inclusive* or *exclusive we* within Elizabeth's correspondence. Table 70 provides the raw and normalised frequencies for both *I* and *we* in the QEIC correspondence, divided by decade. Importantly,

164

Elizabeth does not use *royal we* in the pre-accession letters, the pronoun only develops after her accession.

	Total I and royal we	% royal we	I / 1000 words	Royal we / 1000 words
1540s	159		86.1	0
1550s	114		76.5	0
1560s	42	11.9	85.8	11.6
1570s	33	3.0	56.3	1.8
1580s	772	11.4	51.9	6.7
1590s	907	4.0	50.5	2.1
1600s	165	10.9	54.3	6.6

Table 70: *Royal we* (%) and normalised frequency out of *I* and *royal we*. QEIC correspondence.

Of the two first-person forms available to Elizabeth, *royal we* is the less favoured pronoun, accounting for an average 7.7% of forms in the post-accession period. The relative infrequency of *royal we* reveals a key difference between the official letters written on Elizabeth's behalf, which use *royal we* continuously, and her autograph compositions (Table 70). The breakdown by decade shows that both pronoun forms occur more frequently in the 1560s than in subsequent decades; one explanation may be the dominance of postscripts as the material for this decade, which perhaps represent different stylistic conventions or interactive stance from the main body of a letter. In the remaining decades, the percentage of *royal we* and the normalised frequencies of both forms show undulations over time, although within a relatively narrow range.

Interactive Factors

In order to understand the factors that affect Elizabeth's selection of *royal we*, I have recalculated the data to show how *royal we* distributes across individual letters (Table 71). A third of the post-accession letters (29 letters) contain at least one instance of *royal we*; of these, only three letters contain continuous *royal we*, i.e. the pronoun is the only first-person form to occur in the letter. This clearly deviates from the distribution patterns in the scribal correspondence. In the majority of the 29 letters, *royal we* occurs sporadically, and as an alternative to first-person *I*. Twelve recipients receive letters containing at least one instance of *royal we*, all of whom are male. They include Elizabeth's subjects, other monarchs, and individuals of close and distant acquaintance. I do not believe the gender of the addressee is overly significant, as there are only four letters addressed to female recipients in the post-accession corpus; more data is needed for a proper assessment of this feature.

	Number of letters	%
Letters with royal we	29	30.9
Letter without royal we	67	71.3
Total	94	
Continuous royal we	3	10.3
Sporadic royal we	26	89.7

Table 71: *Royal we* (%) by letter and distribution. QEIC post-accession correspondence.

The dramatic index (Table 68) suggests that the use of *royal we* may be influenced by Elizabeth's relationship with the recipient of the letter. Continuous *royal we*, as the most forceful application of the official and distant first-person pronoun, would be theoretically more appropriate to addressees socially distant from Elizabeth. Yet this hypothesis finds no support in the three letters in QEIC, which are addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and John Norris and Francis Drake (joint recipients) respectively. Robert Dudley was Elizabeth's closest friend and one time potential husband; Robert Devereux, Dudley's stepson, replaced the latter as the Queen's favourite in the late 1580s. Only John Norris and Francis Drake could be described as lesser acquaintances of the Queen, although Elizabeth's support and favour (financial and otherwise) of their naval and pirating activities has been documented (Meyer 2010: 514-515). Thus, the social distance between Elizabeth and the recipient does not appear to accurately predict the selection of *royal we*.

However, incorporating other interactive factors provides a more persuasive explanation for her pronoun choice. The three letters have similar contexts and functions, written after each recipient had disobeyed Elizabeth's orders. Her selection of *royal we* is, therefore, related to her relationship with the recipient, but at a localised, context-specific level.[71] The letter to Devereux suggests that continuous *royal we* was as much connected to her emotional attitude as it was to the letter's practical purpose. She wrote the letter to Devereux after he joined a 'hit-and-run' Naval assault commanded by John Norris and Francis Drake, against Elizabeth's orders.[72] The letter commands him to return immediately, as Perry wryly describes it, 'telling him what she thought of him for leaving without her permission' (Perry 1990: 293). The letter concludes with a command that draws on all of Elizabeth's authority and status as ruling monarch:

141. **We** do therefore charge and command you forthwith upon receipt of these **our** letters all excuses and delays set apart to make your present and immediate repair unto **us** to understand **our** further pleasure. Whereof see you fail not as you will be loath to incur **our** indignation and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril (15th April 1589, Robert Devereux, QEIC correspondence).

---

[71] The finding again highlights the possible loss of detail that may result from classifying the author-recipient relationship using broad categories (i.e. family and non-family recipients).

[72] Devereux's desertion of the Court is also the topic of the letter to Norris and Drake.

166

Continuous *royal we* reinforces the public, detached and explicitly monarchic aspects of her identity, correlating with Williamson's index (Table 68). Importantly, the impact of the letter would be heightened by its contrast to Elizabeth's normal pronominal expression, *I*, used in other letters to her Court favourite (e.g. 15th April 1596, to Robert Devereux, QEIC correspondence). Switching the first-person pronoun enables Elizabeth to re-define, quickly and emphatically, her relationship with the recipient, on her terms. Unlike other EModE pronominal pairs, such as *you/thou*, the first-person system is non-reciprocal. In her forms of self-reference, Elizabeth has complete control over the identity she presents to the recipient, and can dictate the relationship between herself and the recipient for that interaction.

The continuous *royal we* letters provide a clear demonstration of Elizabeth's conceptualisation of the pronouns and their social significance. However, these are the least common type, and *royal we* is more typically used for sporadic, one-off instances within a letter as a switch from the dominant first-person *I*. Many of these examples of *royal we* occur with specific lexical collocates connected to the semantic field of sovereignty; for instance, the terms *nation* or *people* consistently take the possessive *our*, not *my*, in the QEIC correspondence.

142. most of **our** nation (July 1563, to Nicholas Throckmorton, QEIC correspondence).

143. the ears of **our** people (August 1580, to Edward Stafford, QEIC correspondence).

144. out of **our** land (November 1585, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Anni Vuorinen (2002) has also noted pronoun switches in Elizabeth's correspondence.[73] Her analysis, however, was based on the CEEC letters written by Elizabeth, which for the CEEC post-accession file consist, with one exception, of letters to James VI. It is therefore significant that the pronoun switches also occur in letters to other recipients in the QEIC correspondence. This indicates the switches are not specific to James (perhaps connected to his own royal status), but rather representative of Elizabeth's general conception of her identity as queen when referring to political and sovereign matters.

The pronoun switches demonstrate, in my opinion, Elizabeth's recognition of the connection between the royal pronoun and the sovereign 'office, government and Majesty royal' within Tudor society. Elizabeth's adherence to this framework results in switches even in the most affectionate and personal letters. In a note to her godson John Harington, Elizabeth uses *I* throughout except in the final line:

---

[73] Vuorinen's (2002) investigation compares features of Elizabeth's language with the language of three male and three female near-contemporaries. Her discussion of *royal we* is interesting, in that it is a deviation from her central thesis, but consequently, her analysis does not consider Elizabeth's self-reference pronominal system in the comprehensive way I offer here.

> 145. *I* do this because thy father was ready to serve and love **us** in trouble and thrall (1576, John Harington, QEIC correspondence).

The switch to *royal we* highlights the official context for the verbs 'serve and love', reflecting Harington's duty to his sovereign and nation.

The switch from *I* to *royal we* can also foreground or emphasise Elizabeth's topic, with the official connotations of the royal pronoun often used to aid Elizabeth in her argument. One example occurs in the letter to Sir Amias Paulet, written in August 1586. Paulet was the keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the months before her execution. In this letter, Elizabeth expresses her approval of his work after the discovery of the Casket Letters, and Mary's involvement in a conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth. Throughout the letter, Elizabeth refers to herself using *I*, suggesting she had a high opinion of Paulet and respect for the personal and significant task he was performing for her. Only once does she switch to *royal we*:

> 146. And **I** bid her from **me** ask God forgiveness for her treacherous dealing towards the saver of her life many a year, to the intolerable peril of **our own** (August 1586, Amias Paulet, QEIC correspondence).

In this extract, Elizabeth requests that Mary ('her') seeks forgiveness for the trespasses she has committed against her English cousin. The switch to *royal we* shifts the reference from Elizabeth, as the letter-writer, to Elizabeth the sovereign, in order to emphasise the significance of Mary's 'treacherous' behaviour. Mary has not simply put a woman's life in 'intolerable peril', but the life of the ruling, God-appointed queen. The switch helps to legitimise Elizabeth's orders to Paulet, over which she was highly conflicted.

Elizabeth's usage of *I* and *royal we* in the letters to James VI of Scotland, as part of their long-standing exchange, warrants a brief discussion. The correspondence between the two monarchs has proved a fascinating resource for historians, including recent studies by Mueller (2000), Doran (2005) and Rayne Allinson (2007). Mueller, in particular, offers an interpretation relevant to my current analysis, describing the sustained nominal kinship terminology throughout the twenty-plus years of correspondence and observing how it developed from 'friendship-in-kingship to kinship between these two, self and other self, equals as friends and monarchs' (Mueller 2000: 1066).

Mueller (2000: 1068) argues that address terms are key to this diplomatic correspondence: James addresses Elizabeth as 'Madame', 'dearest sister', and as the correspondence progresses, refers to himself as 'son', whereas Elizabeth uses address-forms 'brother' and 'cousin'. Both make reference to their shared roles as kings. Whilst these terms of address were part of the formal conventions of sixteenth-century royal letters, Mueller believes that Elizabeth and James endorsed these terms with significant meaning, enabling

the monarchs to build and comment upon their relationship and its hierarchy, to embrace shared experiences, or to identify individual transgressions, whilst adhering to the polite conventions befitting their status.

What my analysis shows is that Elizabeth's selection of first-person pronoun forms is another significant linguistic feature used to construct and maintain their epistolary relationship. In Elizabeth's letters to James VI, *I* is the dominant form; there are no letters to James VI that use continuous *royal we* in QEIC. Instead, the royal pronoun occurs in brief switches. In her correspondence with James, as another monarch, Elizabeth can exploit the different associations of *royal we* to implicitly shape and construct her identity and relationship with him, according to her needs at that time. For example, in the following extract, Elizabeth uses *royal we* to carefully situate her 'care' for James within an official monarchic context.

> 147. Right dear brother the strangeness of hard accidents that are arrived here, of unlooked for or unsuspected attempts in Scotland even by some such as lately issued out of **our** land, constraineth *me* as well for the care **we** have of your person as of the discharge of **our** own honour and conscience to send you immediately this gentleman (November 1585, James VI, QEIC correspondence).

'Our own honour and conscience' is that of the office, government and Majesty royal, and Elizabeth makes it clear that it is primarily a statement of political affection rather than private concern. The pronoun switch clearly demarcates the boundaries of their social relationship. Once this has been established, Elizabeth switches to *I* for the remainder of the letter.

In other letters, Elizabeth exploits the potential ambiguity that arises from the royal status of both recipient and addressee. Mueller (2000: 1066) suggests that the diplomacy between Elizabeth and James originates in 'lexical markers of [...] friendship [including] frequent use of first-person-plural constructions with conjoint predicates', through which Elizabeth can express her care for James 'as for a second self' and vow to speak plainly and honestly. Mueller is here referring to the use of *we* as an inclusive pronoun, suggesting it is a marker of solidarity. However when contextualised within the broader significance of *royal we*, another reading is that Elizabeth uses the indexical significance of *we* to implicitly persuade her godson to do what she wants. In the following extract, Elizabeth demands that James VI quash the Presbyterian threat in Scotland:

> 148. Let **me** warn you that there is risen both in your realm and **mine** a sect of perilous consequence such as would have no kings but a presbytery and take **our** place, while they enjoy **our** privilege, With a shade of God's word which none is judged to follow right without by their censure they be so deemed. Yea, look **we** well unto them when they have made in **our** people's hearts a doubt of **our** religion and that **we** err if they say so what perilous issue this may make, I rather think than mind to write (6th July 1590, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

At first glance, it appears that the referents of the first-person plural are clearly set out - 'your realm and mine' - and thus the pronoun operates as *inclusive we*: I (Elizabeth) + James; the 'conjoint predicates' noted by Mueller. However, the topic refers to explicitly sovereign matters: 'our place', 'our Privilege', 'our people's hearts', 'our religion', terms that Elizabeth conventionally refers to using *royal we*. In this letter, the shared status of Elizabeth and James blurs the distinction between the two senses, constructing an *inclusive we* with royal emphasis, "Elizabeth and James, as princes". Whilst Mueller might be inclined to see this self-reference as an act of friendship, I believe it has an underlying function of persuasion and authority. Elizabeth's status as the older, more experienced monarch enables her to impress her opinions and judgements onto James, through the illusion of shared experiences and the indexical strengths of the royal pronoun (I will consider James' usage of the first-person pronouns below).

Stylistic Factors

In this section I compare my findings for Elizabeth's correspondence with the distribution of *royal we* in her parliamentary speeches (there are no tokens in Elizabeth's translations). The figures in Table 72 show that *royal we* is far less common in her parliamentary speeches than her correspondence, only 0.5%. As the low number suggests, there are no continuous *royal we* speeches in QEIC. In the six speeches in QEIC, the absence of *royal we* is countered by a frequency of *I* at 72.3 times per 1000 words, much higher than Elizabeth's correspondence.[74] This indicates that the low figure for *royal we* is not attributable to a lack of possible contexts, but instead reflects Elizabeth's choice to use the first-person *I* as the self-reference form.

	Total	% royal we	I / 1000 words	Royal we / 1000 words
Speeches	433	0.5	72.3	0.3
PostA correspondence	1919	7.7	51.9	4.3

Table 72: *Royal we* (%) and normalised frequencies of *I* and *royal we*. QEIC speeches and post-accession correspondence.

The two examples of *royal we* occur in a single speech dating from 1586. The context of this speech is particularly fraught; Elizabeth was reluctantly responding to parliament's petition for the death warrant of Mary, Queen of Scots. Throughout the events of the mid-1580s, Elizabeth was far less eager than her government to deal in any decisive manner with her cousin, despite Mary's attested involvement with numerous conspiracies to end her life. The context of the speech may explain why Elizabeth uses *royal we*, in contrast to her normal preferences for the genre. By switching to *royal we*, she is attempting to legitimise her

---

[74] The difference between the speeches and post-accession correspondence is statistically highly significant (p > 0.001).

hesitation over her decision by reinforcing her monarchic authority and ensuring her subjects are aware of the magnitude (holy, regal and political) of any decision that she makes. William Cecil, Lord Burghley noted that Elizabeth's response 'drew tears from many eyes' (Somerset 1991: 551).

> 149. I think it very requisite with earnest prayer to beseech His Divine Majesty so to illuminate mine understanding and inspire **me** with His grace as I may do and determine that which shall serve to the establishment of His church, preservation of your estates, and prosperity of this commonwealth under **my** charge. Wherein for that I know delay is dangerous, you shall have with all conveniency **our** resolution delivered by **our** message (12th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

The fact that *royal we* appears in only one speech in the corpus indicates that there was a stylistic difference in Elizabeth's usage between the genres. One possible explanation is the difference in interactive contexts. Unlike the one-to-one communication of Elizabeth's letters, Elizabeth's speeches address her councillors and other individuals who are part of the state machine, men who, within the two bodies theory, are also part of the *royal we* reference. Elizabeth's decision to mainly use *I* in this genre may therefore reflect the tension that could arise from the use of *royal we* in speeches that instruct and authorise the actions of the same individuals who grant that authority. If my hypothesis is accurate, then the two instances of *royal we* in the 12th November speech indicate the gravity of Elizabeth's situation. By using *royal we*, Elizabeth is drawing explicitly on the ideology of English kingship, and her unique God-appointed position. In the final line of the extract, the contrast between the second-person address 'you' and the self-reference 'our message' constructs a distinction between the human authority behind Elizabeth's sovereignty (her parliament), and Elizabeth's lineage as the English monarch, appointed by God. *Royal we* makes it clear to Elizabeth's parliament that the significance of the decision relating to Mary, Queen of Scots, is a matter of the highest importance, one that those without royal blood cannot fully comprehend.

Comparison with other Royal Idiolects

In the other investigations presented in this study, my analysis uses macro-level data to make a systematic comparison between Elizabeth's idiolect and the contemporary preferences of social groups. For *royal we*, this type of comparison is not possible; the defining property of the English monarch during the Tudor period was their singular and unique status as the God-appointed ruler. However, I have already outlined the relevance of contemporary dramatic depictions of the royal pronoun, and in this section I consider the function of *royal we* in the language of Elizabeth's predecessors and contemporaries. I begin by consulting some existing studies that have examined *royal we*, before looking at the correspondence of Mary, Queen of Scots, and James VI of Scotland.

Nevalainen (2002) examines the CEEC sub-file for Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII. In her analysis of his language and letters, she notes that the king's most informal correspondence, the love letters to Anne Boleyn, do not use *royal we* but *I*.

> 150. For **I** ensure yow, me thynkth the tyme lenger syns your departyng (Henry VIII 1528; HENRY8, 136) (Nevalainen 2002: 172).

Whilst there are no love letters by Elizabeth in QEIC, her selection of *I* in affectionate letters to Robert Dudley (151) and Robert Devereux is comparable to her father's preferences.

> 151. Rob, **I** am afraid you will suppose by **my** wandering writings that a midsummer moon hath taken large possession of **my** brains this month (19th July 1586, to Robert Dudley, QEIC correspondence).

Excepting the letters to Anne Boleyn, Nevalainen reports only a few other non-*royal we* letters, such as early letters to Thomas Wolsey (Nevalainen 2002: 173). The prominence of *royal we* possibly reflects Henry VIII's lack of interest in letter writing. The King commissioned a stamp to replicate his signature, in order to avoid the laborious process of hand-signing royal documents (Goldberg 1990: 261) – a clear contrast with the continually lavish signature of his youngest daughter. It is feasible that Henry did not require or develop the more nuanced associations of *I* and *royal we* that occur in Elizabeth's autograph correspondence.

Another comparison can be found in sixteenth-century France. Dickerman and Walker (1999) discuss the correspondence of King Henri III of France (1574-1589), focusing on a letter dated from 1584, before the King's sudden dismissal of his entire advisory council in 1588.[75] Henri's usage of first-person pronouns, they suggest, is revelatory of how the French king allocated blame and diffused responsibility for his actions. They suggest that:

> [Henri] expanded the boundaries of self from the solitary 'I' to a collective 'we'. By including his advisers as agents, Henri III assigned responsibility for his reign's disasters not to himself alone but to a kind of corporate self. Here Henri distinguished between 'us', the corporate self comprising king and ministers, who had been agents of misgovernment, and 'I', the individual self, who perceived and commented on the action (Dickerman and Walker 1999: 82).

The correspondence contains the first-person singular *je* and the first-person plural *nous*. Importantly, Dickerman and Walker caution against interpreting the latter as a true *royal we*. In Henri's usage, he explicitly refers to his ministers to make them implicit in the mistakes of his reign – the 'corporate agents of misrule' (Dickerman and Walker 1999: 82). It is true that Elizabeth's usage of *royal we* makes a similar gesture towards the political foundation of her power, but the references to 'our subjects' or 'our land' typically confirm

---

[75] I am grateful to Professor Mark Greengrass for pointing out this reference.

the unity between Elizabeth and those who sanction her rule. In Henri III's correspondence, the French King's *nous* is explicitly *I* and *you*. Thus, 'when Henri felt righteous or angry, he stood alone and used 'I' consistently', disassociating himself from the actions he has assigned to the collective 'nous' of his ministers (Dickerman and Walker 1999: 84). Henri's usage of the first-person pronouns in his autograph letters differs from the English system, as he avoids *royal we* to use the first-person plural. Yet despite these differences, the correspondence of Henri III indicates the political and social significance of pronominal self-reference in royal idiolects in the pursuit of personal goals in the public gaze.

The correspondence of Mary, Queen of Scots, provides an interesting comparison with Elizabeth's usage. Mary's first language was French, and her autograph letters are predominantly written in this language. However, the scribal letters written after her arrival in Scotland as Queen in 1561 are written in Scots English. In the six letters I have consulted (Pollen 1904) from the 1560s, written before Mary's deposition in 1567, *I* and *royal we* follow the autograph/scribal distinction seen in Tudor English correspondence. In a scribal letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth on 5th January 1561-2, *royal we* occurs continuously. Given the content, it is possible that Mary elected to use a scribe for this letter to grant her argument the extra authority endowed by *royal we*:

> 152. **We** know how neir **we** ar discendit of the blude of Ingland, and quhat devisis hes bene attempit to make **us** as it wer a strangear from it. **We** traist, being so neir zous cousine, ze wald be alith **we** suld ressave so manifest ane injurie, as awnterlie to be debarrit from that title, quhilk in possibilitie may fall unto **us** (Pollen 1904: 70).

In an autograph letter to Queen Elizabeth, written in French, Mary uses first-person *I* throughout, to discuss more personal and intimate matters (153). The letter lacks any lexical items that, in Elizabeth's idiolect, might have triggered a pronoun switch. The other autograph letters from this period do not contain any examples of *royal we*, which could indicate that Mary did not use the royal pronoun in her autograph letters.[76]

> 153. Vous voies ma bonne Sœur comme sellon lasuranse que maues donnee del le prandre en bonne part je parle franchemant aveques vous, me fiant encous de tout ce quit me touche [Pollen's translation: You see, **my** good sister, how, in accordance with the assurance that you have given **me** in good part, **I** am speaking frankly with you, trusting **myself** to you in all that concerns **me**] (Pollen 1904: 66-7).

---

[76] The nature of Mary's self-reference from her deposition onwards is an area too large for the present study, but deserves further analysis. The polemic and propaganda of the "Scottish Queen" was a battle of words, including the intercepted letters, forgeries and cyphers written by those directly involved, as well as in the literature of the period (see Shrank 2010). The distribution of *I* and *royal we* and other self-references forms in Mary's scribal and autograph correspondence from this time may provide further insight on this period of Mary's life. As John Guy notes, Mary considered herself an 'absolute queen' until her execution in 1586 (2004: 488), and during her trial 'demanded to be judged only by her own words and writing' (2004: 483).

In the correspondence of Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, the scribal/autograph distinction is also consistently upheld. In the 29 autograph letters to Elizabeth found in the Camden Society edition (Bruce 1849), James refers to himself using *I* throughout. Interestingly, he does not switch to *royal we* when referring to topics of the crown or state. The few occurrences of *we* are true first-person plurals (156). Autograph letters that James wrote to other recipients, such as Robert Cecil (see Bruce 1861), also use *I* and not *royal we*.

> 154. For this effect then have **I** sent yow this present, hereby to offer unto yow **my** forces, **my** person, and all that **I** may command, to be imployd agains yone strangearis (1ˢᵗ August 1588, to Elizabeth I) (Bruce 1849: 52).

> 155. I thocht goode [...] to assure you that the Spanische flete neuer entered uithin any roade or heauen within **my** dominion, nor neuer came uithin a kenning neere to any of **my** costis (September 1588, to Elizabeth I) (Bruce 1849: 55).

> 156. For the further satisfaction quhairof to both **oure** honouris (7ᵗʰ December 1593, to Elizabeth I) (Bruce 1849: 98).

When compared with Elizabeth's correspondence, the egocentricity of phrases such as 'my dominion', 'all that I may command' are striking. Plausibly, the contrast may reflect the strong Scottish tradition of absolute monarchy (the belief that a king answered to no one but God), which had been perpetuated by the long and unbroken descent of the Stewart line, and for which James would become a strong advocate (Gadja 2010: 90). Perhaps this tradition also resulted in autograph *I* in his correspondence, rather than the more cautious and political *royal we* found in Elizabeth's correspondence.

The evidence from the correspondence of Henry VIII, Henri III, Mary, Queen of Scots, and James VI of Scotland suggests that Elizabeth's use of *royal we* and *I* operates within the broad conventions of sixteenth-century royal correspondence. Like her father's letters, *royal we* is absent from her more intimate letters and is used continuously in the official documents. However, Elizabeth appears to have incorporated *royal we* into her idiolect more fully than her predecessors or contemporaries, using the scope of *I* and *royal we* to construct and redefine her relationships with her recipients. I believe that her usage reflects the ideology of the King's Two Bodies and shows respect for the powers invested in her by 'our subjects'. The scope for variation in a monarch's usage of *royal we* and *I* identified in my analysis highlights the need for further research into these pronouns across English and European history.

My discussion so far has concentrated on the variation between *I* and *royal we*. However, this is not the only change in Elizabeth's self-reference to occur after her accession, and in this section I examine how these other pronouns operate alongside the *I/royal we* variable.

In addition to *royal we*, Elizabeth's correspondence also contains examples of the first-person plural *we*. A small number of these can be discussed collectively as they refer to Elizabeth as part of a group of monarchs. These instances of the first-person plural, which I term *exclusive monarchic we*, present Elizabeth's royal authority differently to *royal we*. She is not referring to specific contemporary royals (with whom she had changeable political relations) but to the larger *body politic* of her immortal ancestry. There are four occurrences of this pronominal self-reference in the post-accession QEIC correspondence; two in a letter to Sir Thomas Heneage, and two in a letter to Catherine Knyvett, Lady Paget.

> 157. **We** princes be wary enough of **our** bargains think you **I** will be bound by your speech to make no peace for **mine** own matters without their consent? [...] I am assured of your dutiful thoughts but I am utterly at squares with this childish dealing (27th April 1586, to Thomas Heneage, QEIC correspondence).

This rebuke to Heneage was written after he had deliberately withheld a message to Robert Dudley during the Netherlands campaign, much to Elizabeth's frustration. The letter makes clear her opinion on his transgression. She uses I throughout, except for the switch shown in (157). In the extract, *exclusive monarchic we* enables Elizabeth to foreground her authority and distinguished position, working within the ideology of Tudor kingship, but in a way that lacks the explicit distance and consciousness of office seen in letters containing continuous *royal we*. The gentleness of Elizabeth's criticism is evident in the final line, where she expresses her appreciation for Heneage's loyalty (using *I*) but frustration over his actions.

The letter to Lady Paget has a different function, but draws similarly on the greater benevolence of *exclusive monarchic we*. The short text conveys Elizabeth's condolences on the death of Paget's daughter, reassuring Paget that it is part of God's plan:

> 158. Call to your mind good Kate how hardly **we** princes can brook a crossing of **our** commands. How ireful will the highest power may be you, be sure when murmur shall be made of his pleasing will. Let Nature therefore not hurt your self but give place to the Giver. And though this lesson be from a sely vicar yet is it sent from a loving Sovereign (c. 1570, to Catherine Knyvett, Lady Paget, QEIC correspondence).

The sensitivity of the topic, along with the affectionate address 'good Kate' and self-reference forms 'a loving sovereign', are indicative of a personal and intimate communication. The selection of *exclusive monarchic we* adds a regal authority to the letter, and provides a level of reassurance to the recipient, appropriate to the occasion, that is not accessible to ordinary individuals. Elizabeth, as the God-appointed sovereign, could write

authoritatively of God's plan surrounding Paget's bereavement: 'give place to the Giver'. Katherine Duncan-Jones writes that Elizabeth 'believed she could heal someone she loved simply with the power of her own concern and affection' (2007: 33). Within the context of this particular letter, we can see that this belief was not born out of mere vanity or self-importance, but from the ideology at the foundation of Elizabeth's royal identity, represented by her personal construction of *exclusive monarchic we*.

Exclusive monarchic we also has a prominent role in Elizabeth's parliamentary speeches. It occurs eight times, being thus more frequent than the two instances of *royal we* in this genre. Unlike *royal we*, the form allows Elizabeth to distinguish herself from her subjects (and addressees) at parliament, by invoking her unique genealogy, and thus to avoid the political conflict connected to the connotations of the royal pronoun. It needs to be noted that the examples are only found in the speeches from 1586, both of which relate to Mary, Queen of Scots. The extremity of impending regicide appears to have necessitated different self-reference tactics than the subject-matter of earlier speeches, such as Elizabeth's marriage, offering linguistic support for Somerset's observation (1991: 555) that Elizabeth was 'in inner turmoil at the prospect of having to turn predator on one of her own kind' whilst subject to continual pressure from her councillors. In the following extract, Elizabeth uses *exclusive monarchic we* to explain (or excuse) her delayed response to the petitioned death warrant:

> 159. And all little enough: for **we princes**, *I* tell you, are set on stages in the sight and view of all the world duly observed. The eyes of many behold **our** actions; a spot is soon spied on **our** garments, a blemish quickly noted in **our** doings. It behooveth **us** therefore to be careful that **our** proceedings be just and honourable. But *I* must tell you one thing more: that in this late Act of Parliament you have laid an hard hand on me, that *I* must give direction for her death, which cannot be but most grievous and an irksome burden to *me* (12th November 1586, QEIC speeches).

The switch to *I* marks the shift to a more personal topic, re-focusing her audience's attention through the direct assertion 'I must tell you one more thing' and providing her subjective evaluation of events 'a hard hand on me', 'grievous and [...] irksome'. The contrast between *we* and *I* carefully delineates between Elizabeth's monarchic role and her more private self, thus enhancing the validity of both the public and private components of her argument.

In addition to *I*, *royal we* and *exclusive monarchic we*, Elizabeth also uses another pronominal self-reference form: the third-person. In the post-accession correspondence the examples of *she* and *her* are far less frequent in comparison to the first-person pronouns, occurring only in the final three decades of her correspondence. The majority of examples are concentrated in the final fourteen years, 1589-1603.

176

	Third person (n.)	Third person / 1000 words
1560s	0	0.0
1570s	0	0.0
1580s	5	0.37
1590s	18	1.0
1600s	3	1.0

Table 73: Third Person Self-Reference. QEIC post-accession.

The following example demonstrates that Elizabeth uses the pronoun to differentiate between her role as queen and letter-writer, to a stronger degree than *royal we* and *I*. In the extract, she informs her cousin Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, that his service to her in Ireland has been appreciated:

> 160. Comfort yourself therefore in this, that neither your careful endeavours nor dangerous travails, nor heedful regards to **our** service, without your own by-respects, could ever have been bestowed upon *a prince* that more esteems them, considers and regards them, than **she** for whom chiefly, **I** know, all this hath been done, and who keeps this verdict ever in store for you, that no vainglory nor popular fawning can ever advance your forward but true vow of duty and reverence of prince which two afore your life **I** see you do prefer (Charles Blount, 3rd December 1600, QEIC correspondence).

Here, Elizabeth switches from *I* to both *royal we* and third-person *she*. *I* refers to Elizabeth-as-letter-writer, and the switch to *royal we* refers to Blount's commitment to Elizabeth as his sovereign, 'our service'. The reference *she* also refers to Elizabeth's royal position (indicated by the preceding noun 'a prince') but the third-person pronoun creates a temporary distinction between Elizabeth, the first-person letter-writer and her sovereign identity.

Elizabeth's motive for the pronoun switch may reflect the different indexical properties of royal self-reference pronouns. At this point in the letter, Elizabeth is thanking Blount for his service to her in a royal capacity. He is serving in Ireland on behalf of Elizabeth, as his queen, and as a representative of the 'office, government and Majesty royal'. The pronominal index for the first-person pronouns suggests that *royal we* would be the appropriate form of self-reference here; recall the pronoun switch in the letter to Harington (145, above). However, the authoritative force of *royal we* may make this pronoun unsuitable for a letter written to convey gratitude, particularly when Elizabeth's default self-reference to her cousin is the more personal, intimate *I*. The indirect, third-person self-reference provides an alternative way for Elizabeth to construct her relationship with the recipient, allowing her to articulate the regal context of Blount's service 'she for whom chiefly […] all this hath been done', whilst at the same time expressing a personal and direct appreciation by continuing to use first-person *I* 'I know'. The example provides further insight into how Elizabeth correlated the linguistic options available to her with the different and distinct aspects of her social position after her accession.

Summary

The function of first- and third-person pronouns in Elizabeth's correspondence and speeches clearly demonstrate Wales' assertion that pronouns express 'social, political and rhetorical issues of culture, relationships and power' (Wales 1996: xii). In Elizabeth's idiolect, these forms are acutely aligned with her unique social position and show an intrinsic connection to her accession. The acquisition of *royal we* was an inevitability, pre-determined by the social conventions and conceptualization of kingship during the sixteenth century. However, the choice between the two pronouns (*royal we* and *I*) allows her to distinguish acts and decisions made in a state capacity from her personal opinions, and to identify herself to her subjects more or less explicitly as their queen. The other self-reference pronouns, *exclusive monarchic we* and the third-person, suggests that the bipartite first-person system did not always allow Elizabeth the precision of self-reference that she desired, and the additional forms permit greater nuances in the identity she presents in her letters and speeches.

My results have implications for our appreciation of official scribal correspondence. There are two scribal letters addressed to Sir George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon, that use *I*. The distinction between autograph *I* and scribal *royal we* makes these two scribal letters highly unusual. Duncan-Jones (2007: 29) suggests that Elizabeth, who suffered from gout in old age, deliberately chose scribes to write these letters because their italic hand 'resembled her own' at her prime, although she makes no comment on the first-person pronoun forms. The two scribal letters are personal and affectionate communiqués, and I think that Elizabeth felt it appropriate to dispense with convention in this case and use *I*. It was her physical condition that dictated the letter was to be scribed, not the letter's function or her relationship with the recipient.

From one perspective, the idiosyncratic nature of *royal we* and *I* could limit the value of my analysis for historical sociolinguistics, as the acquisition of the royal pronoun is a highly localised rather than macro-level process of language change. However, I believe the distribution and function of the first-person pronouns in Elizabeth's idiolect provide valuable information about the indexical role of pronouns in communication. In particular, pronoun switches, as the deviation from the normal mode of expression, were a key component in her use of the variant. Further analysis of *royal we* in the idiolects of other English monarchs, and the interaction with other self-reference pronouns, will establish if her usage is typical. It is not clear, for instance, if the absence of political collocates in the letters by James VI is a curiosity of James' writing, or if the collocates are an idiosyncratic feature of Elizabeth's. Further study will also help us to understand the transmission process of the royal pronoun – the succession from monarch to monarch which survived the Early Modern period, and now exists in a new guise as *presidential we* (Wales 1996: 64).

178

Spelling

In this chapter I analyse spelling variation in Elizabeth's idiolect using the sociolinguistic approach that I have previously applied to morphosyntactic variables. The position of spelling in sociolinguistics is marginal; as part of the 'written mode' of language, many linguists do not consider spelling part of their field of study (Smith 1996: 55). However, investigating a specific feature of the written dimension of language, the mode through which all my data on Elizabeth's idiolect is drawn, seems to me a natural development of the historical sociolinguistic approach. The goals of this chapter are twofold; firstly, to conduct the first systematic analysis of Elizabeth's spelling; and secondly, to test the applicability of the sociolinguistic framework for the analysis of spelling in the sixteenth century.

Background and Previous Studies

D.G. Scragg (1974) considers spelling during the reign of Elizabeth to be generally inconsistent. However, he is careful to note that this does not mean that there was no system at all:

> Undoubtedly variation between writers was considerable, but the spelling of well educated individuals, though it might be idiosyncratic, was rarely totally haphazard (Scragg 1974: 68).

Until the fifteenth century, spelling conventions were largely regional, which has allowed scholars to trace the provenance of manuscripts (the 'fit' technique') based on a cross-reference of spelling forms (see McIntosh and others 1986). In the sixteenth century, however, the regional systems gave way to a broader, countrywide arrangement. The conventions used by a writer were determined by that writer's personal preference and knowledge of different systems; these could include regional and international conventions, and their own idiosyncratic preferences. This suggests that there is considerable scope for variation, and the development of idiolect-specific systems, during Elizabeth's lifetime. After her reign, spelling becomes largely standardized, and the degree of variation declines.[77]

Elizabeth's spelling system has received sporadic scholarly attention. Pemberton, in the introduction to her edition of the Boethius translation, suggests the Queen's spelling is 'untrammelled by any rules whatever' (1899: xii), a statement that contradicts Scragg's careful description of the spelling of the period that I cited above. F.J. Furnivall, in the same

---

[77] The analysis of spelling in PDE can be a limited process due to the wide reach of standardised spelling. However text messages (SMS) offer an exciting new dimension for this field (see Grant 2010).

volume, considers aspects of Elizabeth's spelling 'peculiar' when compared with the practices of some of her contemporaries (1899: xvi-vii); his remark could suggest that Elizabeth used a spelling system defined by particularly idiosyncratic spellings.

More recent comments on Elizabeth's spelling offer different, and contradicting, opinions. Vivian Salmon (Salmon 1999: 30) considers the Queen to be 'reasonably consistent'. Her opinion is shared by Scragg (1974: 69), who notes that whilst her spelling 'is not stable, it is the most part predictable'. Scragg bases his statement on the spellings found in Elizabeth's letters to James VI.[78] Conversely, Norman Blake suggests that 'Elizabeth's letters show an *extraordinary range* of spellings' (2000: 74 – my emphasis), implying that her system is highly variable and thus inconsistent – the opposite of Salmon's assessment. Blake does not explain on which letters his interpretation is based; it is plausible that the well-known correspondence to James VI is also Blake's source.

There is thus a clear discrepancy in the opinion of scholars regarding Elizabeth's spelling system, a discrepancy that arises, in my opinion, because there has not yet been any kind of detailed and systematic study of her spelling preferences. My original spelling corpus (QEISC) offers the opportunity to resolve this. None of the scholars I have referred to above explain their methodology, and many do not specify the source material that they consulted. In this chapter, I provide a transparent, if experimental, analysis of Elizabeth's spelling system using a sociolinguistic framework.

It is important to emphasise the experimental approach of the following analysis and discussion. My investigation is not only the first detailed account of Elizabeth's spelling; it is the first – to my knowledge – quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of the spelling of an Early Modern idiolect. Previous studies of historical spelling practice have largely focused on the spelling conventions used within a particular text or texts (e.g. Blake 1965, Taavitsainen 2000, Caon 2002) or on the larger historical and political context of the historical period (e.g. Shrank 2000).

The few existing studies conducted from a sociolinguistic perspective indicate the potential insight of the approach, although they do not consider sixteenth-century systems. Mark Sebba's excellent monograph (2007) examines the sociolinguistics of spelling in modern contexts, such as the significance of graffittied forms in present-day Spain and their deviance from the standardised system. His analysis shows that the selection of spelling forms can have as much social significance as a phonological or morphosyntactic variable.

---

[78] In a footnote, Scragg (1974: 69, fn. 2) notes that there are occasionally 'curious errors' in Elizabeth's spelling. His description firstly places a modern sensibility upon spelling 'correctness', and, secondly, the example he gives to support his opinion is not, in fact, an error. He suggests that *signe Emanuel* for *sign manual* is a mistake. Yet, as Mueller notes (2000: 1067), this is not a spelling "error" but rather a pun on the Hebrew *Emmanuel* meaning 'God-with-us' and the *sign manual* – the autograph of the monarch.

180

For LModE, both Osselton (1984) and Sairio (2009) discuss the distribution of abbreviated and full word forms and the association of the former with private correspondence. Margaret Sönmez (2000) provides an illuminating analysis of seventeenth-century spelling, using Lady Brilliana Harley and William Cavendish as a case study for the perceived and real 'gender divide' in historical "irregular" spelling.

That there has not been a detailed sociolinguistic study of sixteenth-century spelling is surprising, as the aforementioned analyses indicate the potential insight. The omission is also curious in light of the decision by the compilers of CEEC and the HC not to modernize their source material, a choice that suggests they consider the original spelling to have some value for the historical linguist. Yet, somewhat contradictorily, given this property of the macro-level corpora, one reason for the omission of spelling in historical sociolinguistics may be the fragility of spelling in the transmission process of historical texts. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 44) suggest that the mixed origin of their transcriptions (apograph manuscripts, published collections) make CEEC unsuitable for a scrupulous study of spelling; a principle I agree with, and negotiate in my own methodology (see below).[79]

Nevertheless, social factors and spelling variation show a strong theoretical connection. Salmon (1999: 15, 17) suggests that age, class, and education all influence a writer's spelling practice during the sixteenth century; the same social factors that I have been investigating in morphosyntactic variables in Elizabeth's idiolect. Salmon offers detailed scenarios to explain how these factors influence an individual's spelling system. She suggests that the key factor in shaping the consistency of an individual's spelling system was their education, and hence indirectly their social rank. As a rule of thumb, she suggests, the less educated the individual, the less consistent their spelling (Salmon 1999: 30). The relationship between education and spelling hinges on the connection between spelling and literacy; a higher level of education equates to more frequent and broader exposure to the spelling conventions of other writers and languages, as well as that individual's greater experience with producing their own written communication (Daybell 2001: 60-1). Salmon (1999: 30) suggests that education also affects the graph combinations used by an individual. Familiarity with Latin or continental spelling conventions may result in their incorporation into that individual's English spelling, whereas a less educated individual may use regional conventions, such as the infamous and problematic 'dialect' spelling of Henry Machyn (see Wilson 1963).

---

[79] This raises some questions about why the team chose not to modernise the corpus during its initial compilation, a feature that would have improved the functionality of concordance programmes. As Rissanen notes (1994: 75), researchers have repeatedly struggled to account for all spelling variables for a particular word or morpheme. The CEEC team are now in the process of modernizing the correspondence corpus (Palander-Collin, Juvenen and Hakala 2010).

What I propose in addition to Salmon's observations is that education is not a static experience, but one in which the pupil advances in over time. In relation to spelling, the acquisition of knowledge and familiarity with conventions would increase over time as the individual aged, thus providing a diachronic dimension to the analysis. It seems reasonable to suggest that a spelling system will increase in consistency over time, as the writer gets older and their output becomes increasingly habitual.

The theoretical correlations between spelling and social factors will be tested in my analysis of Elizabeth's spelling system. I expect to find that she has a high level of spelling consistency, reflecting the influence of her education, her exposure to texts and documents from a range of sources and languages, and her frequent written output (as evidenced by the autograph material collected in QEIC). The hypothesis for 'real-time' development is particularly relevant to my analysis of the influence of Elizabeth's accession on her idiolect. Historians (Woudhuysen 2007: 13) have speculated that the volume of written documents received and produced by Elizabeth during her reign was much higher than her pre-accession output, offering a potential cause for her to modify her spelling practice after her accession.

A discussion of spelling within a sociolinguistic framework also needs to consider the potential influence of contemporary attitudes to spelling. My analysis has found that Elizabeth is highly sensitive to the stylistic properties of morphosyntactic variables, and this may also be the case in her spelling. Based on a remark she made to James VI, written in 1598, she was certainly aware of the value judgements placed on spelling in her lifetime:

> 161. The argument of my letter my dear brother if it should have the theme that your messenger's late embassade did chiefly treat of would yield **such a terror to my hand that my pen should scarce afford a right orthography to the words it wrote unnaming therefore what it was** (26th December 1598, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Elizabeth implies that her spelling may suffer as a result of James' actions, of course, rather than because of any inadequacies on her part.

Her reference to a 'right orthography' reflects growing contemporary awareness of spelling forms and consistency in the period. In the first decades of the sixteenth century there is little widespread concern for consistent English spelling, either in print or manuscript form (Salmon 1999: 25). However, from the 1540s onwards interest in spelling reform increases, part of a wider movement to 'enforce a national identity' through a process of linguistic standardisation (Shrank 2000: 180). The scholars involved were prominent educated men associated with the Court and the Universities, including Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham (Salmon 1999: 20, Shrank 2000: 180). In the latter half of the century there are repeated attempts to push English spelling towards a regular, consistent system; Salmon

182

(1999: 27) reports that such attempts failed, in the sense that the specific suggestions for graph combinations and sound representation were not adopted, although a standardised system was finally achieved in the seventeenth century.

The breadth of the reformist movement means that a full analysis of this factor would extend beyond the scope of the chapter. Thus I have necessarily focused my analysis on two reformists with whom Elizabeth had direct contact: Sir John Cheke and William Patten. Sir John Cheke tutored the young prince Edward and Elizabeth in 1544, and it is feasible that his opinions on spelling would have been impressed upon the young royal siblings. William Patten, a courtier, and colleague of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Sir Christopher Hatton, also devised a reformed system; whilst less well-known than Cheke, Patten is attributed with the transcription of a mock patent (in his spelling system) in 1591 which was issued by Elizabeth to William Cecil, after the death of Cecil's wife. May (2004a: xxvii) suggests that Elizabeth was closely involved in its composition. By focusing on the reformers Cheke and Patten, my analysis considers the reformist movement most relevant to Elizabeth's biography, in keeping with the approach of the preceding chapters on morphosyntactic variables. A future study, more broadly addressing the relationship between spelling reform and spelling practice in the Early Modern period has considerable merit.

Methodology

In the sociolinguistic investigations of spelling I referred to above, the significance of variation is derived predominantly from the contrast between standard and non-standard spelling systems. In EModE this distinction was at an embryonic stage; Scragg suggests that only at the end of the sixteenth century did a more standard spelling system emerge, located in the printed texts of the period (1974: 70). Until then, sixteenth-century printers actually had a destabilising effect on spelling, due to European printers conflating foreign graph conventions with existing English ones, and altering spelling to maximise the economy of the page (Salmon 1999: 19). The notion of a standard is therefore difficult to define for the sixteenth century, and thus my analysis requires a different conceptualisation of spelling, with different points for comparison, than those used in investigations of LModE and PDE.

My methodology endeavours to capture the specific context of Early Modern spelling by focusing on three components: **consistency** (i.e. the repeated use of a particular spelling. This does not have to be the rendering now found in Standard PDE); **selection of graphs** (the letter combinations) and the relationship to the nascent process of **standardization**. The literature suggests that these components can be related back to different social elements.

My analysis of Elizabeth's spelling uses *Queen Elizabeth I Spelling Corpus* (QEISC). To collect the data I first created a word-list from the corpus using the *AntConc* concordance program. This was transferred to a database, and I organised all word forms according to their PDE standard spelling. I also noted the frequency of each word type in the corpus and the number of variant spellings for each type. Due to the volume of material, I have only distinguished the word forms by their word-class when relevant to Elizabeth's practice; further remarks to this effect are of a qualitative nature.

There is not, to my knowledge, an existing macro-level database of spelling practice in the sixteenth century. Whilst a treatment of a socially representative corpus is feasible, the time required to catalogue Elizabeth's spelling meant that it was impractical within the scope of the present study to compile an equivalent baseline myself, not to mention the problem of finding a historical corpus with accurate spelling. Consequently, I have decided to make the comparison between Elizabeth and her contemporaries on a narrower case-by-case basis, examining the prevalence of particular spellings in the correspondence of PCEEC informants, using the sub-files for the sixteenth century (which includes a small number of letters from the decades either side of this period). This qualitative approach has been used profitably in analyses of ME spelling (e.g. Smith 1996: 74-5).

Results

Spelling Consistency

The first step of my analysis is to determine the level of consistency in Elizabeth's spelling system. By excluding the type/tokens that occur only once in the corpus, it is possible to calculate the level of variation between word type (denoted by *italics*) and the token form (denoted by < >), e.g.:

> WORD TYPE = *marvel*
> WORD TOKEN FORM = <marvel> and <marveille>

For this example, there are two spelling forms for the word type.

The results from QEISC (Table 74) indicate that many spellings are repeated throughout the corpus. Seven hundred and seven word types, occurring at least twice in QEISC, are spelt with only one spelling form: this accounts for over 50% of non-hapax logomena word types. Further evidence of consistency is indicated by the proportion of words being inverse to the level of variation: thus 523 words (37.7%) occur with two different spellings, 108 words (7.8%) with three variants and only 36 words (2.6%) with four variants. At the upper reaches are a small number of words with five or more variants; one, *highness*, occurs with nine different forms.

184

Variants (n.)	Word types (n.)	%
9 Var	1	0.1
8 Var	0	0.0
7 Var	0	0.0
6 Var	5	0.4
5 Var	9	0.6
4 Var	36	2.6
3 Var	108	7.8
2 Var	523	37.7
1 Var	707	50.9
TOTAL	1389	100.0

Table 74: Range of variation in word types that occur twice or more. QEISC.

It is unfortunate that there is no macro-level data for comparison to reveal if the figures represent a system more consistent than most. However, in lieu of this, I take the heavy weighting towards single variants as a marker of spelling consistency, although I cannot say how typical Elizabeth is of the period. The figures lend support towards Salmon's verdict of 'reasonable consistency' in Elizabeth's spelling, although it is possible to appreciate how Blake may have reached his conclusion of Elizabeth's 'extraordinary range' of spelling, if his opinion was based on a qualitative rather than a quantitative assessment.

There are several ways to refine the data in Table 74. Currently, the figures represent the ratio of word types to the number of spelling forms. Yet frequency of use is also an important factor when discussing consistency. For example, the significance of the seven hundred and seven words in the corpus with a single spelling form will be greater if Elizabeth spells these words identically twenty times over, rather than if she uses them only twice. Table 75 incorporates the frequency of use and groups all words that use only a single variant into categories. The data reveals that 18 word types (2.5% of single forms) occur over one hundred times each in the corpus, with Elizabeth using only one spelling form. All of these words are grammatical, including prepositions (*to*, 783 occurrences; *of*, 623 occurrences), pronouns (*I*, 750 occurrences), and conjunctions (*and*, 638 occurrences). The high level of consistency may therefore be explained both by the qualities of these words – monosyllabic, Germanic – and their high frequency in Elizabeth's correspondence.

Frequency of single variant spellings	Word forms (n.)	%
2 to 10	609	86.1
11 to 100	80	11.3
101 +	18	2.5
TOTAL	707	100

Table 75: Number and % of Words with 1-variant. QEISC.

In the mid-range frequencies, 80 words occur between 11 and 100 times in QEISC with a single spelling form. This group is made up of a wider range of lexical categories

including proper names (*Elizabeth*, 50 occurrences), common nouns (*cousin*, 36 occurrences) and verbs (first-person present *make*, 84 occurrences). The diversity of the lexis continues in the least frequent 1-variant words, comprising 609 total forms, ranging from 2 to 10 tokens in the corpus: e.g. (*French*, 5 occurrences), (*death*, 7 occurrences), (*declared*, 6 occurrences).

In the 2-10 occurrences group, 323 of the word types occur only twice in the corpus, equating to 54% of the words with one spelling form (45.6% of all 1-variant words). Interpreting these figures is difficult; on the one hand, the low frequency of the words could disguise variation, yet on the other it may also indicate that Elizabeth had a remarkably stable spelling system that was not restricted to high frequency items such as grammatical words.

Diachronic Consistency

I now examine the level of consistency in the pre-accession and post-accession periods. The size and composition of the database means that a full-scale study would be highly complex, including the interpretative difficulties relating to sparser lexical forms. As a resolution, my analysis uses a representative sample designed to provide a sufficient quantity of tokens and variants to chart the diachronic development. The sample contains all word types with four or more spelling forms, which have a combined token count of at least five in the corpus. Overall, the sample contains 37 word types that occur in both the pre- and post-accession period, allowing me to measure the level of variation in Elizabeth's idiolect in both periods (Table 76). The words are: *although, thought, might, honour, received, through, will, evil, country, been, doubt, upon, understand, willingly, English, which, mind, receive, truth, friendship, conscience, persuasions, ought, perceive, praying, friends, with, council, loving, even, sovereign, vain, subjects, believe, thoughts, councillor* and *wax*.[80] The data presented in Table 76 suggests that, contrary to my hypothesis regarding Elizabeth's age and education, the level of variation increased between the pre- and post-accession periods.

	Variants (n.)	%
PreA words with more variants	5	13.5
PostA words with more variants	25	67.6
Same number of variants in each periods	7	18.9
Total	37	100

Table 76: Number of variant spellings in the pre-accession and post-accession periods. Based on sample of all words with 4+ variants, occurring 5 times or more. QEISC.

However, the figures do not tell the whole story. The important dimension, I believe, in the measurement of spelling consistency is the weighting of the variant forms i.e. Elizabeth's preference for one variant over another. The (dis)continuity of preferred forms

---

[80] Each word in this group has at least four variant spellings listed in the OED (*OED Online* [accessed 01/05/11]), suggesting that the range of variation – if not the actual forms – is not unique to Elizabeth's practice.

over time will provide a more accurate gauge of consistency in the two sub-periods. I define the notion of "preference" numerically, as a variant that occurs at least 3 times more than other variant forms. This entails that some words do not have a preferred spelling. I recognise that, within the smaller pre-accession corpus, there could be problems with token counts; however, my sample represents the most frequent word types in the corpus in order to minimise the problem.

I can best illustrate the concept of preference with an example. The verb *might* has five variant spellings in QEISC (Table 77). In the pre-accession period, Elizabeth uses three variant forms. In the post-accession, the word occurs in four variant forms with one variant maintained from the pre-accession period. At this level, the distribution implies that Elizabeth became less consistent in her spelling of this word between the two periods. However, Elizabeth does not use all variants equally. In the pre-accession period, the variant <migth> occurs 8 times, <might> twice and <mighte> once. Thus <migth> is the preferred spelling for this period.

	Pre-accession	Post-accession
might	2	24 (88.9%)
mighte	1	1
migh	0	1
migth	8 (72.7%)	0
myght	0	1
Total	11	27

Table 77: **Number and proportion (%) of spellings variants: *might*. QEISC.**

By contrast <might> is the preferred form in Elizabeth's post-accession correspondence, occurring 24 times. The other three variants in this period occur only once each. Therefore, the findings for *might* indicate that Elizabeth has both an overall consistency in her spelling of this word (<might> accounts for 26 of the 38 occurrences in QEISC) and different preferences in each period of the corpus: PreA <migth> = 72.7%, PostA <might> = 88.9%. The percentages suggest that Elizabeth became more consistent in her use of the preferred form in the post-accession period. The difference in preference between the two periods is statistically significant ($p > 0.001$).

In the sample there is a clear difference in the distribution of preferred spellings in word types found in both sub-periods. Whilst 11 of the words (29.7%) have a preferred variant in the pre-accession part of the corpus, this increases to 24 of the words (64.9%) in the post-accession period, implying that Elizabeth's spelling system increased in consistency over time ($p > 0.01$).

Of the 37 word types that occur in both sub-periods of the corpus, eight have a preferred spelling form in both periods. However, in only three of the word types (*been*, *which*

and *with*) does Elizabeth maintain her preferred spelling from the pre- to post-accession periods. Table 78 shows Elizabeth's usage of the preferred variant out of all the forms for that word type in each sub-period. The listed form for these three preferred spellings accounts for at least 80% of the tokens, indicating that Elizabeth is highly consistent in her usage. The three words are a stable element in her spelling system, and may prove useful for authorship assessment. Notably, the three words are grammatical and occur frequently in the corpus. My analysis has already indicated that this word class contributed to the level of consistency with single-variant forms, suggesting that frequency of use is an important factor in the development of Elizabeth's spelling system. The factor may also apply more generally to Early Modern spelling, although further research is necessary to confirm this.

	Pre-accession	*Post-accession*
<bine>	8 (80%)	22 (84.6%)
<wiche>	52 (91.2%)	85 (96.7%)
<with>	34 (100%)	140 (96.6%)

Table 78: Continuous variants. Pre- and Post-accession QEISC.

Discontinuous preferred variants, i.e. changes in preference between the pre- and post-accession periods, are more common in the sample taken from QEISC. Figure 10 represents this graphically for five different word types: *might, will, loving, even* and *thought*. Overall, the preferred variant from the pre-accession period (variant 1 on the graph) occurs infrequently, if at all, in the post-accession period. Conversely, the preferred variant in the post-accession part of the corpus (variant 2 on the graph) is often present (albeit infrequently) in Elizabeth's earlier writing. The progression from one form to another may indicate a process in which Elizabeth's spelling practice matured and stabilised, perhaps reflecting increased awareness of spelling conventions. The changes in preference, however, do not all move towards the PDE Standard spelling; *might*, and *loving* become standard whereas <wyl>, <iven> and <thoght> do not.
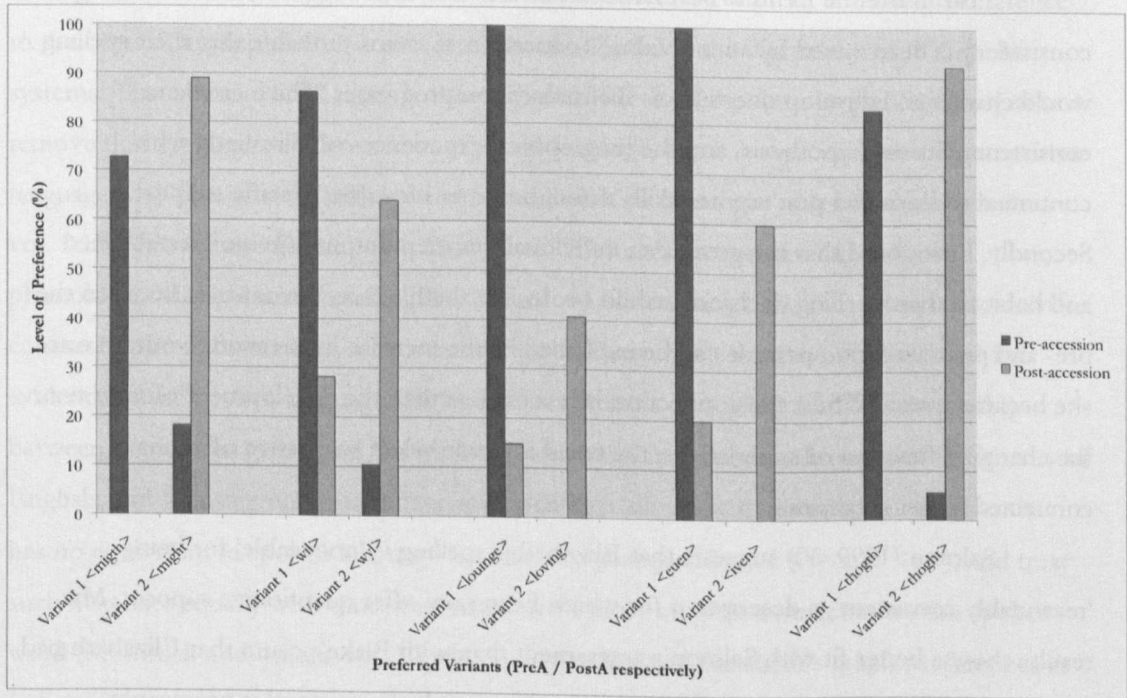
Figure 10: Discontinuous preferred variants (%). QEISC.

Finally, the sample contains nine words (24%) for which Elizabeth establishes no preferred spelling in either the pre- or post-accession periods. *English* has six variants (Table 79), and Elizabeth uses each form once with no continuity between the pre-accession and post-accession periods. The degree of variation for this word is interesting from an historical perspective, as it has obvious political and cultural significance to Elizabeth's position and to the recipients of her correspondence. Similarly, the terms *sovereign* and *councillors* also have no preferred variant in either sub-period. In the sample, these forms are marked for their inconsistency, and contrast with Elizabeth's tendency to have a preferred spelling form.

Variant spellings	Pre-accession (n.)	Post-accession (n.)
english	0	1
englisch	0	1
englishe	1	0
inglas	0	1
inglische	1	0
inglis	0	1

Table 79: Variant spellings (number) for *English* in QEISC.

The results from QEISC indicate that Elizabeth's spelling system increases in consistency over time. Using a measure of preference, my analysis shows that Elizabeth's spelling is more variable in the pre-accession period, with the post-accession containing a greater number of preferred forms. Only a few words show consistency throughout Elizabeth's life, and a similar number in the sample show no consistency at any time.

I can relate the trend to several social factors. Firstly, I suggested that if spelling consistency is determined by an individual's education, it seems probable that their spelling would change and develop overtime as their education progresses. The increase in consistency fits my hypothesis, and the biographical experiences of Elizabeth, who continued to learn and practice her skills throughout her life, offer specific support. Secondly, I proposed that the greater an individual's written output, the more established and habitual their spelling decisions would be. In Elizabeth's case, the contrast between the pre- and post-accession periods can be explained by the increase in her written output once she became queen. Whilst the connection is less explicit than the development of *royal we* or the changing function of superlatives, the trend is nevertheless suggestive of change connected to her accession.

Salmon (1999: 30) suggests that Elizabeth's spelling is 'noticeable' for being 'reasonably consistent', a description for which I can now offer quantitative support. My results show a better fit with Salmon's assessment than with Blake's claim that Elizabeth had a highly variable spelling system, although what is meant by 'consistent' is necessarily impressionistic at present because there is no comparative baseline to provide a definite measure. Hopefully, future investigations into spelling and social stratification can offer a new resource to support my analysis, and improve our understanding of the progression from idiosyncratic spelling systems to the adoption of a standard.

Graph combinations

In the second part of this chapter, I examine the graph combinations that contribute to the variation and consistency I discuss above. My analysis concentrates on eight graph combinations, chosen because they are key contributors to the patterns in Elizabeth's spelling practice. There are many more graph combinations representative of Elizabeth's habits, but space constraints prevent a broader discussion. My account first deals with graph combinations that reflect Elizabeth's participation in a general spelling trend: the stabilisation of final <e> (due to standardisation) and the variability of <an/aun> in the spelling of Romance lexis. Next, I look at combinations that show clear changes in preference over time in Elizabeth's spelling system, generally (but not always) towards the now-standard spelling: <sh>, <i/y/e> and <ght> and <gh>. Finally, I consider graph combinations that have a very narrow distribution in Elizabeth's spelling and are highly idiosyncratic, both for the time period and when compared to the trends for Elizabeth's own practice: final <s/z> and initial <wh/w>.

My discussion of graph combinations considers the written dimension only, working on the assumption that the written and spoken modes of language are distinct components

190

of an inter-related system, and thus that one can be discussed without continuous reference to the other. This approach has previously been adopted in the discussion of ME spelling systems. The editors of *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* point out that 'it is only at one remove that spelling is evidence about spoken language, but it is *direct* evidence about written language [...] The written language can be studied in its own right' (McIntosh and others, vol. 1 1986: 5; see also Smith 1996, Chapter 4). They caution that investigating the phonological dimension of spelling is a 'hazardous undertaking', and that interpretations of concrete written material soon become 'debatable derivative conjectures' when used for evidence of the spoken language (McIntosh and others vol. 1 1986: 5). The relationship between the written graph and the spoken phoneme is inconsistent throughout the history of English, and focusing on written data *as* written data allows us to investigate variation that has no equivalent in spoken language (i.e. the interchangeability of <ʒ> and <y>), and treat such instances equally with those that may have a more tangible connection to the spoken word (McIntosh and others, vol. 1 1986: 6). My analysis of Elizabeth's graph preferences as written forms ensures a systematic, comparable and replicable account of the data.

Final <e>

The first graph I wish to discuss is final <e>. The superfluous graph is a spelling remnant of the Old English inflection system, which initially represented word-final schwa before it was lost from this context (Caon 2002: 296-7). Consequently, writers in the Early Modern period use final <e> haphazardly.[81] In Scragg's brief assessment of Elizabeth's spelling, he finds that the Queen 'pays little heed to final <e> [...] and consequently her spelling is not consistent' (1974: 69). My systematic analysis supports Scragg's statement at a general level. Final <e> contributes considerably to the variation in Elizabeth's spelling system, with almost 40% of all word types with two or more spelling forms including one spelling with a final <e>, although this is not necessarily the only point of variation. However, by refining the data I can offer a more nuanced account of what Scragg means by Elizabeth's 'little heed'.

To achieve this, my analysis concentrates on words with only two spelling variants. I identify a spelling variant as using final <e> only if the <e> is the exclusive point of difference in the two renderings of the word; for example *therefore* <therefor>, <therefore> is categorised as a final <e> variation, but *wit* <wit> and <witte> is not. For plural nouns, I have counted final <e> if the grapheme is inserted prior to the plural marker, and all other

---

[81] Samuels observes that, even in ME, scribes would often exercise their own preferences for final <e> when transcribing a text, rather than preserving the system of the exemplar (Samuels 1991: 6).

aspects remain equal (e.g. *kings* <kinges>, <kings>). This provides a focused account of the graph in Elizabeth's spelling.

The level of final <e> in words with only two variant forms is 23.9% (Table 80). This is a considerable amount if we recall that this includes the words where <e> is the only point of variation, indicating the prominence of the convention within Elizabeth's spelling practice: e.g. *company* <company>, <companye>; *fruit* <fruit>, <fruite>; *would* <wold>, <wolde>. Yet, in the word types with two variants that occurred three times or more, final <e> was the preferred spelling in only 47 of the 125 words (37.6%). This indicates that the graph was, overall, not a preferred form in Elizabeth's practice.

	No.	*%*
Final <e> variant	125	23.9
Non-final <e> variant	398	76.1

Table 80: Frequency of a final <e> variant in word type with two variant spellings only. QEISC.

Final <e> shows different distributions in the pre- and post-accession parts of the corpus (Table 81). The graph accounts for 58.2% of preferred forms in the pre-accession period, declining to 31.1% in the post-accession correspondence (p > 0.001). For example, the past participle *were* occurs 54 times in QEISC, but the six tokens with final <e> (<were>) are all located in the pre-accession part of the corpus. For the remaining 48 instances in the post-accession correspondence, Elizabeth consistently uses the non-<e> form <wer>. The change in preference may support my hypothesis that the increase in Elizabeth's written output after her accession would affect her spelling; the omission of superfluous graphs such as final <e> would potentially increase speed and productivity.

Pre-accession	*Word Types (n.)*	*%*
<e> favoured	57	58.2
<e> not favoured	35	35.7
Tied	6	6.1
Total	98	
Post-accession	**Word Types (n.)**	**%**
<e> favoured	37	31.1
<e> not favoured	74	62.2
Tied	8	6.7
Total	119	

Table 81: Preference in 2-word variants with a final <e> form. Pre- and post-accession QEISC. Not all words occur in both periods.

The trend for *were* re-occurs across the data. In 33 (40.7%) words, Elizabeth's pre-accession preference for final <e> is not present in the post-accession period. For example, the two occurrences of *meant* use final <e> in the early correspondence, but the six occurrences in the post-accession corpus have a non-<e> form:

162. I inquired further of him what he **mente** (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEISC).

163. my greatest Glory that **ment** my sorest Wrack (August 1588, to James VI, QEISC).

In order to compare Elizabeth's usage of final <e> with contemporary trends, I have examined *thing, see* and *soul* in PCEEC. Each word shows a change from pre-accession final <e> to non-final <e> in the post-accession period in QEISC. For the noun *thing* the PCEEC informants share Elizabeth's later preference for non-final <e>, with over two-thirds of the tokens occurring without the graph. Examination of the forms with final <e> showed no clear connection with a time-period: Robert Dudley, for example, uses <thinge> in letters dating from the 1580s.

The PCEEC informants who use Elizabeth's preferred spelling *see* <se> include numerous fifteenth-century writers from the Paston and Plumpton correspondence, plus writers from the early sixteenth century including Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, Queen of France. Robert Dudley, writing in the 1580s, also uses <se>. However, the greater proportion of tokens use final <e>, occurring in letters from across the period.

There is a similar difference between Elizabeth's preferences and those of PCEEC informants for *soul*. Whilst Elizabeth showed a preference for non-final <e> <soul> (admittedly a low frequency preference of two out of three tokens), the majority of variant forms in PCEEC contain final <e>, e.g. <soule> and <sowle>. These forms range in date from the 1460s to letters written in the early seventeenth century, including correspondence by Henry VIII, Mary I, and Robert Dudley. Conversely, the non-final <e> forms were sporadic in the PCEEC sample, with occurrences in the fifteenth-century Paston correspondence and early sixteenth-century letters.

Consequently, there is no clear trend at the macro-level that correlates with Elizabeth's changing preferences in these three words. However, Salmon (1999: 42) argues that 'educated men were in the process of rejecting unnecessary [...] final <e>s' in the early decades of the seventeenth century', citing a letter by Robert Cecil, Lord Burghley as an example. Therefore, whilst the PCEEC data suggests that the decline in final <e> was specific to Elizabeth's spelling system, this may be a case of her anticipating a later trend.

<an> and <aun>

In Blake's (1965) study of spelling evolution within English versions of *Reynard the Fox*, he found that the use of <au> began to replace single <a> before <n> 'particularly in words of Romance origin' (1965: 67) in the late fifteenth century e.g. <penaunce>. In QEISC, Elizabeth's normal practice is to spell the majority of words in this group using <an>, e.g. <continuance>, <assurance>. However, there is a select group of eleven words for which

193

Elizabeth uses <aun> (Table 82). Whilst <aun> is sometimes a sporadic variant in these word types, in others Elizabeth uses it repeatedly as the preferred variant. However, establishing a motive for the use of <aun> is problematic, as there is little cohesion in the group. For instance, Elizabeth uses the <aun> form in the verb *command*, whereas other words with the same lemma such as past tense *commanded* and the noun *commandment* use only the <an> combination.

Word	Variants	Total (n.)	% <aun>
danger	danger, dangier, daunger, daungier	14	28.6
command	commande, commaund, commaunde	3	66.7
grant	graunt, grant	13	84.6
dangerous	dangerous, daungerous	8	37.5
repentance	repentance, repentaunce	3	33.3
demand	demande, demaunde	2	50.0
perchance	perchance, perchaunce	2	50.0
arrant	araunte	1	100.0
countenance	countenaunce	1	100.0
countermanded	countermaunded	1	100.0
grants	grauntz	1	100.0
Total		49	55.1

Table 82: Words with <aun> and <an> graph combinations.

Notably, Elizabeth's use of the <aun> spelling is restricted to words of Latinate (Romance) etymology, e.g. <perchaunce>, <demaunde>, <countenaunce>, suggesting that the use of this grapheme may reflect her familiarity and exposure to the contemporary association between graph combination and lexical origin (see Blake 1965: 67). Yet, this does not explain why many other words of similar heritage lack the <aun> spelling, revealing a degree of inconsistency in Elizabeth's practice. Diachronic analysis shows that Elizabeth's use of <aun> became more variable over time. Whilst all tokens in the sample occur with <aun> in the pre-accession data, the graph combination accounts for only 45% (18 out of 40) tokens in the post-accession period. This suggests that Elizabeth became more consistent in spelling these words with the dominant <an> form, paralleling the standardisation of <an> now used in PDE spelling. It is not clear if this shift reflects Elizabeth's personal preference for the graph combination and her inclination towards consistency, or if she was influenced by the nascent developments of a spelling standard within the texts of the period.

I identified the spelling forms of *danger* and *command* in PCEEC. Interestingly, *danger* containing <aun> occurs predominantly in letters written in the first half of the sixteenth century, including correspondence by Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Boleyn and Stephen Gardiner. The social status of these men suggests that Elizabeth's early preference may reflect her education, if not the personal preference of her educators. William Cecil uses both <daunger> and <danger> in his correspondence from the 1580s. The PCEEC data for *command* shows that <aun> is the preferred variant for this word, used by informants writing

194

across the Early Modern period; William Cecil and Francis Walsingham use both <aun> and <an> variants. Therefore, it appears that Elizabeth's use of <aun> in these particular words coheres with the spelling preferences of her contemporaries of similar rank and educational background.

<sh> Combinations

Elizabeth uses five graph combinations for <sh>: <s>, <ss>, <sch>, <sh> and <ssh>. The connection between graph combination and the word form is relatively stable: Elizabeth spells 62 words (91%) using only one graph combination (36 of these word types are hapax logomena), three word types occur with three combinations, and three words with two combinations. Overall <sh> – now the generalised form in PDE – is the dominant form, accounting for 81.9% of all tokens; e.g. <shortar>, <shewed>, <sonshine>.

Closer examination shows that Elizabeth uses the graph combinations systematically, with her preference dependent upon the graphs' position within the word. Table 83 shows that <sh> is Elizabeth's preferred combination in initial position at 99.6%: e.g. <shuld>, <shall>, <shameful>, <shadowe>. The alternative <sch> occurs in a single instance of *sharply* <scharpely> found in a pre-accession letter to Edward VI (29th April 1551, to Edward VI, QEISC).

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position
<s>	0 (0%)	2 (3.4%)	4 (10.3%)
<ss>	0 (0%)	1 (1.7%)	1 (2.6%)
<sch>	1 (0.4%)	23 (39%)	31 (79.5%)
<sh>	276 (99.6%)	28 (47.5%)	3 (7.7%)
<ssh>	0 (0%)	5 (8.5%)	0 (0%)
Total	277	59	39

Table 83: <sch> combinations by word position. QEISC.

For medial positions, there is a greater range of variants with all five combinations used by Elizabeth: <sch> and <sh> are the preferred graphs. The preferred combination for final position is also <sch> e.g. <perische>, <blusche>, <rasche>. The second most frequent graph, <s>, is used in <skottis> and one of two variants for *punish* <punis>. However, the majority of non-<sch> final combinations are attributable to Elizabeth's spelling of *English*: <english>, <englas>, <inglas> as well as <inglische/englisch>. This further suggests that Elizabeth's spelling of *English* is contrary to her general practice.

Diachronic analysis shows that Elizabeth's preferences between the pre- and post-accession periods are similar (Table 84). The dominance of <sh> in initial positions is the case for both periods, at 99% in the pre-accession correspondence and 100% in the post-accession letters. In medial positions, Elizabeth's preferences become less consistent with

<sh> decreasing from 55.2% to 40% across the two periods, and <sch> increasing. Elizabeth's preferences are clearer for final position spellings, with the pre-accession preferred form <sch> becoming even more dominant in the later correspondence.

	PreA initial position	PreA medial position	PreA final position
<s>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (8.3%)
<ss>	0 (0%)	1 (3.4%)	1 (8.3%)
<sch>	1 (1%)	10 (34.5%)	8 (66.7%)
<sh>	98 (99%)	16 (55.2%)	2 (16.7%)
<ssh>	0 (0%)	2 (6.9%)	0 (0%)
Total	99	29	12
	PostA initial position	PostA medial position	PostA final position
<s>	0 (0%)	2 (6.7%)	3 (11.1%)
<ss>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
<sch>	0 (0%)	13 (43.3%)	23 (85.2%)
<sh>	178 (100%)	12 (40%)	1 (3.7%)
<ssh>	0 (0%)	3 (10%)	0 (0%)
Total	178	30	27

Table 84: Distribution of <sch> by word position. Pre- and post-accession QEISC.

For comparison, I chose three spellings representative of Elizabeth's practice: *short*, *ashamed* and *English*. In the PCEEC corpus, there are five variant spellings for *short* (n = 158), including the <short> form used by Elizabeth. The PCEEC informants show the same preference as Elizabeth for <sh> in initial position, and the graph combination accounts for 90.5% (143 tokens) of all spellings. However, the remaining 9.5% is attributable to the combination <sch>. The informants who use this variant are predominantly members of the Paston family writing in the latter decades of the fifteenth century, suggesting that as a word-initial graph combination, it may have been slightly archaic in Elizabeth's lifetime.

The PCEEC informants use only two forms for *ashamed* (n = 29): <sh> (93.1%) and <ssh> (6.9%) graphs respectively. Interestingly, no informants use the <sch> combination preferred by Elizabeth for this word, suggesting that this may have been a less usual spelling.

Finally, PCEEC informants use seven variant spellings for *English* (n= 140). This indicates that the variation seen in QEISC for this word type parallels the macro-level variation of the word in the Early Modern period. However, only three of the variant forms that occur in PCEEC correspond with Elizabeth's preferences. When assessed for their frequency, <sh> is by far the dominant form occurring in 96.4% of all variants. The other combinations include <ssh> (used by Anne Boleyn) and a single example containing final <s>. The lack of <sch> in final position is surprising, and provides further evidence that this graph is an idiosyncratic feature of Elizabeth's spelling system. Further consultation of the PCEEC shows that <sch> is quite rare in any word position. However, two notable users of <sch> are Catherine Parr and Henry VIII (see 164).

164. I can no les do then to sende her [Anne Boleyn] summe **flesche** representyng my name, whyche is hart **flesche** for Henry (1528, Henry VIII; HENRY8, 128).

A letter (not in PCEEC) written by Elizabeth's governess Kat Ashley shows that <sch> was also her preferred spelling: *she* <sche>, *punishment* <ponysschment>, <ponyschment> and *Ashley* <aschyly>, with only one <sh> form: <shame> (Kathryn Ashley 1549, PRO: SP 10/6, Item 22 in Cusack 1998: 236-8). Elizabeth uses <sch> to spell Ashley's name, possibly copying the practice of her governess: <aschilye, aschiley, aschylye>. The distribution of <sch> thus appears to be localised, firstly to individuals writing in the early sixteenth century, and secondly to those associated with the Court, and with Elizabeth.

The currency of <sch> in the writing of influential and prominent individuals in Elizabeth's adolescence may explain the presence of the graph combination in her spelling system. My analysis suggests that spelling is susceptible to the same social factors as other linguistic variables, and the concept of 'spelling contact' (analogous with 'dialect contact') can be speculatively used to describe the evidence for <sch>. Sebba (2007: 60) suggests that spelling contact is significant to English spelling at a macro level, describing the transmission of international conventions via scribes and printers from the continent. My findings suggest that the phenomenon could also occur at a localised level, with conventions shared between members of different community groups. However, more evidence is needed to establish if Elizabeth's spelling system was extensively influenced by the preferences of her peers, or whether <sch> is a one-off example. The consistency of her spelling practice may have ensured that <sch> was then maintained in her spelling system throughout her life.

<i>, <y> and <e>

Another key area of variation in Elizabeth's spelling system is her use of <i>, <y> and <e> in initial, medial and final positions of a word. During the sixteenth century, the three graphs were largely interchangeable, although there is some evidence that <y> was perceived as the more archaic spelling in the latter half of the decade. Salmon (1999: 42) reports differences between the manuscript version of a translation by John Harington and the later printed text prepared by Richard Field, with the latter changing <y> to <i> in some instances. In order to assess Elizabeth's spelling practice for these graphs, I extracted 49 word types from the database, excluding those with grammatical morphemes such as *–ing* and *–ed*. Overall, the dataset yielded six graph combinations: initial positions use three graphs, <i>, <e> and <y>, with final position contexts using the same three, plus a further three options <ie>, <ye> and <ey>.

In initial contexts, <i> is Elizabeth's preferred graph. It is used in 11 of the 14 word types in the sample (78.6%), and in absolute frequency terms, it is by far the most dominant

accounting for 667 of the 739 tokens (91.6%). This is mostly due to its usage in high frequency grammatical items, such as *it*, *if* and *is*. However, only *increase* <increas, increase> and *inward* <inward, inwarde> have <i> throughout QEISC and elsewhere Elizabeth alternates <i> with other graphs. Of the six spellings for *English*, for example, initial <i> and <e> account for half each. <y> occurs the least in initial position, found in only three word types and accounting for only 9 of the 739 tokens e.g. <ynough>. For initial position contexts, there is no change in the dominance of <i> between the pre- and post-accession periods.

Final position contexts contain a greater range of variation, using six graph combinations to represent the final syllable in 35 word types. The graph <y> occurs in 32 of the word types, making it Elizabeth's preferred form for this position: e.g. *greatly* <greatly, gretly>. The diachronic distribution indicates that Elizabeth becomes more consistent over time. In the pre-accession period, <y> accounts for 68% of final position tokens. By the post-accession period, her spelling practice has stabilised, with <y> the dominant graph at 94% (Table 85).

	PreA (%)	*PostA (%)*
<i>	2 (1%)	1 (0.2%)
<e>	0 (0%)	1 (0.2%)
<y>	134 (68%)	389 (94%)
<ie>	28 (14.2%)	11 (2.7%)
<ye>	30 (15.2%)	11 (2.7%)
<ey>	3 (1.5%)	1 (0.2%)
Total	197	414

Table 85: Final position <y, i, e>. Pre- and post-accession QEISC.

The data not only characterises Elizabeth's practice for this graph combination, it also provides supportive evidence for my hypothesis that an individual's spelling system is likely to become more consistent over time. Salmon (1999: 28) notes that final <y> appears to be a preferred spelling in printed texts throughout the sixteenth century, and it is possible that Elizabeth's exposure to printed norms may have contributed to the increase in consistency of the graph in her spelling system.

I have not examined the graph combination in medial position across QEISC because of difficulties establishing consistent criteria for analysis; 'medial' can refer to many different positions according to the syllable count of the word, for example. However, I have observed some unusual changes in particular words that warrant discussion. Between the pre-accession and post-accession periods, Elizabeth's rendering of *will* shifts from medial <i> to medial <y> (see Table 86). The change also applies to the spellings of *mine* and *mind*. I cannot presently state if there is a rationale behind these particular changes; <i> to <y>

198

does not appear to increase productivity, for example, and it goes against the trend of standardisation.

WILL	PreA (%)	PostA (%)
<i>	26 (86.7%)	40 (30.8%)
<y>	4 (13.3%)	90 (69.2%)

Table 86: Graph variants for *will* in PreA and PostA periods. QEISC.

The comparison with PCEEC uses two words characteristic of Elizabeth's own practice: *if* and *day*. The PCEEC data for *if* suggests that Elizabeth's preference for initial <i> fits with the general trends of the period; <if> occurs over three thousand times in the PCEEC sample and is by far the most frequent spelling. The alternative variant used by Elizabeth, <yf> (which occurs twice in QEISC) is second most common in the PCEEC sample, with over a thousand tokens. Robert Dudley is a frequent user of this form. The PCEEC informants also use five other variant spellings for *if*: <iff>, <yff>, <iffe>, <yffe> and <ef>, although these are much less common and perhaps typical of writers early in the period. Overall <i> is the preferred graph variant for *if* amongst PCEEC informants and correlates with Elizabeth's preferences.

The PCEEC informants also share Elizabeth's preference for <y> in final position, with <day> accounting for over three-quarters of the forms. The form characteristic of Elizabeth's pre-accession spelling, <daye>, was the second most frequent variant in the PCEEC sample. William Cecil and Robert Dudley use the <y> and <ye> variants interchangeably in correspondence from the 1580s. This contrasts with Elizabeth's practice, which sees <daye> restricted to the 1540-1550s only. The finding offers further evidence for the consistency of Elizabeth's spelling in the post-accession period. I can only speculate as to the possible cause that triggered her change in preference; one explanation relates to my hypothesis of Elizabeth's increased workload as queen, with the additional <e> a superfluous and thus time-consuming graph. Its loss would reflect the need for improved productivity.[82] Superfluity was also an issue addressed by spelling reformers (Salmon 1999: 19), and the change may reflect Elizabeth's awareness and adherence to contemporary attitudes to spelling.[83]

---

[82] The characteristics of lower-case <e> in Elizabeth's post-accession hand are themselves very distinct. Elizabeth uses the secretarial form, but often the two inked dashes are loosely connected and barely legible; indicative I believe, of haste (see also Woudhuysen 2007).
[83] Scragg (1974: 52) notes that superfluous letters could earn Early Modern scriveners extra money, as they were paid by the inch.

<gh> and *<ght>*

During Elizabeth's lifetime, the range of graph forms for <gh> and <ght> was extensive. The spellings recorded by the OED for *ought* (v.), for example, number over one hundred (*OED Online* [accessed 01/05/11]). In order to analyse the relevant word types representing <gh> and <ght> in QEISC, I made my selection on the basis of PDE standardised spelling (e.g. *thought* = <ght>). This means a number of spelling variants in the sample lack the actual <gh(t)> combination. The results for <gh> and <ght> graph combinations provide further evidence that Elizabeth's spelling becomes more consistent over time, as well as including several forms that are characteristic of Elizabeth's pre-accession spelling.

For the <gh> combinations, there are sixteen word types in my data, and Elizabeth uses multiple variants for the majority (Table 87).

	Word types (n.)	*Word types (%)*
1 Var	5	31.3
2 Var	7	43.8
3 Var	1	6.3
4 Var	3	18.8

Table 87: <gh> word types. QEISC.

The inconsistency reflects the ten different graph combinations used by Elizabeth for <gh>, the highest number of combinations I have identified so far in my analysis. Some of the graphs are word-specific. For example <w> and <we> occur only in *through*: <throw>, <throwe>,[84] and the combinations <ie> and <y> are found only in final position monosyllables *weigh* and *high*, suggesting an overlap with Elizabeth's <i>, <y> and <e> spelling habits. Interestingly, Elizabeth spells the superlative *highest* both as <highest> and <hiest> in the post-accession correspondence.

The ten graph combinations also show diachronic developments (Table 88). In her earlier correspondence, Elizabeth uses seven of the ten graph combinations and shows a preference for <gth>. The <gh> graph occupies with second spot, with the other variants less frequent.

---

[84] This appears to have been a widespread rendering of *through* at least in ME, with <w(e)> documented in the manuscripts of southern scribes (McIntosh and others 1986 vol.2: 225-9).

Forms	PreA	PostA
<gh>	16 (40.0%)	51 (70.8)
<gth>	17 (43.6%)	2 (2.7%)
<ght>	2 (5.1%)	1 (1.4%)
<ie>	1 (2.6%)	5 (6.9%)
<ye>	0 (0%)	2 (2.7%)
<w>	0 (0%)	3 (4.1%)
<we>	0 (0%)	2 (2.7%)
<y>	1 (2.6%)	5 (6.8%)
<g>	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.4%)
<ghe>	1 (2.6%)	0 (0%)

Table 88: Distribution of <gh> variants. QEISC.

Two words in the pre-accession data show a particularly high level of variation: *although* with variants <gh, ght, gth, ghe>, and *highness* with <gh, gth, g, th>. I have already commented on the variable spellings of the latter word, and it appears that the instability of <gh> is a key contributing factor. Interestingly, the <th> digraph occurs only in the 1540s correspondence, after which Elizabeth shows an increased preference for variants with <g>. (166) represents what might be described as an intermediate form.

165. at your **hithnis** hande (June 1548, to Catherine Parr, QEISC).

166. but made worthy for your **higthnes** request (15th May 1551, to Edward VI, QEISC).

167. Your **highnes** most faithful subiect (17th March 1554, to Mary I, QEISC).

In the post-accession period, the evidence suggests that the adult Elizabeth developed a more consistent system. <gh> accounts for 70.8% of all tokens in the sample, compared to its less dominant position in the pre-accession data (p > 0.01). The preferred pre-accession spelling <gth> has declined significantly (p > 0.001), found only twice in the post-accession data: <length> and <strength>, the PDE standard forms; both words have additional variants with <gh>.

Overall, the diachronic patterns for <gh> show that Elizabeth's consistency increased between the pre- and post-accession periods, further supporting my hypothesis that her spelling system would stabilise over time. What is not clear from this data is if Elizabeth's inconsistency in her pre-accession writing is representative of a broader level of variation for the <gh> graphs in the mid-sixteenth century, or whether it reflects her young age, inexperience or idiolectal preference. To shed light on this question, I have analysed *highness*, *high* and *through* in PCEEC for comparison.

PCEEC informants use seven different graph combinations to represent <gh> in *highness*, including the four used by Elizabeth. The <gh> combination is the most common, and is found in letters written in the 1530s and the 1580s. Elizabeth's preferred variant for

the pre-accession period <gth> is also present in the PCEEC sample but occurs only twice: <higthnesse> and <hygthness>. Curiously, both examples occur in Paston letters written in 1461, which may indicate that the spelling was somewhat archaic by the time of Elizabeth's correspondence and suggests that the level of spelling variation for this word, and possibly the <gth> combination in general, is an idiosyncratic property of her pre-accession spelling system. The PCEEC informants also use the <ie> and <y> graph combinations that she restricts to *high*, *highest* and *weigh*. There is also an additional <h> form not used at all by the Queen: <hyhnes> found in the correspondence of Thomas Wolsey.

The PCEEC data indicates that Elizabeth's preferred spellings of *high* (<hie>, <hye>) are also not the most common forms, with <gh> combinations such as <hygh>, <high> and <highe> constituting the majority of the PCEEC examples. The <y> and <ie> variants do occur, but are less frequent, although some writers, including Robert Dudley, oscillate between the different graph combinations.

Finally, the PCEEC informants show a greater preference for <gh> variants in the spelling of *through* than they do for Elizabeth's preferred <w> or <we>. This suggests that the <w> and <we> graph combinations Elizabeth uses for this word were not the norm, although Robert Dudley also uses the <throwe> variant. The *LALME* evidence I noted above (footnote 84) suggests this may also be an archaic spelling in Elizabeth's repertoire.

My results for <gh> show considerable variation in Elizabeth's early spelling system, with an increase in consistency in the post-accession period.

The twenty-one words for <ght> extracted from the database show a higher level of consistency, with sixteen words (76.2%) using only one variant. The number of graph combinations is also reduced, with Elizabeth using three different forms rather than the ten found in the <gh> sample (Table 89). <gth> dominates the pre-accession forms (e.g. <sigth>, <thogth>) and <ght> in the post-accession period (e.g. <sight>, <thought>). The switch to <ght> in the post-accession period is dramatic (p > 0.001), with over 99% of all tokens using this form. A similar, if less striking diachronic shift was also identified in the <gh> data, providing further evidence of the progression towards stabilisation and consistency in Elizabeth's spelling system.

Forms	PreA	PostA
<ght>	11 (34.4%)	123 (99.2%)
<gth>	21 (65.6%)	0 (0.0%)
<gh>	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.8%)

Table 89: Distribution of <ght> graph combinations. Pre- and post-accession QEISC.

To establish if Elizabeth's preferences for <ght> correlate with her contemporaries, I identified the variants for *might* in PCEEC. There are seven graph combinations in total; <ght> is the preferred form of the PCEEC informants, correlating with Elizabeth's own

preferences. The level of variation in Early Modern spellings of <ght>, which I noted in the OED definition for *ought*, is also illustrated by the range of combinations used by the PCEEC informants for *might* including fifteenth-century <mytʒ> and sixteenth-century <miht>. It is therefore significant that no informant in PCEEC uses the <gth> combination preferred by Elizabeth in her pre-accession correspondence. It appears this graph is an idiosyncratic feature of Elizabeth's pre-accession spelling system for <gh> and <ght> contexts. The OED does record <gth> in the definition for *might*, but it is dated to the fifteenth, not sixteenth century (may, v.1 form 4) (*OED Online* [accessed 01/05/11]).

How might <gth> have been incorporated into the spelling system of the adolescent Elizabeth? LALME sheds some light on the provenance of this graph combination. Only in *strength* (McIntosh and others 1986: 183-188) is <gth> frequent across different regions; in *might* (1986: 219-224) <gth> occurs only (and rarely) in Somerset, Surrey and Suffolk; <gth> in *though* (1986: 141-146) occurs in Surrey, collectively suggesting that <gth> was more typical in Surrey than elsewhere in the ME period. It is possible, therefore, that the graph convention was transmitted the short distance north into London by the mid-sixteenth century. Yet the marginality of <gth> in LALME (and also PCEEC) is striking. The geographical proximity between the attested examples and London may be theoretically persuasive, but it cannot explain why Elizabeth used this graph so extensively, rather than the more common renderings, in her pre-accession writings, or its decline in the post-accession period.

<s> and <ʒ>

In PDE standard spelling, <s> is used to mark plural and genitive word endings. However, Early Modern writers had greater freedom, and in QEISC Elizabeth uses of both <s> and <z> graphs to mark the plural or genitive:

> 168. the bloudy invention of **traitors handz** (1ˢᵗ February 1587, to James VI, QEISC).

In the pre-accession period, <s> is the only graph:

> 169. nor els worthy to come, in youre **graces handes**, but rather all vnperfytte and vncorecte (1544, to Catherine Parr, QEISC).

The alternative <z> graph emerges in Elizabeth's post-accession spelling, accounting for 24.3% of all plural and genitive tokens (p > 0.001). [85]

---

[85] The change also applies to other word ending. *Else* <elz> becomes the preferred spelling in the post-accession correspondence with 5 tokens, replacing <els>, the preferred form in the pre-accession correspondence.

Variant	PreA	PostA
<s>	99 (100%)	331 (75.7%)
<z>	0	106 (24.3%)

Table 90: Distribution of <s> and <z>. QEISC.

The change suggests that Early Modern spelling systems were receptive to new conventions in adulthood, a trait also evident in the more conventional linguistic properties such as lexis and morphosyntax. But the development of <z> also contradicts my key hypothesis that Elizabeth's spelling system would become more consistent over time. However, examining the data more closely reveals that Elizabeth restricts the <z> graph to words terminating in <t>, <d>, <l> and <ng>. The use of <z> is not exclusive, and Elizabeth continues to use <s> in these contexts, but the distribution of the <z> graph demonstrates consistency and something resembling an underlying system for these graphs (see Table 91).

Word ending	Total <s> and <z>	% <z>
Final -d	73	42.5
Final -t	97	60.8
Final -l	23	65.2
Final -ng	25	4

Table 91: <z> in four word-final contexts (%). Post-accession QEISC.

For the PCEEC comparison, I examined the words *hearts, councils* and *Godz*. In QEISC, *hearts* occurs with both terminal <s> and <z>, although the latter graph is preferred in Elizabeth's post-accession writing accounting for four of the six occurrences. Her preference is not replicated in the correspondence of the PCEEC informants; of the thirteen variant spellings of *heart*, only one form uses the <z> graph to mark the genitive, found in the Paston correspondence. (There were no examples of *heart*, pl. using <z>):

170. graunt you euer youre **hertez** desyre (John Russe, 1462; PASTON, II, 276).

All other spelling forms of *hearts* in PCEEC use terminal <s>, such as in the letters of contemporaries Robert Dudley (1586) and Gabriel Harvey (1573), and predecessors Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Boleyn (1520s). The PCEEC informants show a similar preference for <s> in the variants for *councils*, with no instances of <z>. Finally, only three spelling forms (out of over two hundred) use the <z> graph in the genitive *Gods*, and these also occur in the fifteenth-century Paston correspondence. The majority of PCEEC informants use <s>.

The lack of correlation between Elizabeth and her contemporaries for <z> is surprising, as the timing of the development suggests that it may correspond to a broader

trend, perhaps related to the literary fashions at the Court. Without this evidence, <z> in post-<t/d/l/ng> contexts appears to be highly idiosyncratic.

<wh> and <w>

Unlike other graph combinations studied in this chapter, the variation between initial <wh> and <w> is restricted to a very small group of words. On the whole Elizabeth uses <wh> and <w> consistently, and her selection of the graphs mostly conforms to PDE standards (e.g. *what* <what>, *wind* <winde>). There are only four words in the corpus for which she uses both <w> and <wh>: *whereas, whether, which* and *witsafed* (the latter occurs in the post-accession data only). In the pre-accession period, initial <w> is the preferred graph (Table 92), but in the post-accession period she only uses <w> consistently for *which*. The high frequency of *which* makes this a notable property of Elizabeth's spelling system, one that deviates from her general conformity to the later PDE standard for this graph combination.

	Variant	*PreA*	*PostA*
whereas	weras, wheras	<w>1, <wh>2	<wh>1
whether	wether, wither, whather, whither	<w>3	<wh>3, <w>2
which	which, whiche, wich, wiche	<w>57	<w>85, <wh>3

Table 92: Non-standard <wh> and <w> initial graphs. QEISC.

The next point to establish is if <wich(e)> is an idiosyncratic spelling or part of a broader trend. My analysis of PCEEC suggests the former: <w>-initial *which* occurs just over 300 times in PCEEC, whereas <wh> occurs over 5000 times, indicating that Elizabeth's consistent usage of <w> was somewhat contrary to the norm. In PCEEC, the <w> forms are concentrated in the late fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, used by writers such as Thomas Darcy (1500s), and Thomas Wyatt and Henry Clifford (1530s). Conversely, <wh> *which* is more evenly distributed across the 1540s to 1650s, occurring in letters by Thomas Cromwell (1540s), Nicholas Bacon (1570s), Francis Walsingham (1580s) and John Chamberlain (1610s), amongst others.

However, two informants who also use <w> *which* are Elizabeth's stepmother Catherine Parr and step-brother Edward VI, writing in the 1540s and 1550s respectively. This suggests that Elizabeth's preferred spelling <wich(e)> may have been another feature of a shared spelling system, supporting my hypothesis that 'spelling contact' could also apply to small, localised community groups (such as within families) as well as at an international, macro-level scale (cf. Sebba 2007: 60). The consistency of the form throughout her reign, even when the majority of Elizabeth's contemporaries were using <wh> forms, is further testament to the consistency of Elizabeth's spelling system. Had Parr and Edward VI survived beyond the mid-sixteenth century, we may have seen a similar continuation of the form in their spelling systems.

My analysis of eight graph combinations has highlighted spellings that deviate from Elizabeth's general preferences or from the contemporary norms. In this section, I compare a selection of these idiosyncratic spellings with the reformed systems of Cheke and Patten, to establish if these unusual forms can be traced to the reformists' ideas and influence.

My data for Cheke is drawn from published transcripts of two letters written in his reformed spelling system. The first was included in the publication of Sir Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1561) in which Cheke outlines his thoughts on the purity of English. The second letter is taken from Strype's (1821) biography of Cheke. Strype explains that he has transcribed the letter 'word for word, (according to his way of reforming the spelling of English)' (1821: 99). Cheke's spelling system endeavoured to remove superfluous letter forms and improve consistency; for example, the removal of final <e> in words such as *excuse*, *give*, *deceive* whereas the double graph <ee> was to be used in words where we today find <y>, e.g. *necessity*. Indeed, one of the most characteristic traits of Cheke's system was his dislike of <y>, which he 'wholly threw [...] out of the alphabet' (Strype 1821: 162), preferring to use the graph <i>: e.g. <mi>, <sai>.

The two letters date from 1556 (to Cecil) and 1557 (to Hoby). Yet Cheke's scholarly achievements (such his appointment as the King's scholar in Greek) mainly occurred in the preceding decades. Thus, it is highly probable that his thoughts on English spelling had been consolidated by the time he taught Elizabeth in 1544, and it is possible that some of the more unusual or idiosyncratic properties of her spelling, particularly those of the pre-accession period, may reflect Cheke's influence.

However, comparing the spelling of Cheke and Elizabeth finds few similarities. Initially, I suspected that Cheke's suggestions for <e> and <y> were reflected in Elizabeth's preferred rendering of *they* as <the> and possibly *are* <ar>, although <are> also occurs in the pre-accession data. However, there are many counter examples, such as her consistent use of <e> in *give* and *have*, for example. The shortening of *were* from <were> in the pre-accession period to <wer> in the post-accession period could exemplify Cheke's thoughts on superfluity, although I would find this more persuasive if the pre-accession data also contained the <e>-less spelling. As it stands, Cheke spells *were* <weer>, indicating that Elizabeth probably did not follow Cheke in principle or in form in this case.

There are clear differences in Elizabeth and Cheke's spellings for <ght>. Cheke does not use the form Elizabeth prefers in the pre-accession period, <gth>, as his letters contain the now standard <ght>: <might> and <overstraight>. Similarly, Cheke uses the now standard <sh> for <wish> and <wishing>, rather than Elizabeth's consistent use of

206

<sch> for the same words and there is no indication that Elizabeth derived her idiosyncratic and highly consistent <wich(e)> from her one-time tutor, Cheke using the <wh> form. The differences are also apparent in <i/e/y> graphs, with Elizabeth showing a propensity for <y> in final position, such as <my>, <wherby> throughout her life, contrary to Cheke's reformist opinion of the graph. Overall, there is no clear or persuasive evidence that Sir John Cheke's spelling system influenced Elizabeth's spelling.

My data for William Patten's spelling system is taken from a 1591 mock patent addressed to Sir William Cecil, which represented the Queen's desire that Cecil, her 'hermite' find 'solace' after the death of his wife.[86] Examining the patent, the most striking feature is Patten's usage of <z> for plurals and genitives, suggesting that his system may have contributed to Elizabeth's post-accession adoption of the graph. However, a word-by-word comparison indicates that the distribution of <z> in the systems of Elizabeth and Patten is dissimilar (see Table 93); <s>, on the other hand, does match both authors' renderings of *seas*, *wonders* and *years*, but this is the conventional spelling of the period and seems less significant.

Word	Elizabeth	Patten
causes	<causes>	<causez>
deserts	<desartz>	<deserts>
friends	<frendes, frends, frindes, frendz, frindz>	<frends>
seas	<seas>	<seas>
services	<services>	<servicez>
wonders	<wondars>	<woonders>
years	<yeres, yeares, years>	<yeerz, years>

Table 93: <s> and <z> spellings: William Patten and Elizabeth I (post-accession).

Comparing other spelling forms, there is minimal evidence to suggest that Patten influenced Elizabeth's post-accession spelling. Elizabeth's consistent use of <wich(e)>, for example, contrasts with Patten's usage of (the now standard) <which>. Other characteristic traits of Elizabeth's spelling that contrast with Patten's reformed system include Elizabeth's <the> to Patten's <they> and Elizabeth's <commaund(e)> to Patten's <command>.

Nevertheless, the presence of Patten's spelling system in the patent is intriguing. Elizabeth was almost certainly involved in the text's composition, with the patent containing her nickname 'sprite' for Cecil (see May 2004a: xxvi-xxvii), and this suggests that she may also have approved of the transcription before it was issued. The presence of the reformed spelling system in the mock patent suggests apathy towards reformist matters on Elizabeth's part, if not an endorsement of Patten's system. I would find the latter interpretation more persuasive, however, if the spelling data bore out further similarities between Patten and

---

[86] My text is taken from Strype (1738: 77-8). For a modern spelling version, see May (2004a: 186-9).

Elizabeth. As it stands, the hypothesis that Elizabeth adopted <z> due to Patten's practice is unsupported by other evidence. It may be that Elizabeth independently adopted, or developed, the practice of plural and genitive <z>.

Overall, my comparison suggests that the idiosyncrasies in Elizabeth's spelling developed independently to the spelling reform ideas of Cheke and Patten, despite each man's biographical significance in the pre- and post-accession periods, respectively.

A spelling system that I have not discussed in this chapter is the Chancery Standard, the localised spelling system that emerged within the Chancery, the administrative centre of the King in the fifteenth century. The documents that preserve the 'Chancery language' forms are some of the earliest to use English for official writing. In the introduction to their *Anthology* the editors Fisher, Richardson and Fisher suggest that

> [t]he Chancery clerks fairly consistently preferred the spellings which have since become standard [...] At the very least, we can say that they were trying to limit choices among spellings, and that by the 1440's and 1450's they have achieved a comparative regularization (1984: 27).

However, Smith (1996) suggests that 'Chancery Standard' requires careful definition, as the term 'standard' does not denote a unified system as we would understand it in PDE, but rather represents a 'standardised system' with the scribes using a smaller degree of variation than seen in the ME spelling system at large (Smith 1996: 70-1; also McIntosh and others 1986: 27). Furthermore, Smith suggests that the texts collated in the Fisher et al. *Anthology* do 'not necessarily form a coherent body of texts representing the 'Chancery Standard' (1996: 71) because the scribes would often copy manuscripts and preserve the regional spelling of the original (*literatim* transcription). Michael Benskin (2004) provides a detailed (and somewhat devastating) evaluation of the editorial principles of the *Anthology*. He finds irregularities in the provenance of texts (2004: 8), errors in attribution (2004: 5) and, most importantly for the present analysis, in the editors' transcriptions (e.g. 2004: 7, fn. 7) and documentation (e.g. 2004: 20). Thus, whilst the glossary of spelling forms at the back of the collection offers an appealing resource in principle, at present a graph/form comparison with Elizabeth's spelling is ill advised.[87]

However, there is a more abstract connection between Elizabeth's spelling and the Chancery Standard. As the 'direct ancestor of the modern written standard' (Benskin 2004: 1) Chancery contributes significantly to PDE Standard spelling forms, although the process was not simply a case of the system's prestige leading to widespread, autonomous replication (see Smith 1996: 73-5 for data). Re-calculating my data, the proportion of word types that

---

[87] Benskin concludes that the *Anthology* 'reports an ideology, rather than its texts. The Signet Clerks' diversities of usage are represented as mere incidentals in an implied uniformity' (2004: 21).

include the PDE standard spelling as a variant in QEISC is 42.5%. More research is necessary to establish if the degree of "modernity" in Elizabeth's spelling system was typical of the educated upper-ranks during the sixteenth century. Currently, without a comparative baseline, there is no way to establish the meaningfulness of Elizabeth's 'standard' spellings, nor their significance in regards to the Chancery standard and her position at the Court.

Summary

In this chapter, I provide the first detailed and systematic documentation of Elizabeth's spelling in her letters. The results show that she was largely consistent in her spelling practice, and that this consistency increased over time. My findings are hence in favour of Salmon and Scragg's opinion that Elizabeth's spelling was 'reasonably consistent' (Salmon 1999: 30) and counter Blake's emphasis on Elizabeth's 'extraordinary range of variation'. My analysis of spelling consistency uses an innovative quantitative methodology. The quantitative approach, in this case, shows considerable merit over the "intuitive" readings of previous investigations and importantly, my method can be replicated in the study of other spelling systems to allow comparison between idiolectal systems. This is a necessary step if my current interpretation of Elizabeth's 'consistency' is to be verified against the macro-level trends.

At the start of this chapter, I argued that the nature of sixteenth-century spelling variation made it an appropriate feature for sociolinguistic analysis. I made a number of hypotheses connecting Elizabeth's social experiences to her spelling practice, factors that I have already found to be significant in her usage of morphosyntactic variants. The influence of Elizabeth's education, her age, and the effect of her accession upon her written output can be identified in the development of her spelling. The influence of nascent standardisation, however, is more difficult to determine. The proportion of now standard spellings in QEISC appears to be relatively high (42.5%), but the lack of a comparative baseline means that this interpretation must remain speculation for now.

Furthermore, there are features that suggest that standardisation did not have a global effect on Elizabeth's spelling; her change in preference is notable on several occasions for the move away from the PDE standard form, e.g. <even> to <iven>, and the lack of any consistent spelling for politically significant words, such as *English, sovereign* and *councillors*, is also striking. It is worth pointing out that Benskin (2004: 21) cites the seven variant spellings for *England* used by the scribes writing in the 'Chancery Standard' as indicative that the scribes were not concerned with 'institutional spelling norms'. Such a significant word, he suggests, 'would surely have been a prime candidate for fixity' (2004: 21). It is curious that Elizabeth, writing around a century later, shows no intention of establishing a consistent

209

spelling of *English* in her spelling system, nor – based on the results from PCEEC – providing a standardised form to be used by her subjects.

A trend that I have not yet commented on is the recurrent similarity between Elizabeth's spelling and the spelling preferences of Robert Dudley, who was part of Elizabeth's "inner-circle" at the Court until his death in 1586. It would be interesting to establish if the trends I identified for localised 'spelling contact' in the pre-accession correspondence also apply to her preferences in the post-accession period. The letters representing Dudley in PCEEC date only from 1586, and more material is required to ascertain if contact and/or the similarities in social background can explain the parallels in spelling preference.

Elizabeth's idiosyncratic spellings may also be explained by another factor: prestige. Taavitsainen's (2000) study of spelling in fifteenth-century scientific texts found that the genre showed greater variation, and less variants from the standard emerging in London, than administrative or literary works of the period. She proposes that the prestige of science, as an intellectual pursuit, had a distinct kind of power, one that would conflict socially with the administrative standard and thus affected the implementation of spelling standards in the genre (2000: 146-7). I can apply the principles of Taavitsainen's hypothesis to Elizabeth's idiosyncratic spellings. Tacitly or explicitly, the consistent use of <sch>, <wich(e)>, the introduction of <z>, and <the> for *they*, for example, are small but distinguishing features that demarcate Elizabeth's spelling – the written form of her idiolect – from the spellings of her contemporaries in PCEEC, including many of her courtiers and councillors; as such, they serve to mark out her unique social position. If this is the case, then it suggests that even prior to the emergence of a standardised spelling (such as that analysed by Sebba (2007) or Sairio (2009)) social significance was attached to spelling forms. The meanings of conformity and difference operated instead at a localised level (i.e. within the Court, or between family members) rather than being nationally recognised. It is worth noting that Nevalainen (2002: 178) makes a similar observation about the spelling of Henry VIII, who 'did not feel compelled to revise his spelling habits in accordance with the public trends of the time'.

The above hypothesis, combined with the richness of my results in this chapter, suggests that further sociolinguistic studies of spelling have considerable potential. Because Elizabeth's idiolect was the focus of my analysis, I have been unable to consider spelling forms more generally in the sixteenth century. Yet the significance of Elizabeth's education, age and writing habits suggest that a larger sociolinguistic analysis of spelling variation may help us to understand the processes that shaped this intermediary stage in English spelling, and to better appreciate the social significance of the written mode in EModE.

PART 3

Conclusion

In Part III I consider to what extent my analysis answers the three research questions that I outlined in the introduction. I treat each question in turn before offering a more general reflection of the project's achievements, acknowledging some of the difficulties that I encountered, and discussing the possibilities for further research.

Research Question 1

Does Elizabeth's idiolect change in response to her accession?

The short answer to the first research question is "to some extent". The studies in Part II examined ten linguistic features in total, but only two showed persuasive evidence of a change that correlated with Elizabeth's accession: the acquisition of *royal we* and the decrease in periphrastic superlative adjectives. The increased consistency of Elizabeth's spelling system may also reflect the increase in written output after her accession. The three features have an explicit role in interaction (pronouns, address-form superlatives) and the act of written communication (spelling), making them most sensitive to the social changes that resulted from Elizabeth's accession. The seven remaining linguistic features, *ye/you*, possessive determiners, affirmative *do*, negative *do*, single negation, *(the)which*, or animacy and marker, showed no clear relationship with Elizabeth's accession. Therefore, the weight placed on this event by biographers and historians contrasts with my idiolectal data. My results suggest that treating her accession as "the defining event" is too simplistic an approach for an analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect. Instead, many of the developments that occur in her idiolect reflect other elements of her biography – the long-term social factors and specific short-term events.

A key social factor contributing to the development of Elizabeth's idiolect is her age; or more precisely, the correlation between her youth and the stage of the change at the macro-level. During her adolescence, and as a member of the younger generation, she is more receptive to the incoming variants than older speakers. In the morphosyntactic variables at the early stages of the change, including affirmative *do*, the generalization of *you*, possessive determiners, the emergence of single negation and the rise of *who*, her usage of the incoming variants is higher than the macro-level average and that of the older generations (where the data is available). Elizabeth's age is a persuasive factor to explain her position as a leader in these changes.

Interrelated with Elizabeth's age is another significant social factor: her education, and by implication her social rank, which granted her the access to an advanced level of

schooling. Historians have frequently lauded Elizabeth's education for its influence upon her appreciation and solicitation of learning and the arts during her reign (Somerset 1991: 15, 469-474; Shenk 2007) and as a result, I anticipated that education would be an important factor in her idiolect based on her biography.

Nonetheless my results are striking, with its influence seen in its diachronic reach and in the diverse ways that her learning shaped her use of language. Her education can explain why Elizabeth repeatedly lead in the changes that entered the language 'from above' through literary and learned channels, e.g. the rise of *who*, the dehumanization of *(the)which*, and the emergence of single negation. CEEC investigations show that the upper ranks tend to lead changes with prestigious associations, and Elizabeth's uptake of these variants therefore fits with her biographical background. However, for the changes occurring during the pre-accession period, Elizabeth uses the incoming variants more frequently than many of her contemporaries of a similar education and rank. It is plausible that her education made her acutely aware of the prestigious and learned connotations of these linguistic features and led to her high uptake of the variants – perhaps she desired to use language in a way that would please her superiors or educators, or in a way that she felt was appropriate to her social position. Her usage exceeds that of her social contemporaries, a pattern that fits the sociolinguistic concept of hypercorrection (see my response to question 3, below).

The influence of Elizabeth's education can also explain the stylistic sensitivity I identified in her usage of many variants. In the pre-accession period, for example, Elizabeth uses the long determiner forms *(mine/thine)* in her more formal writing, anticipating the later stylistic trend. The different functions of affirmative *do*, the usage of the ME pronoun system *ye/you*, and the increased frequency of multiple negation in Elizabeth's pre-accession translations offer further evidence for the influence Elizabeth's education had on her understanding of language, variation, and style. The influence of Elizabeth's education extends to her post-accession writing, shown by her awareness of literary "fashions" of the period. The data for affirmative and negative declarative *do* showed a 'dip' in the post-accession period that I attributed to Elizabeth's stylistic re-evaluation of the variant.

Shenk suggests that Elizabeth's education was an important facet of her identity during her reign, allowing Elizabeth 'to carve out a space for herself specifically as a learned queen' (2003: 80). She cites Elizabeth's university orations as key examples. In her speech to Cambridge (1564), for instance, Elizabeth uses her knowledge of Classical themes to establish points of similarity between herself and her audience (allusions to Alexander the Great) whilst simultaneously selecting specific examples that 'distinguish her position as monarch' (Shenk 2003: 81). Shenk's observations are significant for my interpretation of education in the linguistic data. The context proffered by Shenk leads me to suggest that Elizabeth does not attend to the linguistic stylistic trends in the post-accession period, tacitly,

214

because her education makes her more "aware" of them but rather, her stylistic sensitivity is something that she crafts and pursues as part of her identity as a 'learned queen'.

The social factors of age and education have a sustained influence on Elizabeth's idiolect throughout her life, and provide explanations for her participation in linguistic change. Alongside these conventional social factors considered in macro-level sociolinguistic studies, I have also found that specific biographical events have linguistic ramifications. Her accession, which was the focus of my diachronic analysis, influenced three linguistic features and I have discussed the probable reason for their connection to this event above. More importantly, my analysis highlights other biographical events that are associated with the variation and developments in her idiolect.

One event concerns Elizabeth's changing social experiences in the late 1540s and early 1550s. In Part II, I hypothesized that the sudden drop of *the which* after 1549 was connected to Elizabeth's new role at the Court alongside her brother, Edward VI, which prompted her to moderate her language to that of her new peers. Re-evaluating the data of other linguistic features finds further changes that support my interpretation of the importance of this period. In my analysis of affirmative *do*, for example, I found that discursive *do* was a notable feature of Elizabeth's letters to Edward Seymour in 1549, but that, curiously, the form was absent in the 1554 "tide" letter to Mary, written in a comparable context. The distribution of negative *do* also divides along this period; all of the pre-accession examples of negative *do* are concentrated in the 1540s correspondence, with Elizabeth shifting to her favoured post-verbal *not* after this time. In my analysis of the dehumanization of *which*, I also speculated that the change developed rapidly in her adolescence, based on the examples of animate *which* in her translations and non-animate examples in her 1550s correspondence. I can also identify spelling changes; *highness* changes from <th> in the 1540s to a <gh> graph combination in the 1550s. Further investigation – working within the limitations of the pre-accession data – may well reveal additional contrasts.

The linguistic significance of the crossover between the 1540s and 1550s most likely reflects a combination of social factors, including Elizabeth's advancing age and the progress she made in her education. Yet her move from the household of her stepmother Catherine Parr to the royal Court may be most significant; as a diplomat at the time noted, Elizabeth was favourably received by the King and his councillors at this time, who had 'a higher opinion of her for conforming with the others and observing the new decrees' (Borman 2009: 124). Whilst the diplomat's statement refers to Elizabeth's conformity to the new religion, it seems plausible that she may have also moderated her linguistic behaviour to the new set of norms to which she was now exposed. The social changes in the 1550s were

perhaps not as politically and historically striking as Elizabeth's accession, but it appears that her move to Court was an important event for her personal development, and her idiolect.

Re-evaluating my data using diachronic splits other than the pre- and post-accession divide may well reveal other biographical events of significance. The events of the late 1580s are a case in point. In these years, the Queen eliminated her closest rival to the throne, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1586, and successfully repelled the Spanish armada in 1588. There were also domestic changes at the Court. Elizabeth's lifelong friend Robert Dudley died in 1586, Francis Walsingham in 1590, and new generation of Court favourites emerged, including Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Sir Walter Ralegh, who upset the old guard (and each other) with their new ideas (Somerset 1991: 597-604, 651; Guy 1995: 2). The period also saw a new royal iconography, with Elizabeth increasingly idealised as an 'invincible majesty' (Borman 2009: 331). Gadja (2010) suggests that ideologies of kingship were more avidly debated during the latter decades of Elizabeth's reign, with outspoken proponents for both mixed and absolute monarchy. Collectively, the significance of the changes from the mid-1580s has led John Guy to describe the subsequent period as the 'second reign' of Elizabeth I (Guy 1995; see also Gadja 2010).

Re-analysing my data indicates that the events of the late 1580s may well have had linguistic repercussions, with a number of forms and functions occurring for the first time in Elizabeth's idiolect. For example, the first occurrence of the double superlative is found in a letter written in 1588:

> 171. Your **most assurest** sister and cousin (1st July 1588, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

Elizabeth also modifies her self-reference repertoire, increasing her usage of the third person pronoun and decreasing her use of *royal we*; changes that suggest Elizabeth felt it necessary to modify the forms used to construct and maintain her social identity. In Elizabeth's spelling, plural and genitive <z> emerges at the end of the 1580s. Other variants show a change in distribution: negative *do* increases slightly in the 1590s after the drop in the previous decade, a rise that correlates with the literary trends of Ellegård's corpus (1953).

Admittedly, these changes are slight, but they could plausibly reflect the developments at Court after the mid-1580s. The emergence of new variants (form and function) indicates that Elizabeth remained responsive to linguistic changes throughout her life and receptive to new means of expression. Interestingly, many biographers have commented on Elizabeth's vanity in this late period as she resorted to heavy make-up, flirted with men over twenty years her junior, and required constant flattery from all visitors in her attempt to maintain the illusion of 'an eternally youthful Goddess ruling over her adoring subjects' (Borman 2009: 333). Set against this background, it is conceivable that the

216

development of linguistic features, aligning her with the usage of the younger generation and the innovative, literary usage of her Courtiers, is a further means to deny the advances of old age and embody the new iconography of her 'second reign'.

The Gender Question

The debate regarding Elizabeth's self-representation in gendered terms has not been the focus of my study. However, my analysis provides a new perspective on the juxtaposition between her sex and role in Early Modern society, and the claims that she established herself as an 'honorary male' during her reign.

My comparative analysis found that Elizabeth aligns with both male and female informants in her usage of different variants. In broad strokes, her usage of first- and second-person possessive determiners, the replacement of *ye* by *you*, and the lag in the replacement of *the which* by *which* correlate best with the preferences of CEEC female informants. Elizabeth's infrequent usage of positive and negative declarative *do* also shows a greater (if less convincing) similarity to the trends for women than men. Conversely, her uptake of single negation, relative marker *who*, and the dehumanization of *which* is closer to the preferences of male informants. Elizabeth's consistent spelling may also be classified as a "male" correlate, based on qualitative assessments of gender differences which attest to the greater inconsistency of female writers (e.g. Salmon 1999: 30) No data is available for the social stratification for superlative adjectives, and the specialised function of *royal we* makes a gender comparison inapplicable. For the nine features, therefore, Elizabeth's usage correlates with five female trends, and four male trends; a near-equal division that provides no explicit support for the 'honorary male' label in sociolinguistic terms.

However, if I incorporate the stylistic and diachronic data a different picture emerges. The correlation between Elizabeth's usage of positive and negative declarative *do* and the CEEC female informants is not robust. QEIC patterns show best fit with Ellegård's literary corpus; significantly, a corpus comprised solely of texts by male authors. The persuasive evidence of stylistic variation leads me to align Elizabeth's usage with that of the more literary, stylistically sensitive male writers of the period, rather than women.

Another important nuance of the data is that the three linguistic features for which Elizabeth's usage correlates with female informants are diachronically biased, with the changes concentrated in the pre-accession period. Female informants led the pronominal changes (the generalisation of *you* and short-form first- and second-person possessive determiners) in the early to mid-sixteenth century. The rapid advance of both of these changes means that they were either near-completion or completed by the 1580s, at which point there are negligible differences in usage between genders. In the replacement of *the*

which, Elizabeth's lag concords with the slow uptake of other female informants in the early sixteenth century, but very quickly "corrects" itself in the 1550s. Gender difference is negligible for these changes at the macro-level in the latter half of the century (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 118-120, 129-130). The strength of the female correlations in the pre-accession period is further diluted by the overlap with Elizabeth's youth at this time, which I suggest has a significant role in shaping her early usage of many variants. Therefore, the changes that correlate with female informants are notably restricted to the earlier period of Elizabeth's life, with no correlation found after her adolescence and accession.

The fit between Elizabeth and male informants applies to changes that took place throughout the sixteenth century. The dehumanization of *which* has been traced over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 118; Dekeyser 1984) and the uptake of single negation continues beyond Elizabeth's lifetime (Nevalainen 2000: 51-52), despite Elizabeth's early adoption of both variants in her youth. The stylistic re-evaluation of positive and negative declarative *do* occurred in the latter decades of the sixteenth century in literary data (Ellegård 1953), and again Elizabeth was in the vanguard of this change, anticipating the trends in correspondence some twenty years later. For these linguistic features, Elizabeth's preferences consistently show best fit with the leading male informants.

There is thus a diachronic contrast in Elizabeth's correlation with the different genders. Once out of childhood and early adolescence, her linguistic preferences repeatedly align her with her male contemporaries.

Could this be linguistic evidence that Elizabeth became an 'honorary male'? I consider this interpretation of the data to be too simplistic. Sociolinguistics, both historical and modern, has repeatedly shown that a language change is the product of a combination of factors (Bayley 2002: 118), and I would argue that this applies as much to idiolectal preferences as it does to macro-level trends. It is important to contextualise gender as a social factor within the sociohistorical context of the sixteenth century. Being born male or female had a considerable influence on that speaker's (potential) social rank, domicile and certainly their education.

In macro-level changes in the Early Modern period, women show a tendency to lead those 'from below', a trend attributed to the lesser educational opportunities available to Tudor women, and demonstrating the precept that, for an individual to participate in a language change, they have to be exposed to the linguistic variants involved (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 116, 131). Elizabeth's unique social position freed her from the social limitations experienced by the majority of her gender, granting her more in common, socially, with male informants. Thus, she shares her linguistic preferences with other female

218

informants (from the mid- and upper-ranks) in the pre-accession period only, feasibly reflecting the greater influence of women in her life at this time (e.g. her early caregivers).

The uptake and usage of linguistic features with male correlates is seen across Elizabeth's lifetime because this was the gender of the individuals and groups with whom she had most contact, and shared the most experiences (either literally or at a more abstract level). Her humanist education was predominantly a masculine domain, and her high rank granted her a level of power more typical of male contemporaries; indeed, Elizabeth's closest political advisors throughout her life were men, with women restricted to private, domestic affairs (Borman 2009).

In light of these trends, I believe it is important to emphasise that the sociolinguistic perspective does not provide evidence that suggests that Elizabeth consciously sought to align her language with male contemporaries *because* they were male. The greater number of correlates with male informants is a by-product of the social factor's overlap with other biographical elements.

Summary

My sociolinguistic analysis of aspects of Elizabeth's idiolect has shed new light on the relationship between Elizabeth's writings, her 'social self', and the key components, long-term and specific, which have greatest impact upon her language and arguably her life. My exploratory re-analysis of the 1550s and the 1590s indicates that sociolinguistic analysis can offer still more information. A number of time-periods and events, not just her accession, can be connected to changes in Elizabeth's idiolect.

Further research into the language of other women at the Elizabethan Court, especially Elizabeth's gentlewomen Kat Ashley, Blanche Parry and Bess of Hardwick, would advance our understanding the different socio-historical pressures operating at the Court, and the relevance of gender in this domicile as a social factor. The findings of the Bess of Hardwick project (AHRC, led by Dr. Alison Wiggins, University of Glasgow) will be particularly valuable in this regard; Elizabeth Talbot is often described to be the second-most powerful woman in Elizabethan England, and the characteristics of her idiolect, the level of similarity to Elizabeth's usage, and the fit with male and female trends of change will be most illuminating in regards to the above interpretation of Elizabeth's 'honorary male' status.

Research Question 2

Can a sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect provide a useful means for assessing authorship?

The analyses presented in Part II provide new and detailed information about Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences. I now assess the applicability of my results for authorship attribution. A key feature of my findings for the ten linguistic features is that they not only establish whether Elizabeth does or does not use a form (e.g. *mine/thine*, subject *ye*, *royal we*, the spelling forms <gth> and <sch>) but they potentially allow a linguistic feature to be traced by:

- A particular time-period e.g. the analysis of *(the)which* showed that the form became highly marginal after 1550.

- A particular social correlate e.g. Elizabeth's consistent spelling aligns with upper-ranking, highly educated contemporaries and, in her spelling of <wiche> for instance, a highly localized group.

- A particular systemic context e.g. the study of animacy and marker found that *who* had generalized across deity and human antecedents in non-formulaic contexts.

- An interactive context e.g. Elizabeth's preference for elative superlatives in address-forms was a notable feature of her correspondence, with a clear change in function in the pre- and post-accession texts.

- A stylistic context e.g. near-continuous usage of affirmative declarative *do* in her pre-accession translations vs. the infrequency of the form in the post-accession texts.

I do not consider the data presented in Part II to be a complete or definitive account of Elizabeth's idiolect. However, my analysis provides the investigator with a choice of features to use in authorship assessment. This is one methodological advantage of the approach I am proposing. It is unlikely that any newly discovered manuscript would be of a length substantial enough to undergo rigorous statistical assessment. My approach minimises these difficulties by allowing the analyst to examine different dimensions of the linguistic data. The technique, which I term 'contextual likelihood', draws meaning from the different factors operating on the features in a text, rather than simply documenting the presence or absence of a form. The evidence for different facets of usage – interactive, stylistic, social – allows the external evidence, either for or against Elizabeth's authorship, to be considered in a qualitative fashion; for example, if a hypothetical literary text, dated to the 1590s, contains no examples of affirmative *do*, then I can offer an explanation for why this may support a case for her authorship, drawing on the diachronic patterns for the variant and her stylistic preferences in her 1590s writing. Theoretically, therefore, my results have merit for the assessment of authorship. However, the real test is in its practical application and I now

220

present four case studies that represent the different contexts for which my data might be used.

Case Study 1: The Seymour Letters

In the introduction, I outlined May's (p.c.) uncertainty regarding the authorship of the five letters written in 1549 to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, during Elizabeth's incarceration for suspected treason. Contrary to popular belief, May suggests that they were not a sole compositional effort by Elizabeth but a collaborative work between the young princess and members of her household. To assess the possible authorship of these letters using the 'contextual likelihood' approach, I now consider my findings for the linguistic features studied in Part II in these letters.

The Seymour letters contain some of the highest frequencies of affirmative declarative *do* in the QEIC correspondence, caused by the prominent use of discursive 'clustering'. This function does not occur as extensively in the other letters in the corpus. The Seymour letters also contain the only examples of negative *do* in the pre-accession correspondence, and only one example of Elizabeth's preferred variant, post-verbal *not*. The patterning of periphrastic *do* could therefore be the result of third-party interference during the composition process, since it deviates from the patterns in the pre-accession correspondence. However, my cross-genre analysis showed that periphrastic declarative *do* occurred in similar contexts, and in even higher frequencies, in Elizabeth's pre-accession translations. Potentially, she received assistance in the composition of her earliest translations, too, but I am reluctant to interpret the results of declarative *do* as conclusive evidence of interference in the Seymour letters.

The distribution of relative marker *the which* is relevant to the question of authorship. The 1549 letters to Edward Seymour contain the majority of the tokens recorded in Elizabeth's correspondence, which could indicate that *the which* is evidence of third-party interference. However, cross-genre analysis revealed a similar distribution in the pre-accession translations, in both frequency and the influence of systemic factors. The examples in the letter to Catherine Parr also reduce the authorial value of the variant. Consequently, the presence of *the which* alone is not definitive evidence of third-party interference and collaboration in these letters.

The Seymour letters also contain the only multiple negation construction in the pre-accession correspondence:

> 172. Kat Ashley she never advised me unto it but said always (when any talked of my marriage) that **she would never have me marry neither in England nor out of England** without the consent of the King's Majesty, your Grace's and the Council's (28th January 1549, to Edward Seymour, QEIC correspondence).

However, the value of this token is reduced when we consider that a) it occurs in indirect reported speech, which may influence the choice of wording and b) multiple negation is not as infrequent in Elizabeth's pre-accession translations. I believe the repeated overlap between features of the Seymour letters and the translations is indicative of similar interactive and stylistic factors, rather than positive evidence of third-party interference.

Other linguistic features show less deviant patterning. The Seymour letters contain periphrastic superlatives in address forms, comparable with Elizabeth's other pre-accession letters, and the pronoun *you* and the short possessive determiners in pre-vocalic contexts also fit the general patterns of Elizabeth's pre-accession usage. The spelling data also shows no signs of interference, with her spelling characteristic of other letters from this pre-accession period. To a degree, the importance of spelling is limited in the analysis of the Seymour letters. May's hypothesis does not contest that the letters are in Elizabeth's hand; instead, he suggests that Elizabeth may have received reproduced dictated content.

Yet, collectively, the linguistic features provide no definitive evidence that Elizabeth wrote the letters from dictation, rather than composing them herself. Thus my findings do not support May's hypothesis.

However, I understand why May has questioned the authorship of these particular letters, as the linguistic properties stand out when compared to other examples of Elizabeth's correspondence. I believe the discourse situation is the most likely explanation. My analysis found similarities with the linguistic features of trial depositions from the period (affirmative *do*, negative *do*), and it is perhaps more likely that the distinctiveness of these letters is the consequence of their testimonial stance rather than third-party interference.

The distinction between the Seymour letters and those to Edward VI or Catherine Parr may even reflect institutionalised differences in the types of Early Modern epistolary writing. Lynne Magnusson (2011) examines letters written in the middle to late sixteenth century by children of the Herrick family, originally from Leicester. She identifies two different 'modes' of letter-writing used by the children: the vernacular letter, which uses simple, conjoined sentence structures, and the Ciceronian letter, which has more complex syntax and incorporates rhetorical devices, such as parenthetical remarks. Her results show that the son with a grammar school education uses each type to different recipients. The vernacular style is used in letters to his less-educated brother, and the Ciceronian style to his father, presumably to impress and demonstrate his learning. The other brother, who remained in Leicester on an apprenticeship, uses only the vernacular style.

Magnusson's distinction is very significant for my analysis of Elizabeth's pre-accession letters. The contrast between the Seymour letters and those to other recipients in the pre-accession period may not be a tacit reflection of the different discursive contexts, but

222

instead reflect a conscious stylistic decision to use the vernacular style of letter to Seymour, and the Ciceronian style to her sibling and stepmother. If my hypothesis is correct, then it further demonstrates Elizabeth's stylistic sensitivity.[88] Further analysis of the correlation between the linguistic features of her pre-accession correspondence and epistolary models will further enhance our understanding of her idiolect, and consequently improve the rigor of the 'contextual likelihood' approach to authorship attribution for correspondence. For the time being, I suggest these letters retain their place in the pre-accession canon.

Case Study 2: 1576 Parliamentary Speech

My second case study examines the 1576 parliamentary speech, an apograph text I included in QEIC due to Elizabeth's endorsement of the original manuscript. As I note in the Appendix, I deliberated over the possible implications of including a text so many steps removed from the original document. My analysis of *who* and *which* suggests that my concerns were justified; unlike Elizabeth's other post-accession writing, relative marker *who* is limited to deity antecedents, and *which* is used for human antecedents in the speech. However, examining other linguistic features in the speech finds that the majority accord with Elizabeth's general preferences. Whilst there are no tokens for multiple or single negation, the speech contains two instances of post-verbal *not*, and none of negative *do*, fitting with the patterns I identified in QEIC as a whole. The results for superlatives are similarly reassuring. The frequency in this speech is greater than Elizabeth's other parliamentary speeches, but the actual trend (inflection for non-address-form superlatives) accords with the norm. The only other linguistic feature present in the speech that may show evidence of interference is positive declarative *do*. In the 1576 speech, *do* occurs once, at a normalised frequency of 1.1 times per 1000 words. This is lower than the average for Elizabeth's speeches, at 2.5 times per 1000 words. By contrast, the frequency of non-*do* declarative contexts is higher than the average: 35.9 times per 1000 words, versus the average 25.5 times. It is possible that these figures reflect the omission of periphrastic *do* during the transmission process. On reflection, I cannot rule out the possibility of scribal interference in this text, but it is seemingly limited to two morphosyntactic forms for which I have data; the majority conform to Elizabeth's idiolectal preferences.

---

[88] Magnusson's vernacular and Ciceronian categorisation has implications for sociolinguistic studies. If educated individuals moderated their epistolary writing style as distinctly as the evidence for the Herrick family (and Elizabeth) suggests, then the macro-level linguistic trends for the upper-ranks in CEEC may show an inaccurate picture of their usage. Documenting language change for educated informants would need to account for the 'mode' of letter. This offers further evidence to support my argument that stylistic variation needs to be incorporated into sociolinguistic studies (see below).

Case Study 3: The CEEC Hoby Letter

My third case study examines a letter included in the CEEC sub-file for Elizabeth. I chose to omit this letter from QEIC on the grounds that it shows hallmarks of a scribal letter i.e. closing conventions 'given under our signet', and it is not included in the recent publications of Elizabeth's autograph correspondence (e.g. Mueller and Marcus 2003, May 2004a). It is appropriate to revisit the letter, and establish if I was correct in my decision. Written in 1566 to Lady Margaret Hoby, the letters expresses Elizabeth's sympathy and condolences regarding the recent death of Lady Hoby's husband, Sir Thomas Hoby.

> Madam Although we heare that since the death of your husband, our late Ambassador, S=r= Thomas Hoby, you have received, in France, great and comfortable courtesyes from the French King, the Queen Mother, the Queen of Navarre and sundry others, yet we made accompt that all these layd together cannot so satisfye you as some testimony and sparke of our favour, with the application of the late service of your Husband, and of your own demeanour there: wherefore though you shall receive it somewhat lately in time, yet we assure you the same proceedeth only of the late knowledge of your return. And therefore we let you know that the service of your Husband was to us so acceptable, as next yourself and your children we have not the meanest loss of so able a Servant in that calling. And yet since it hath so pleased God to call him in the entry of this our Service, we take it in the better part, seeing it hath appeared to be Gods pleasure to call him away, so favourably to the service of him, especially in the constancy of his duty towards God, wherein, we hear say, he dyed very commendably. And for your self, we cannot but let you know that we hear out of France such singular good reports of your duty well accomplished towards your husband, both living and dead, with other your sober, wise, and discreet behaviour in that Court and Country, that we think it a part of great contentation to us, and commendation of our Country, that such a Gentlewoman hath given so manifest a testimony of virtue in such hard times of adversity. And therefore though we thought very well of you before, yet shall we hereafter make a more assured account of your virtues and gifts, and wherein soever we may conveniantly do you pleasure, you may be thereof assured. And so we would have you to rest yourself in quietness, with a firm opinion of our especiall favour towards you. Given under our Signet at our City of Oxford the [...] of September 1566: the eight year of our Reign. Your loving friend, Elizabeth R. (Elizabeth Tudor, 1566; ORIGIN2, 230).

Royal we occurs continually throughout the letter, an unusual property in Elizabeth's QEIC correspondence. The letters with continuous *royal we* that I analysed in QEIC were composed to express Elizabeth's dissatisfaction with the recipient (e.g. to Robert Dudley, August 1586, QEIC correspondence). The function of the Hoby letter suggests that *royal we* is more typical of Elizabeth's official scribal correspondence. However, this does not dismiss the possibility that Elizabeth composed the letter, either via dictation or as a draft, prior to its scribal transcription.

The other pronouns in the letters fit the patterns in QEIC. *You* occurs throughout with no examples of *ye* or *thou*, which are the unusual forms in her correspondence. The letter contains no examples of affirmative declarative *do*, a property that also fits with the infrequency of the variant in Elizabeth's post-accession correspondence. The letter contains

one inflected superlative, the elative adjective *mean*. The use of inflection with a monosyllable accords with Elizabeth's practice, although it also fits with that of many of her contemporaries. More interesting is the lack of any address-form superlatives in either the opening or closing formula. The letter opens simply with 'Madam', and has no subscription, except for the closing formula 'under our signet'. These differ from the norm in Elizabeth's QEIC correspondence, and resemble the scribal conventions of the period. However, the QEIC correspondence shows that Elizabeth only began to use superlatives in her closing formula in the 1580s, and thus we cannot take the lack of examples in the Hoby letter (composed 1566) as conclusive evidence against her authorship. The letter contains no negative declarative contexts, or examples of multiple or single negation, meaning I cannot use negation strategies to determine the authorship of this letter. Similarly, there lack of *wh*-relatives in the letter means neither animacy nor *(the)which* can be used in my assessment.

The spelling of the letter mostly uses PDE standard forms, but there are two non-standard forms that provide a point of comparison with QEISC. Whilst no examples of <layd> and <dyed> occur in the spelling corpus, it is possible to compare the components. In the verb *displayed*, Elizabeth uses <i> for both occurrences: <displaied> and <displaid>, whereas for present tense *die*, Elizabeth uses <dy> and <dye>. The results are therefore inconclusive, and spelling has a limited applicability for the analysis of Elizabeth's authorship in this particular case, not because it is an unworkable feature but because of the greater likelihood of interference with the spelling in the transmission of the text. The value of spelling may lie in the assessment of contemporary manuscripts of a dubious hand, rather than apographs.

Of the linguistic features I have analysed, four provide some guidance in the assessment of the letter to Margaret Hoby, and give some support for my hypothesis of dictation. However, the findings are far from conclusive, and the limited examples of features for which I have linguistic data greatly restrict the success of the analysis. The unpredictable content and the relatively short length of the Hoby letter are problems that are likely to apply to other questionable texts.

A proposed improvement to the approach is therefore to expand the data and include a greater number of linguistic features. Recourse to two pilot studies I conducted of other morphosyntactic variables illustrates the benefits of doing so. Firstly, I conducted an initial pilot study of the third-person singular variable *–th* and *-s*. I excluded the linguistic feature from my final analysis because a number of studies already discuss this feature in detail, not just the macro-level trends but Elizabeth's preferences in particular (e.g. Lass 1999: 163, Raumolin-Brunberg 2005). Raumolin-Brunberg reports that Elizabeth has a variable grammar, utilizing *–s* about 50% of the time in the 1580-1599 period for lexical

verbs (Raumolin-Brunberg 2005: 45). In the Hoby letter, there is one token of *–th* with a main verb, *proceedeth*, which fits with the patterns for Elizabeth's idiolect.

However, the level of detail offered by QEIC suggests a different interpretation, and highlights the benefit of using a multi-factored framework when collecting data for authorship analysis. In one pilot study, I examined the influence of the stem-final phoneme on Elizabeth's choice of *–th* and *–s*. Studies have shown that phonological context (a systemic factor) influences the choice of variant in macro-level studies (e.g. Kytö 1993). Amongst my findings, I established that verbs ending in <d> took *–s* in 75% of cases (out of 48 tokens) in the QEIC correspondence. This makes the *–th* for *proceed* less persuasive proof of Elizabeth's authorship.

My second pilot study investigates relative markers (*where* vs. *which*) in prepositional contexts, e.g.

173. Aston hath told me some of your request **to which** I have made so reasonable answer (January 1592, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

174. This is in sum the fine **whereto** I tend (5th January 1597, to James VI, QEIC correspondence).

I chose to omit the variable from Part II due to the limited quantitative data in QEIC, which inhibited a detailed comparison in line with my other investigations. However, there is enough data to establish that Elizabeth showed a preference for prepositional *which* in her correspondence (Table 94).

	No.	%
Where	9	20.5
Which	35	79.5
Total	44	100

Table 94: Prepositional relative clause markers: *where* and *which* (%). QEIC correspondence. Prepositions: *for, in, of, to, by, from, with, unto* and *among*.

In the Hoby letter, there are no examples of prepositional *which* and three instances of prepositional *where*. The weighting towards *where* does not fit with Elizabeth's normal preference and provides evidence against her authorship.[89]

Taking *–th/-s* and *which/where* into account, there is a general inconsistency in the fit between the features of the Hoby letter and Elizabeth's general practice. Coupled with the evidence of scribal closing formula, I suggest that the evidence reflects the outcome of the letter's dictation by Elizabeth to a scribe. For instance, it is possible to see how a scribe may alter *–s* to *–th*, particularly if, as scholars have proposed, the incoming variant was interpreted

---

[89] Whilst it may only be an interesting coincidence, Graham Williams (p.c.) informs me that there is a difference in the distribution of prepositional *which/where* between the autograph letters of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (containing *which*) and the letters by his scribes (containing *where*).

226

as an abbreviated spoken form of outgoing *–th* (Nevalainen 2006a: 192-3). Similarly, the selection of *where* and *which* in prepositional contexts could be modified to the scribe's preference without greatly affecting the meaning they express. Further research into the characteristics of scribal letters would be a worthy project, and allow us to establish the features that characterise Elizabeth's involvement, and potentially features that represent her different scribes.

The case studies show the potential of my sociolinguistic data for the authorship assessment of letters and parliamentary speeches. However, other genres may also require analysis, and this could prove problematic. My analysis in Part II shows that Elizabeth's linguistic preferences are very sensitive to stylistic variation. Therefore, as a final test, I examine a 1597 prayer attributed to Elizabeth I.

Case Study 4: 1597 Prayer

Woudhuysen (2007: 18) discusses the palaeography of the surviving manuscript of the 1597 prayer. He is 'almost, but not quite willing to believe' that the beautiful italic script is Elizabeth's.

> O God all-maker, keeper, and guider: Surement of thy rare-seene, unused and seeld-heard-of goodnes, powred in so plentifull sort upon us full oft; breeds now this boldnes, to craue with bowed knees, and heartes of humility thy large hand of helping power, to assist with wonder oure iust cause, not founded on Prides-motion nor begun on Malice-Stock; But as thou best knowest, to whome nought is hid meanes thou hast imparted to saue that thou hast given, by enioying such a people, as scornes their bloodshed, where suretie ours is one : Fortifie (dear God) such heartes in such sort as their best part may be worst, that to the truest part meant worst with least losse to such a nation, as despise their liues for their Cuntryes good That al Forrene Landes may laud and admire the Omnipotency of thy Worke : a fact alone for thee only to performe. So shall thy name be spread for wonders wrought and the faithfull encouraged, to repose in thy unfellowed grace: And wee that mynded nought but right, inchained in thy bondes for perpetuall slauery, and liue and dye the sacrificers of oure soules for such obtayned fauoure. Warrant, Dear Lorde, all this with thy command. Amen. (BL MS Harley 6986 fol. 58).

The spelling of this text is relatively consistent, with a number of spellings using the PDE standard; a property typical of Elizabeth's post-accession spelling. The non-standard forms are also similar to those found in post-accession QEISC e.g. <ght> in <nought> and <wrought>, <mynd> with medial <y> (Elizabeth's preferred spelling in QEISC) and the final <s> in <boldnes> (the only spelling in QEISC). The spelling of *foreign* <forrene> in the prayer differs from the form in QEISC, <foraine>, but shows similarity with Elizabeth's spelling of *foreigners* <foreners>, leading me to interpret it as congruent with her preferences.

There are a few spelling forms that are less typical of Elizabeth's system. The variation between single and double final <l> is found in QEISC, e.g. <all> and <al>, but <ll> is slightly too dominant in the prayer for Elizabeth's more variable practice. The

spelling <cuntryes> is present in QEISC, but the diachronic data indicates that it occurs only in the pre-accession period, with medial <oun> or <on> the preferred forms in the post-accession correspondence. The final <ie> in <fortifie> and <suretie> is also less typical of Elizabeth's practice, as final-position <y> accounts for 94% of all spellings in the post-accession QEISC, including the five instances of *surety*. Moreover, first-person pronoun <wee> is highly unusual, with the twelve instances in QEISC rendered <we>. Similarly, *seld* uses a double <ee> in the prayer, whereas only <seld> and <sild> occur in QEISC.

My interpretation of the spelling evidence is that the existing manuscript is *not* the original autograph but rather a careful attempt to replicate a now-lost original. The similarity to Elizabeth's hand (Woudhuysen 2007) and the presence of many of Elizabeth's spelling forms suggests that a copyist worked closely from another (possibly the autograph) manuscript. The extra final <ll> and the double <ee> may therefore represent the scribe's practice. To test the hypothesis, I have examined the other linguistic features in the text, expecting to find a high level of conformity to the QEIC patterns, similar to the 1576 speech. As a genre, the prayer is formal and deferential and thus may show greater similarity with the more literary traits of Elizabeth's translations.

The absence of affirmative declarative *do* accords with Elizabeth's preferences (both correspondence and translations) for this period, although the prayer only contains one declarative context. There are no negative declaratives, but there is an example of coordinate multiple negation: 'not founded [...] nor begun'. Initially, this seems to deviate from Elizabeth's typical practice, as I found single negation was the dominant variant in her correspondence. However, I also found that multiple negation was more common in her translations, and the literary style is comparable with the 1597 prayer.

Looking at other morphosyntactic features, the use of *whom* with an animate antecedent (rather than *which*) fits Elizabeth's post-accession preferences. The consistent use of the short form *thy* in consonant-initial and vowel-initial contexts conform to QEIC trends, as does the inflected superlative for monosyllabic adjective *true*. Drawing on the pilot study for the third-person singular morpheme, the two occurrences of –*s* match my data; the post-accession translations showed a frequency of –*s* at 81% and, in particular, the verb 'breeds' is highly typical of Elizabeth's idiolect, which occurs eleven times in QEIC always with –*s*.

In sum, the linguistic features analysed in the 1597 prayer show a good fit with Elizabeth's practice, and supports my hypothesis, based on the spelling, that the manuscript is a copy of her original composition. The number of morphosyntactic features available for analysis was limited, but there are no linguistic features that show a deviant usage and therefore argue against her authorship of the prayer.

228

Summary

The case studies illustrate that the results from Part II can be used as a resource for authorship assessment. However, there is undoubted scope for expansion and improvement. At present, the linguistic data is too limited; I have already shown the value of the third-person singular variable and the prepositional relative marker for authorship analysis, even if they were more limited in relation to the other goals of my project and additional morphosyntactic features are desirable. Lexical data may also be a productive addition to the morphosyntactic results and (for manuscripts) expanding spelling to include Elizabeth's punctuation practice could also be beneficial.

Overall, my sociolinguistic data provides a workable addition to the existing techniques (manuscript analysis, palaeography, primary evidence) already used in the field.

Research Question 3

What can idiolectal analysis contribute to historical sociolinguistics?

In the introduction, I outlined a number of studies that advocate idiolectal analysis and the individual speaker as an object of study in (historical) sociolinguistic analysis. In this final section, I evaluate my findings to assess their contribution to historical sociolinguistics. The following discussion proceeds along two lines. In the first section, I use my findings from Elizabeth's idiolect to test the universality of the role of the individual speaker in language variation and change. I begin by considering the insight my results offer the current definitions of 'leader' and 'lagger' in sociolinguistics. I then examine Chambers' (2003) description of the 'insider', a speaker defined by linguistic leadership, and suggest how my findings from Elizabeth's idiolect can support and embellish the speaker category. In the second section, I consider the insight that the methodology of my idiolectal analysis offers historical sociolinguistics, and argue for the importance of stylistic variation in the study of the individual speaker.

My first point concerns the descriptions of 'leaders' and 'laggers' in linguistic change. In his discussion of social factors, Labov draws 'detailed portraits' of the leaders in his dataset (2001: xii). Yet, in his ambition to identify the 'social locations and social types' uniting the leaders of change, Labov focuses on the modelling of the general process of language change, rather than attending to the intricacies of language change within the site of the individual (2001: 33-4). As other linguists have remarked, particularly Raumolin-Brunberg (2006), it is not clear if the same speakers are always leaders in language change, or whether a speaker can lead one change and simultaneously lag in another.

229

As I discussed in my response to question 1, my findings show that Elizabeth is largely a progressive user of the incoming variants, with only the data for *(the) which* showing evidence of a lag. Collectively, Elizabeth is *mostly* a leader of linguistic change in the variables I have analysed, but we cannot say she is *always* a leader. It is significant that the social factors that contribute to Elizabeth's linguistic leadership are not uniform across the variables. For instance, I identify Elizabeth's education as a key factor in her uptake of *who*, the dehumanization of *(the)which* and use of single negation; three changes that emerged 'from above'. Conversely, Elizabeth led a different type of change in the uptake of *my/thy* (excepting *own/nown*) and the generalization of *you*; both of these changes emerged 'from below' through the lower social ranks. My results therefore suggest that, firstly, an individual's participation in language change is not uniform, and a speaker can be both a leader and a lagger; and secondly, that an individual's linguistic behaviour in a change can also be prompted by different social factors, even if the result (i.e. as the leader of a change) is the same.

My results also support Chambers' argument that linguistic uniqueness is a theoretical possibility and not a feature of real-life speakers. He notes (2003: 114) that 'truly idiosyncratic speakers have never emerged from our [sociolinguistic] researches. If they exist, they are so rare that no sample population to date seems to have included one'. Even though Elizabeth occupies a unique position in sixteenth-century England, her linguistic preferences show a degree of fit with her contemporaries. She is more like those with whom she shared (literally and abstractly) her experiences, less like those with whom she did not. This patterning correlates with the findings from modern sociolinguistic studies. Even speakers on the edge of the bell-curve, a leader or a lagger, 'relate to the people who surround them in well-defined ways' (Chambers 2003: 114).

Chambers has shown a particular interest in the leaders of linguistic change, and has devised a particular speaker category, the 'insider', that defines and unifies particular social and linguistic characteristics for leaders of a change. My idiolectal data for Elizabeth provides an ideal opportunity to test the applicability of his speaker category for historical language change. Chambers argues that insiders have not been properly recognised in sociolinguistic study (2003: 94). This may partly be because of their social conformity: insiders are individuals at the centre of their social group, although they are not necessarily their leader, and possess the core traits of their social group, to a greater degree than their peers. Linguistically, they anticipate the main trends of the group and, 'though they are not innovators, they appear to be the prime carriers of language variation and change' (Chambers 2003: 114).

Elizabeth's pre-accession idiolectal characteristics compare favourably with Chambers' description of the insider. Whilst the incoming variants I have analysed are

230

attested in texts written before Elizabeth's birth, her usage of the new forms is extensive, making her a 'prime carrier' of the change. If Chambers' category is accurate, then Elizabeth's linguistic behaviour should be a product of similar social characteristics and experiences as those specified for the insider; and indeed the description of an individual with exaggerated core traits is applicable to Elizabeth during the pre-accession period. Her level of education and social rank positioned her at the peak of the social groups. In her pre-accession household, Elizabeth was at the 'upper fringe' of her social group, trained in qualities that were the aspiration of many, and she occupied a central position amongst her caregivers and her educators.

Though I have not considered any linguistic changes in my analysis that were at the incipient, or new and vigorous stages during the latter-half of the sixteenth century, the evidence suggests that Elizabeth maintained her position as a linguistic leader in the post-accession period. Her rapid and definitive stylistic re-evaluation of affirmative and negative *do*, for example, anticipates a trend seen in macro-level correspondence two decades later. Even though the 'dip' was not a conclusive change, with affirmative declarative *do* lasting for another century and negative *do* becoming the standard form, Elizabeth led the change from her synchronic perspective. Socially, Chambers' category still fits Elizabeth after her accession. As queen, she was at the pinnacle of her social rank and her uniqueness marks her out from the norm but – in Chambers' terms (2003: 114) – she still 'related' to the other members in her social groups, such as the learned, upper-ranking individuals at the Court.

I believe that the insider category is therefore applicable to both pre- and post-accession periods, providing an accurate linguistic and social description of Elizabeth. The validity of a speaker category conceived using modern (twentieth-century) sociolinguistic data for the sixteenth-century Queen of England may at first appear quite remarkable. Yet, on second glance, it confirms that the uniformitarian principle operates as effectively for the individual speaker as it does for social groups. Whilst the details of Elizabeth's biography are undoubtedly very different to the schoolboy and the twenty-something American female cited in Chambers' case studies, it appears that the thematic influences from various social factors – education (including stylistic awareness), social status and domicile – and their interaction at the site of an individual, have the same linguistic effects.

However, at present the insider category does not explain how the social facets translate to the progressive use of incoming variants by that individual. One argument for idiolectal analysis is the insight it offers into the 'socio-psychological underpinnings' of variation (Schreier 2006: 28), and by drawing on recent work on the relationship between identity and language, it is possible for me to speculate how Elizabeth's social context feeds into, and is part of, her linguistic behaviour. In the following discussion, I use the material I

have gathered on Elizabeth's idiolect to suggest how Chambers' descriptive category might become an explanatory one.

Firstly, my description of Elizabeth as a leader of language change refers to her early adoption of incoming variants, and not their innovation. Chambers (2003: 114) carefully stresses this distinction in his description of the insider category. Similarly, Labov's description of linguistic leaders in his study of sound change in Philadelphia also refers to early adopters of the change, rather than those who are the innovators (Labov 2001: 385). The distinction is, I think, key to developing the insider category. Elizabeth is not the one innovating the change, but rather she is identifying and utilising the incoming variants as a positive linguistic feature (tacitly and/or explicitly) from a very early stage.

One means of developing my account of Elizabeth's involvement and status in language change, and hence the insider category, is to relate her linguistic behaviour to her membership in different Communities of Practice (henceforth CofP). A CofP is a construct denoting 'a group of people who over time share in the same set of social [including linguistic] practices with a common purpose' (Charlebois 2009: 238). Individuals can be members of multiple CofPs – such as the local football team, or the PTA – and their position within the group can also vary from highly involved central membership to peripheral participation. The important distinction between a CofP and the mainstream definition of 'community' is the emphasis placed upon the practice of membership. The enactment of certain behaviours, including language, 'structures forms of participation within the group and relations to the social world around them' (Eckert 2005: 95). One of the claimed benefits of the CofP concept, therefore, is its focus

> on the linguistic and social practices of actual groups of people. It helps to avoid making generalizations about abstract categories such as age, ethnicity, gender, and social class. A focus on CofPs allows us to see how people experience and decipher the social order on a personal basis (Charlebois 2009: 238).

I am not suggesting that CofP should replace the social categories approach in sociolinguistic idiolectal analysis. The structured data provided by the categories has allowed me to contextualise Elizabeth's linguistic preferences, and establish the points of similarity and difference with the macro-level trends. However the CofP approach allows me to further develop the patterns I have identified, providing a finer-grained account of Elizabeth's position, linguistically and socially.

In the pre-accession period, Elizabeth was a leader in several morphosyntactic changes. These changes can be collated into two groups. The first group are affiliated with educated usage and are changes 'from above'; Elizabeth's leadership contrasts with the early (incipient) stage of the change at the macro-level. The second group are associated with

female speech, and emerge 'from below'; the change is at a fairly established (new and vigorous stage) at the macro-level. In my interpretation of the linguistic features, I connected the two types of change to Elizabeth's contact with two social groups. I hypothesised that the first linguistic set are related to Elizabeth's tutelage under the esteemed scholars of the universities, as well as the influence of her learned stepmother, Catherine Parr; the second group to Elizabeth's earliest childhood experiences with her caregivers and other women in her household.

However, connecting Elizabeth's language to these socio-biographical groups does not explain why Elizabeth is a *leader* of these changes. To do so, it is useful to return to a key concept of sociolinguistics: the social significance of the linguistic variable. Scholars have suggested that speakers adopt variants to benefit from the social implications; for instance, a speaker can be associated with a particular group known to use the linguistic feature (Labov 2001: 191). More recently, some variationists have argued that individuals use particular linguistic properties as an act of identity, to consciously construct a particular persona to reflect their wishes for that context (see Johnstone 2000). Podesva's (2007) work on falsetto voice properties is one study that adopts this approach to linguistic variation.

Within a CofP, particular linguistic variants can become markers of membership, signifying and constructing an individual's position and identity within the group, whereas in other CofPs, the same linguistic variant may have far less significance. Eckert carefully points out that the systems that demarcate different CofPs can also operate within a group:

> [T]he community of practice is the nexus between the individual and the wider social world, making individual and group identity work inseparable. It stands to reason, then, that the very oppositions that distinguish a given community of practice from others will function within the community as well. If a group distinguishes itself with respect to others along the lines of, for example, toughness or race or intelligence, there will be differentiation within the group along the same lines (Eckert 2005: 95-6).

Recall that Chambers' insider occupies a central position within the group, and this is key to their linguistic leadership. In CofP terms, the insider is a key participant in the group. Relating this to Elizabeth, her social position as 'princess' in the pre-accession period places her at the centre of the CofP involving her caregivers, and also at the centre of the CofP with her educators. It is therefore conceivable that Elizabeth felt pressured by her position to be the exemplary model for the group – to be the humanist scholar, for instance, or to be the young princess – and offers one explanation for her linguistic behaviour. [90]

---

[90] Goldberg (1990: 42-44) hints at the possible pressures Elizabeth may have experienced. He suggests that Roger Ascham used Elizabeth's scholarly achievements to indirectly demonstrate his own abilities as a tutor, repeatedly reporting on the princess' academic progress in letters to his intellectual peers on the continent.

For example, the variants 'from above', animate *who* and single negation, were not well established at the macro-level in EModE prior to Elizabeth's childhood. However, it is reasonable to assume that within the CofP containing Elizabeth and her educators these variants were current, and had positive associations, because of the high education level of those individuals. As a key member of the CofP, Elizabeth needs to correlate her linguistic practice with her status to allow her to construct and maintain her goals for her identity in that context. In my proffered scenario, this would lead to her rapid uptake of the positively marked variants such as *who* and single negation. The same scenario can also explain Elizabeth's linguistic leadership in the other CofP involving Elizabeth's caregivers. Elizabeth adopts the variants emerging 'from below' in order to indicate her membership with the women who were early adopters of the incoming forms.

So far I have only used examples from Elizabeth's pre-accession idiolect, partly because this period offers the clearest examples of Elizabeth's linguistic leadership. However, it is possible to apply my reasoning to the post-accession data. For instance, Elizabeth's acquisition of *royal we* reflects her new membership within a "royal" CofP – working with the precedents established by her ancestors, as well as the conventions of Court administration. By incorporating the self-reference term into her idiolect, Elizabeth is both signalling her social position, and sustaining the pronoun's significance within the CofP. She is meeting the expectations of the group, whilst simultaneously constructing her own position within it.

I am not trying to suggest that Elizabeth adopted the variants *because* she wanted to be (or the groups expected her to be) a linguistic leader. An individual's perspective of their language is predominantly synchronic, not diachronic. Elizabeth's interpretations of the communicative context, her knowledge of cultural conventions, the elements significant to her position within a CofP, her personal preferences of use for an interactive context based on prior experience, are what informs her choice of the available linguistic variants. As Mira Ariel notes more generally:

> There is nothing special or different that the speaker does when she's participating in language change (and she always is). The speaker always does the same thing, which is use her language in context in an effective way for whatever local purposes she may have (Ariel 2008: 114).

In Elizabeth's case, the 'effective way' for 'local purposes' often happens to be the use of the incoming variants, a consequence of her membership in particular CofPs, and her central position within the groups. Her linguistic leadership is the product of the intricate relationship between social experience and language.

234

I have previously labelled Elizabeth's excessive use of linguistic variants (compared to her social groups) as hypercorrection. In essence, hypercorrection is a form of accommodation. A speaker uses a linguistic form because its qualities signify, or relate to, membership with a particular group. Rather than accommodating within accepted parameters, however, 'in their zeal to adopt the linguistic norms of the more prestigious group, the adopters [outdo] their models' (Chambers 2003: 67). Labov identifies the phenomenon in the speech of lower-middle-class speakers in New York (Labov 1972), and subsequent studies show that higher social classes also hypercorrect (see Tang Boyland 2001), and geographical mobility is also a trigger (Chambers 2003: 67). My analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect suggests that hypercorrection can be discussed as part of the construction and practice of local groups, as well as in terms of broad social categories.

The relationship between Elizabeth's 'hypercorrect' adoption of linguistic variants and the explanation I have offered based on the CofP construct has further implications for the understanding of language change. In Chambers' survey of speaker categories and language change, he makes an intriguing proposition regarding hypercorrection. He suggests that

> if a noticeable proportion of the population uses variants at a frequency beyond the norms of their social cohort- that is, hypercorrectly – in successive generations, then it seems likely that the norms themselves will come to be altered in that direction (2003: 64).

Chambers' prediction refers to twentieth/twenty-first century speakers. Yet my analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect finds evidence in favour of the proposition in the developments in EModE. Elizabeth's linguistic leadership is characterised not by the innovation of a variant, but by the early adoption at a level 'beyond the norms' of others in her social category. As a result, it is plausible that her position in Tudor society, as a central member of the influential upper ranks and the Court, went on to influence on the linguistic patterns of her contemporaries. Her participation in different CofPs will have influenced the linguistic behaviour of other individuals, who themselves have membership in other communities. In this way, the social significance of a variant is transmitted across society, and could indeed become the norm. Raumolin-Brunberg (2006) observes that for a linguistic change to "take" in Tudor society, it must be adopted by the upper ranks. What my analysis suggests is that – in some cases – Elizabeth's idiolect in particular may play an important role in endorsing a variant and leading to language change.

Overall, my investigation of Elizabeth's idiolect confirms the suspicions of modern sociolinguists Podesva (2007) and Schreier (2006) that the value of idiolectal analysis lies in the detail – the 'socio- psychological underpinnings of variation' (Schreier 2006: 28). Yet, I would contest Schreier's view (*ibid.*) that idiolect analyses cannot contribute to sociolinguistic

theories of language change. My study of Elizabeth has progressed our understanding of 'leaders' and 'laggers' in language change, I have tested the validity of sociolinguistic speaker categories in historical data, and attempted to expand the descriptive insider category into an explanatory one using the detail offered by an idiolectal study.[91]

The second part of my response to research question 3 considers the insight gained by incorporating *style* into my sociolinguistic analysis. In the last few years, the CEEC team has shown a growing interest in idiolects, and have begun their own analyses of linguistic leaders and laggers in their corpus. Raumolin-Brunberg (2006), for example, traces three morphosyntactic variables in letters by different informants, and a leader is identified if their usage is 30 points higher than the corpus total. The similarity between her approach and the first stage of the method in my study confirms that macro-level comparison is an appropriate step in a sociolinguistic analysis of idiolect. However, in the introduction I proposed that the idiolect offered an opportunity to reshape the methodological approaches used in macro-level studies. I suggested that a multi-factored approach, one that could identify the different dimensions, social, stylistic, interactive and systemic, of language variation would use the idiolectal data most effectively, both to improve our understanding of Elizabeth and the individual speaker more generally. My findings in Part II, I suggest, testify to the importance of investigating these factors. *Style*, which is typically separated from the social dimension in historical sociolinguistics, is essential to my understanding of the patterns in her idiolect.

The importance of *style* in idiolectal analysis has been recognised in modern sociolinguistic studies. In addition to Podesva (2007) and Coupland (2007), which I discussed above, Labov (2010) also acknowledges the important role of the individual speaker in future sociolinguistic research. He emphasises the need for a comparative study of idiolectal variation across different situations:

> Much is to be learned from the study of individual variation [...] **To make the case strongly, we have to go beyond the description of individual acts and observe how a person changes from one social situation to another** (2010: 189 – my emphasis).

Labov's 'social situation' equates to the concept of *style* used in this study.[92] My analyses suggest that studying the interface between social, stylistic and interactive variation is as important for historical sociolinguistics as it is for modern data.

As the findings presented in Part II demonstrate, Elizabeth's idiolect shows considerable stylistic range, with implications for her participation in a language change. My

---

[91] Whilst my study was in progress, Palander-Collin et al. (2009) put forward a similar argument in favour of the individual speaker, suggesting that how 'macro meets micro' is an important new direction for historical sociolinguistic research.
[92] He glosses the variation across social situations as 'style shifting' (Labov 2010: 189).

multi-genre corpus allowed me to investigate the impact of social conventions of genre and 'literariness' on Elizabeth's linguistic preferences. In my investigation of affirmative and negative *do*, for instance, the decrease in *do* in the 1580s would have been less transparent if I had used only the correspondence data, and I do not believe that I would then have proposed stylistic re-evaluation as the cause for the decline. Only by collating the diachronic trends in Elizabeth's translations with those identified in her 'less literary' writing, and then interpreting the idiolectal results against the macro-level social data in CEEC and Ellegård's corpus, could I argue for what now appears to be a striking feature of Elizabeth's idiolect. The interface of social and stylistic elements was crucial to the process of description and interpretation.

My analysis also suggests that interactive variation, as a second dimension of *style*, is equally insightful in analysis. By carefully documenting the context surrounding each individual text my interpretations incorporate the influence of the communicative scenario on Elizabeth's linguistic decisions. The contrast between the Seymour letters and other pre-accession correspondence is the most striking example. The self-reference pronouns in the 1586 parliamentary speeches, discussing Mary, Queen of Scots, are another case in point.

The importance of *style* variation in my results for Elizabeth's idiolect leads me to argue that this dimension should be more broadly incorporated into historical sociolinguistic studies of language change. I found considering how Elizabeth used a variable, such as the stylistic role of *my/mine* or affirmative *do*, to be as important a dimension of her linguistic leadership as the quantitative comparison.

The significance of stylistic range in my analysis may suggest that the current sociolinguistic focus on single genre analysis is cause for concern, and in particular the central position of letters as the preferred linguistic resource. It was the comparison between Elizabeth's letters and other genres of her writing that produced some of the most interesting data in my analysis. The focus on letters within historical sociolinguistics is partly because the genre is considered the best written evidence of 'spoken language', so valued because modern sociolinguistic analysis cites spoken language as the locus of language change (Labov 1972: 208). Current scholarly interest in correspondence of course extends beyond the field of historical sociolinguistics, and I do not wish to suggest that the genre is not a fascinating and rich resource for historical and linguistic study. Yet, surely, one distinctive attribute of historical sociolinguistics, compared to its modern counterpart, is hindsight and the retrospective analysis of language change, which therefore permits a more detailed study of the progress from one form or function to another. My study demonstrates that an historical idiolectal study can make the important connection between the language choices of the individual (encompassing the interactive, stylistic, and social dimensions of a communicative act), and the macro-level trends of variation and change.

Achievements and Limitations of the Study

A number of the achievements of the present investigation make important contributions to the existing scholarship on Queen Elizabeth I. Firstly, I have compiled a multi-genre electronic corpus of her writing (see appendix for details) that can be utilised for a range of analyses; the first time, I believe, that Elizabeth's autograph works have been collated in this way. Creating the corpora allowed me to document the development of nine morphosyntactic variables within Elizabeth's writing. In my study of affirmative *do*, negative *do*, *ye/you* and first- and second-person possessive determiners I corroborated and added to existing accounts of these features in Elizabeth's letters. My analysis of the rise of *who*, the dehumanization of *which* and superlative adjectives provides the first information of Elizabeth's position in these changes, in comparison to the macro-level trends. The investigations of *royal we* and double superlatives provide new sociolinguistic information for both Elizabeth and the macro-level. Yet, the success of my morphosyntactic analyses lies not only in their corroborative merit, but also in the detailed documentation of stylistic and interactive variation – the merits of which I argued for above.

The data taken from Elizabeth's idiolect revealed that the Queen was a leader of linguistic change. It also showed she was attuned to stylistic fashions, both at the level of genre (i.e. the role of affirmative *do* in her letters and translations) and in different interactive scenarios (i.e., the persuasive function of *royal we* in the letters to James VI). Her stylistic range is a striking part of her idiolect. My study provides new insight into the relationship between her biography and her language use. Regarding Elizabeth's accession, my results provide a note of caution to the emphasis on this period of her life; other biographical events, such as her move to Court in the 1550s, were found to be idiolectally as significant.

I also compiled a database of Elizabeth's spelling preferences, and this resource has allowed me to provide the first detailed account of her spelling using a replicable methodology and, importantly, clarified the previously muddled and contradictory accounts in the literature. My investigation also tested the applicability of a sociolinguistic analysis of spelling in the sixteenth century, and my results suggest that the social factors pertinent to morphosyntactic variation are also relevant to her spelling system. Analysing spelling also meant that I engaged with the written dimension of her writing, a feature often overlooked in historical sociolinguistic analyses. I have shown that, when rigorous techniques are used, problems concerning scribal interference can be negotiated, and that there is untapped potential in this area for sociolinguistic studies. On the basis of my results, the social significance of the material properties of historical documents, and the relationship with the spoken dimensions of language, warrants closer analysis.

When the data for nine morphosyntactic features and Elizabeth's spelling are gathered together, my results also offer a new resource for authorship analysis. I demonstrate how this data might be applied in my response to research question 2. The wealth of interest in Elizabeth's writings, which I reported in the introduction, makes this a valuable resource for historians.

I have also demonstrated how the sociolinguistic analysis of an idiolect can work with existing macro-level studies whilst at the same time accounting for the 'socio-psychological underpinnings' (Schreier 2006: 28) of variation, by recognising the impact of stylistic and interactive factors in a communicative act. This dimension of my methodology combats a common criticism that sociolinguistic analysis disassociates linguistic data from the speaker and context; Coupland (2007), for example, has written emphatically of the importance of accounting for communicative context and the interactive elements in the study of language variation and change. My multi-factored analysis accommodates for the influence of both social and stylistic variation, and should prove suitable for future idiolectal studies.

Before I move onto the final section of Part III and outline directions for future research, I wish to acknowledge some difficulties that I encountered during the present study. Whilst many scholars make claims regarding Elizabeth's copious output – 3000 letters is an oft-cited number (Doran 2000: 701; Harrison 1935: x) – the number of documents suitable for a sociolinguistic analysis is far, far lower. The compilation of QEIC was a laborious process, not just in the mechanics of transcription but also in determining the mid-ground between textual authenticity and the quantity of material required by my methodology. The fact remains that the corpus is unfortunately skewed in its representation of particular periods and genres. Of course, we can ascribe the methodological problems to the 'bad data' problem, and I would like to think that I have followed the historical sociolinguistic approach in making 'the best use of the data available' (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 26) in the course of this analysis. Yet, if new data should emerge, then QEIC should be expanded and enriched accordingly.

Another limitation concerns the comparative approach. My sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect required extensive comparison and contextualisation with macro-level data, in order to establish the points where her usage conformed or deviated from the norm. However, this required compromises in regards to the linguistic features I could investigate. In some case, I found that interesting macro-level variables, such as prepositional *which* and *where*, were poorly represented in the idiolectal data, and unsuitable for a detailed comparative study. On other occasions, my analysis highlighted features of idiolectal interest that I was unable to pursue because there was no existing macro-level data, and the process of compiling my own macro-level comparison extended beyond the scope of the study; for

240

instance, the overall number of 'hits' for the search term *not* was higher than the number of tokens analysed for negative *do* and single negation, suggesting that Elizabeth used (and preferred) other negation strategies. Finding the balance between the macro and idiolectal limitations of the data was a crucial part of my study. Future investigations need to make the same compromises, or endeavour to compile their own macro-level data (as I did for double superlatives and *royal we*), as time and space allow.

Future Research

The possibilities for further research are considerable. I have already explored some areas that could be expanded for the sociolinguistic analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect, such as the inclusion of additional morphosyntactic features and a study of her lexis.

Although my study considered interactive factors, a more detailed investigation of the possible accommodation between Elizabeth and her recipients, particularly James VI, is a valuable proposition. Such a study would improve our knowledge of how Elizabeth conceptualised her relationships with different individuals, as well as providing information on how the written medium (correspondence) may contribute to language variation and change.

The *Queen Elizabeth I Corpus* also offers a resource for investigations with a different focus. A systematic investigation of Elizabeth's rhetorical expressions (i.e. tropes, figures of speech) is one possibility. The Queen is noted for her love of language as an 'artistic medium' (Somerset 1991: 15), and rhetorical figures are a recurring feature in a number of my analyses of morphosyntactic variables, having a close relationship with the linguistic forms. A diachronic and cross-genre study of her preferences would provide further information about this dimension of her language. QEIC could also serve as a comparative resource in an analysis of the vast body of scribal letters signed by the Queen. A linguistic investigation of the works by different scribes could help to illuminate the interaction between Elizabeth and her councillors both before and during her reign. Another prospect is a comparative study of Elizabeth's foreign language works. The study of how her English linguistic preferences overlap and deviate at a cross-lingual level would be informative for biographers and linguists alike.

More generally, I believe that a sociolinguistic account of spelling is an important area for future study. The current interest in the materiality of historical correspondence (see Daybell (2009) for a summary) suggests that the written dimension of letters can provide further insight into the social significance of the linguistic choices made by their author.

Finally, my analysis has shown the value of constructing (parts of) a "lingual biography", even for an individual as scrutinized as Elizabeth I. My study has proffered new

information about her language and life. Further studies of other notable historical figures using the same framework are an enticing prospect.

Final Word

In his recent investigation of the 'representation' of Queen Elizabeth I, Montrose (2006) stresses the value of cross-disciplinary analysis. Describing himself as '[f]ormally a literary scholar', Montrose (2006: 4-8) argues that expanding the literary-historical approach to less literary documents, such as letters or patents, is an important step in the study of Early Modern culture. I wish to emphasise the value of cross-disciplinary analysis that has emerged in my study of Elizabeth's idiolect. Bridging the gap between different disciplines is an important pursuit, one that allows us to corroborate or re-assess existing conceptions with new evidence. By treating Elizabeth's writing with fresh, linguistic eyes, I have argued for an historical approach that considers the language in its socio-historical context, alongside the more conventional reading of the semantic content. My findings have enhanced our understanding of her writings, her idiolect, and her social identity, and provided a substantial new resource for authorship analysis. At the same time, my study has allowed me to test and develop the sociolinguistic approach, and to contribute to our understanding of the individual in language change. My hope is that scholars from both disciplines read my investigation as a whole and find value in my interdisciplinary approach, not only on Elizabeth I and EModE, but as an example of how we might further our understanding more generally of history, language and the individuals involved in their creation.

242

Appendix

The Queen Elizabeth I Corpus (QEIC)

The following discussion provides details about the Queen Elizabeth I Corpus, explaining my reasoning behind the texts that I have included, and the difficulties that I encountered during the compilation process. My initial goal was to compile a corpus of Elizabeth's writing transcribing only autograph manuscripts.[93] Documents written in the author's own hand have a high level of authenticity (Nevalainen 2002: 170), both as historical documents and for the accuracy of the textual and linguistic features, making them highly suited to idiolectal analysis. However, I found that the number of surviving autographs was insufficient for diachronic and cross-genre comparison. Consequently, I conceded my original "autograph only" ambition. The QEIC corpus, mainly in the correspondence sub-section used for the greater part of my analysis, includes a number of apographs (scribal copies). The discussion that follows describes the different procedures I used to collate the most suitable texts for each sub-section of the corpus. A list of all texts and their sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

Correspondence

The impression given by historians (Harrison 1935: x, Doran 2000: 701) is that there is a large body of correspondence attributed to Elizabeth, of over 3000 letters. However, when researching these texts I found that the majority survive in the hand of scribes (many with questions over Elizabeth's involvement) or as apographs. The Queen simply did not write as many letters as she signed, as the mechanisms of the Elizabethan government were too vast and complex (Doran 2000: 700-1), which leads to an uneven diachronic distribution of autograph material.

Whenever possible, I made a transcription directly from an autograph manuscript, many of which, particularly Elizabeth's correspondence with James VI (BL MS Add. 23240) and Edward Seymour (BL MS Lansdowne 1236), are kept at the British Library. My initial transcripts recorded the original spelling of the letters, as well as any errors or corrections, with additional notes made about the circumstances of composition. These autograph transcriptions are used for QEISC.

When modernising the spelling for QEIC, I checked my interpretation of Elizabeth's writing with the recent published editions (e.g. Mueller and Marcus 2003, May 2004a). The heavy elisions and amendments in some of Elizabeth's later letters, for instance, are quite difficult to read and I wanted to ensure my readings were accurate. Interestingly, I found the occasional discrepancy where the edited publications differed in their reading of a sentence or word; for example Marcus, Mueller and

---

[93] I use the term *autograph* following its etymological sense 'in the hand of the author' (viz. *manuscript*), the definition endorsed by Peter Beal (2008: 29-30). The term *holograph* is occasionally used with the same meaning (e.g. May 2004a).

243

Rose (2000: 358) transcribe one phrase as 'at lenth [length]', where May (2004a: 182) has 'at large'. In the manuscript (BL MS Add. 23240, fol.77) the word is poorly formed, but in my opinion May's reading is the better fit, and the same reading is found in Harrison (1935: 194). Although the differences between the most recent published editions were relatively minor, they demonstrate the impact intermediate parties can have on the accuracy of a transcription.

Nevertheless, the correspondence sub-section required a greater number of texts than Elizabeth's autograph manuscripts could provide, and I had to look to other types of document. I decided to transcribe a select number of apograph manuscripts, either contemporary to the original letter, or a copy made at a later date e.g. the letter to Thomas Heneage, dated 27th April 1586, which was copied by the recipient and is preserved in BL MS. Galba C. IX, fol.197b.

The apograph manuscripts that I include in QEIC follow May's reasoning that 'certain types of scribal copies have a strong claim to authenticity' (2004a: xxvi). I have chosen examples that represent 'in-house memoranda' (e.g. October 1586, to William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, QEIC correspondence) and letters expressing more personal sentiments, such as the affectionate letter addressed to 'Rob' (e.g. 19th July 1586, to Robert Dudley, QEIC correspondence), or letters of condolence (e.g. 1590, to Lady Knyvett, QEIC correspondence).

May (2004a: xxvi) also suggests that official royal correspondence (letters with the opening and closing conventions 'trusty and well-beloved', 'given under our signet') may also be classified as those with a 'strong claim to authenticity'. However, I believe that Elizabeth's involvement in official letters is likely to be less direct than an autograph document; for example, she may have dictated the letter, or made brief notes from which a scribe independently composed the text. I do not consider compositions of this type to have a sufficient level of authenticity for a linguistic analysis, however interesting these letters are historically.

The correspondence sub-section also includes transcriptions made from published editions, as access to the original manuscripts – such as those in private collections – was not always possible. Editions I consulted include Bruce (1849), Harrison (1935), Parry (1990), Mueller and Marcus (2003), Pryor (2003) and May (2004a). In the best cases, (Perry (1990) and Pryor (2003)), the editions included photographic images of the manuscript, and I could make my transcription from the reproduced original. Otherwise, I would crosscheck the differences and similarities between the transcriptions of the same documents. Typically, the differences were negligible. For the occasional lexical discrepancy I compared all available transcripts to establish and make a judgement on the most likely reading. Whilst this is not an ideal solution, it was a necessary compromise to ensure sufficient material for analysis. My careful assessments of the letters' provenance and the accuracy of the transcriptions mean that QEIC contains enough letters of satisfactory authenticity for an analysis of Elizabeth's idiolect.

Speeches

My decision to include Elizabeth's speeches as a sub-section in QEIC was influenced by the attention they have received in literary-historical analysis, often described as the most public or performative examples of Elizabeth's writing (see Heisch 1975, Reynolds 2010). They also contribute some of the

more popular and enduring images and quotations associated with Elizabeth I. However, my preliminary research indicated that many of the more famous speeches were not suitable for my corpus. The Tilbury speech, for instance, survives in several versions made after the event by third-party writers, but there is no extant autograph draft or copy (see Green 1997). The infamous 1601 Golden Speech, in which Elizabeth states her commitment to her subjects – survives as four non-autograph and different versions. May (2004a: 89-92, 2004b) discusses the accuracy of each account, suggesting that elements of each version probably represent what Elizabeth actually said, with the scribes working in teams to document the oration. However, whilst historically significant, the third-party accounts are unsuited to a corpus representing Elizabeth's idiolect.

In total, QEIC contains six parliamentary speeches covering the early years of her reign. The included speeches offer the most convincing evidence of Elizabeth's involvement in their composition; they are either full autographs (1563, 1566, 1567) or scribal documents that contain Elizabeth's corrections, amendments and material approval (the two speeches from 1586). I have included only one apograph in this sub-section, a speech dating from 1576, because the decade is poorly represented in the QEIC corpus. Elizabeth endorsed the copy of this speech, which was later published from the Harington collection (May 2004a: 52-60). I am aware that there is a greater risk of third-party interference in this text, and I evaluate this aspect in Part III.

Translations

QEIC includes four autograph translations. I recognise that including translations in a corpus of authentic idiolectal material is a debatable decision, given that the goal of translation is to reproduce another individual's words. Translations have been described as posing 'special problems' for historical linguistic study (Raumolin-Brunberg 1991: 41). However, I consider the genre appropriate for QEIC for several reasons. Firstly, modern scholars have noted Elizabeth's translations are 'phrase for phrase' rather than 'word by word', suggesting that she drew on her own linguistic preferences in their composition rather than simply substituting English for French or Latin (see Mueller and Scodel 2009a, Archer 1995). The fact that Elizabeth translated these works into her native tongue also acts in favour of including them in QEIC. Secondly, the act of translation was a self-conscious act during the sixteenth century. Whilst some scholars have suggested that translation was a 'safe' literary venture for women, representing their subservience to the master (text) (Goldberg 1990: 76), the more popular line of thought regarding Elizabeth's own translations is that they are a demonstration of her learning, and allow her to engage with the scholarly ambitions of contemporary society; a framing that aligns the Queen with accounts of male translation (Goldberg 1990: 82). During Elizabeth's lifetime, these works 'often attracted as much attention [...] as her own compositions' (Marcus, Mueller and Rose 2000: xv).

A strong argument for their inclusion in QEIC is the insight they provide into Elizabeth's more literary language style. As another point, the translations allow me to fulfil my initial "autograph only" ambition to some degree, as the texts provide some lengthy specimens of autograph writing.

The earliest translation in QEIC is Elizabeth's well-known translation (written in 1544) of Margaret d'Navarre's *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul.* I transcribed this text from a facsimile of the original

autograph (Ames 1897). This early work has received much attention in literary-historical circles, and scholars argue that it reveals Elizabeth's precocious 'brilliance and vulnerability' (Demers 2005: 74). As Elizabeth's earliest known English translation, it provides valuable insight into her childhood idiolect in a literary context. The second text in the pre-accession section was written a year later, the first chapter of John Calvin's *De Institution*. My transcription was based on Mueller and Scodel (2009a).

The first post-accession translation is Cicero's *Pro M. Marcello* (1592). My transcription was based on Mueller and Scodel (2009b) and May (2004a). QEIC also includes the c. 1593 version of Boethius' *De Consolatione*, transcribed from Pemberton (1899) and supported by Mueller and Scodel (2009b). I did not transcribe the whole text of Boethius, as there are repeated points in the manuscript where Elizabeth's autograph cedes to a scribal hand. The scribal sections reportedly contain a number of mistranslations and errors that could be the result of transmission or scribal error, rather than Elizabeth's own mistakes (Mueller and Scodel 2009b: 50, 54). The QEIC transcript of Boethius therefore includes only the autograph sections, and is a mix of verse and prose.

Queen Elizabeth I Corpus
Correspondence

A = Autograph; B = Contemporary copy of autograph; C = Autograph, based on modern edition; D = Copy of autograph, based on modern edition. Manuscript references in [ ] cite unseen manuscripts, with the transcript taken from the source(s) that follow.

Date	Addressee	Source(s)	Word count	Status
1544, 31st December	Catherine Parr	[MS Cherry 36, fools. 2r-4v. Bodleian Library]. Mueller and Marcus 2003.	541	A
1548, May	Edward Seymour	SP 10/5, fol.8a; May 2004a: 100	157	B
1548, June	Catherine Parr	PRO State Papers Domestic, Edward VI 10/2, fol. 84c. Image in Perry 1990: 55.	179	A
1548, June	Thomas Seymour	[Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Rulers of England, Box III, Part 1, art. 6.] Image in Marcus 2008: 212-3	110	A
1548, 31st July	Catherine Parr	Cotton Ortho C.X. fol.236v	231	A
1549, January/February	Edward Seymour	[Burghley Papers, Vol. 1 pg. 102]. Malone 1796.	235	C
1549, 28th January	Edward Seymour	[Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 133/4/2]. Mueller and Marcus 2003.	683	A
1549, 6th February	Edward Seymour	MS Ashmole 1729, art. 6. Mueller and Marcus 2003, May 2004a: 106.	192	C
1549, 21st February	Edward Seymour	BL MS Lansdowne 1236, fol. 33	646	A
1549, 7th March	Edward Seymour	BL MS Lansdowne 1236 fol.35r.	509	A
1551, 15th May	Edward VI	BL MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, fol.48	390	A
1552, 21st April	Edward VI	[Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Typ 686]. Mueller and Marcus 2003.	328	C
1552, 27th October	Mary I	BL MS Lansdowne 1236, fol. 39	263	A
1553, c. May	Edward VI	BL MS Harley 6986, art. 16, fol. 23r	243	A
1553, January	Catherine Knollys	BL MS Lansdowne 94, fol.21 May 2004a: 124-5	182	C
1554, 17th March	Mary I	[PRO State Papers Domestic, Mary I 11/4/2, fol. 3]. Image in Pryor 2003.	625	A

1555, 29th October	William Paulet	BL Harley 39, fol.14v. Harrison 1935: 21; Perry 1990: 108	176	B
1556, 2nd August	Mary I	BL MS Lansdowne 1236, fol. 37	576	A
1562, 4th July	Ambrose Dudley	[Archaeologia XIII (1800) 201-3.] Perry 1990: 174.	99	C
1563, July	William Throckmorton	Private collection. Image courtesy of Steven W. May	95	A
1565, c.	Henry Sidney	Malone, 1796: 69	55	C
1566, November	William Cecil	BL MS Lansdowne 1236, fol.42-42v	182	A
1570	Catherine Knyvett, Lady Paget	[MSS BL Birch 4160 fol. 23 (now Additional MSS 4160)]. Malone 1796.	67	C
1570, 26th February	Henry Carey	PRO State Papers addenda 1566-79, 15/17/113.	156	B
1572, 11th April	William Cecil	BL MS Ashmole 1729, art. 7 fol.13.	122	A
1572, 21st October	George Talbot	[Lambeth Palace Library MS 1397, fol. 41r]. Mueller and Marcus 2003, May 2004a: 143.	50	C
1575, 6th March	Walter Devereux	Harrison 1935: 125	94	C
1576, March	John Harington	[Nugae Antiquae II, 149]. Perry 1990: 223	79	C
1580, August	Edward Stafford	[Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 135/21]. Perry 1990: 247	714	D
1581, September	Francis Walsingham	[MS Hatfield, ii, 430]; Harrison 1935: 149-150	302	C
1582, 24th February	Henry Wallop	Malone 1796: 110 (Plate 1).	30	A
1583, 15th May	William Cecil	BL MS Harley 787 fol. 66A. Copy in Lansdowne 1236, fol. 49.	151	A
1583, 7th August	James Stuart	[SP Foreign 1583, no. 217]. Harrison 1935: 159.	394	C
1585, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.7	258	A
1585, January/February	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, 11r-11v	405	A
1585, June	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 15r-15v.	375	A
1585, August	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol. 19r-19v.	365	A
1585, November	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol. 23	442	A
1586, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, art. 10, fol. 30r-31v.	551	A
1586, February	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol. 34	272	A
1586, 10th February	Robert Dudley	Cotton Galba C.8, fol. 27 and fol. 106	184	B
1586, March	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol. 38r-39v.	708	A
1586, 14th April	John Perrot	[SP Ireland 123: 34]. Harrison 1935: 175	66	C
1586, 27th April	Thomas Heneage	BL MS. Galba C. IX, fol. 197b.	171	B
1586, May	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol. 45	398	A
1586, 19th July	Robert Dudley	[PRO: SP 84/9, ff.85-6]. May 2004a: 169-170	474	D
1586, 21st July	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.69]. Bruce 1849: 157	295	D
1586, August	Amias Paulet	BL MS Cotton Caligula C.9, fol.654; May 2004a: 172-3.	285	B
1586, October	William Cecil and Francis Walsingham	BL MS Lansdowne 10, fol.213; May 2004a: 179	153	B
1586, 4th October	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.49	467	A
1586, 14th October	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol. 53	533	A
1587, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol. 57v-58r	353	A
1587, February	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol.61-2.	573	A
1588, 15th May	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.67	518	A
1588, 1st July	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240 fol.71	438	A

1588, August	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol.77	471	A
1588, 8th October	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.71]. Bruce 1849: 158	505	D
1588, December	James Stuart	[Thompson MS. p.73]. Bruce 1849: 160	475	D
1589, 16th March	James Stuart	[Thompson MS, p. 75]. Bruce 1849: 161.	599	D
1589,15th April	Robert Devereux	Perry 1990: 293	188	C
1589, 4th May	John Norris and Francis Drake	BL MS Cotton Galba D I, fol. 283, also modernized in Perry 1990: 293	476	C
1589, 19th May	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.80]. Bruce 1849: 163.	549	D
1589, September	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.81	285	A
1589, 1st December	Peregrine Bertie	[Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, Ancaster MSS, p. 297]. Marcus, Mueller and Rose 2000: 360, fn. 1	21	D
1589, 6th December	Peregrine Bertie	[PRO, State Papers France, 70/20/119, fol. 228]. Marcus, Mueller and Rose 2000: 360	29	D
1590	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol. 85-7.	1010	A
1590, January	Elizabeth Drury	Malone 1796: 113-4	95	C
1590, 16th April	James Stuart	[Thompson MS. p.85]. Bruce 1849: 165.	441	D
1590, May	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol. 90	370	A
1590, 29th May	James Stuart	Boyd and Meikle 1936: 304	437	C
1590, 6th July	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol.94	397	A
1591, April	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.98	544	A
1591, 12th August	James Stuart	Boyd and Meikle 1936: 561	451	D
1591, 25th November	James Stuart	Boyd and Meikle 1936: 591-2	261	D
1592, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.104	306	A
1592, 11th September	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.88]. Bruce 1964: 75. Harrison 1935: 221-2.	570	D
1592, 26th November	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.91]. Bruce 1849: 77	663	D
1593, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol.108r-109r	937	A
1593, 16th March	James Stuart	[Folger Shakespeare Library, MS X fol.1v]; Image in May 2004a: 201-4.	528	C
1593, May	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol.118	477	A
1593, July	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.93]. Bruce 1849: 83.	570	D
1593, August	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.122.	270	A
1593, October	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240, fol.126	938	A
1593, 29th October	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol.131	46	A
1593, October	Edward Norris	PRO: SP 84/47, fol.128. May 2004a: 207.	124	D
1593, 22nd December	James Stuart	Cameron 1936: 248	840	C
1594, May	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240, fol.132	583	A
1594, May	James Stuart	[Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 133/80, fol.120]. Mueller and Marcus 2003.	512	D
1594, October	James Stuart	BL MS Add.23240 fol.136-137	690	A
1596, January	James Stuart	BL MS Add. 23240 fol.140	638	A
1596, 26th January	Anne of Denmark	[Edinburgh University MS de 1.12/9] May 2004a: 221-222	29	C
1596, 14th April	Robert Devereux	[PRO: SP 12/257, fol.46]. May 2004a: 223	136	D
1596, 29th June	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.100]. Bruce 1849: 114.	538	D
1596, July	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.102]. Bruce 1849: 116	459	D

1596, 21st September	James Stuart	Giuseppi 1952: p.319-320	529	D
1597, 5th January	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.104]. Bruce 1849: 119	518	D
1597, March	James Stuart	Giuseppi 1952: 497-8	393	D
1597, 8th July	Robert Devereux	Harrison 1935: 248.	585	D
1597, 24th July	Robert Devereux	[Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 56/46] Marcus, Mueller and Rose 2000: 388, Harrison 1935: 249-250	160	D
1597, 22nd September	Margaret Norris	BL MS Add. 38137, fol.160; May 2004a: 225.	29	B
1598, 4th January	James Stuart	Cotton Caligula VIII fol.210 (fol.208); Harrison 1935: 257-8.	583	B
1598, July	Robert Cecil	[Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 133, fol.187]; May 2004a: 228.	76	C
1598, 1st July	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.128]. Bruce 1849: 125	208	D
1598, 26th December	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.109]. Bruce 1849: 127	332	D
1600, 3rd December	Charles Blount	[Lambeth Palace, Carew Papers 604, ff.242-42v]. May 2004a: 235-6	346	D
1601, April	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.110]. Bruce 1849: 134	409	D
1601, December	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.118]. Bruce 1849: 141.	276	D
1601, 2nd December	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.116]. Bruce 1849: 140	379	D
1602, 3rd February	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.119]. Bruce 1849: 142.	164	D
1602, 4th July	James Stuart	[PRO State Papers Scotland 52/68/75]. Marcus, Mueller and Rose 2000: 402	585	D
1602, 15th July	Charles Blount	Parry 1990: 316; Harrison 1935: 294.	111	C
1603, 6th January	James Stuart	[Thompson MS p.120]. Bruce 1849: 154. Harrison 1935: 295-6.	602	D

Speeches

Date	Source	Word count	Status
1563, 10th April	BL MS Lansdowne 94, art.15B, fol.30, Mueller and Marcus 2003: 34, May 2004a: 42-3.	463	A
1566, 5th November	PRO SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/41/5. Mueller and Marcus 2003: 38, May 2004a: 45.	166	A
1567, 2nd January	[BL MS Cotton Charter IV.38 (2), formerly Cotton Titus F.1, fol. 92]. Mueller and Marcus 2003: 40, May 2004a: 47-9.	670	A
1576, 15th March	May 2004a: 52-7.	1332	D
1586, 12th November	BL MS Lansdowne 94, ff.84-85, May 2004a: 61-9. Heisch 1975.	1804	B
1586, 24th November	BL MS Lansdowne 94, ff.86-8v. May 2004a: 70-5.	1527	B

Translations

Date	Title	Source	Word count	Status
1544	The Mirror of the Sinful Soul	Ames 1897. Mueller and Scodel 2009a.	10335	A
1545	Calvin's Institutione, Chapter 1	[Edinburgh, National Archives of Scotland, MS RH 13/78, fol.1r-89v]. Mueller and Scodel 2009a	12595	A
1592	Cicero's Pro M. Marcello	[Oxford Bodleian MS 900, fol.2-8v]. Mueller and Scodel 2009b, May 2004a: 268-280.	3825	A
1593	Boethius De Consolatione	Pemberton 1899. Mueller and Scodel 2009b.	4492	A

Bibliography

Primary Sources (QEIC):

Manuscripts

London, British Library:

MS Additional 23240; MS Additional 38137; MS Ashmole 1729; MS Cotton Caligula VIII; MS Cotton Caligula
C. IX; Cotton Galba C.VIII; MS Cotton Galba C. IX; MS Cotton Galba D. I; MS Cotton Vespasian
F.III; MS Lansdowne 8; MS Lansdowne 10; MS Lansdowne 94; MS Lansdowne 1236; MS Harley 39;
MS Harley 787.

The National Archives of the UK, *State Papers Online* < http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-
15091714.aspx> [accessed 06/07/10, at the British Library]:

SP 10/2, SP 10/5, SP 12/41, SP 15/17, SP 84/47, MS Cotton Otho C. X

Printed Sources

Boyd, W. K., and H. W. Meikle (eds). 1936. *Calendar of the state papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots,
1547-1603, preserved in the Public Record Office, The British Museum and elsewhere. Vol.10, A.D.1589-1593* 12
vols (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House)

Cameron, A. I. (ed.). 1936. *Calendar of the state papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, preserved
in the Public Record Office, The British Museum and elsewhere. Vol.11, A.D.1593-1595* 12 vols (Edinburgh: H.
M. General Register House)

Elizabeth I. 2009a. *Elizabeth I: translations, 1544-1589* Edited by J. Mueller and J. Scodel (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press).

—. 2009b. *Elizabeth I: translations, 1592-1598* Edited by J. Mueller and J. Scodel (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press.

—. 2004a. *Elizabeth I: selected works* Edited by S. W. May (New York: Washington Square Press)

—. 2003. *Elizabeth I: autograph compositions and foreign language originals* Edited by J. Mueller and L. Marcus (Chicago:
Chicago University Press)

—. 2000. *Collected Works* Edited by L. Marcus, J. Mueller and M. B. Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

—. 1935 *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I* Edited by G. B. Harrison (London: Cassell)

—. 1897. *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul: A prose translation from the French of a poem by Queen Margaret of Navarre, made in
1544 by Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth, then eleven years of age. Reproduced in fac-simile, with portrait, for the
Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, and edited, with an introduction and notes, by Percy W. Ames,
F.S.A., Librarian and Secretary, R.S.L.* Edited by P. W. Ames. (London: Asher and Co.)

—. 1849. *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI of Scotland: some of them printed from originals in the possession of the
Rev. Edward Ryder, and others from a ms. which formerly belonged to Sir Peter Thompson, kt.* Edited by J. Bruce.
Camden society publications, first series 46 (London: Camden Society)

Giuseppi, M. S. (ed.). 1952. *Calendar of the state papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, preserved
in the Public Record Office, The British Museum and elsewhere. Vol.12, A.D.1595-1597* 12 vols (Edinburgh: H.
M. S. O)

Malone, E. 1796. *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, published Dec. 24,
MDCCXCV and attributed to Shakespeare, Queen Elizabeth and Henry, Earl of Southampton* (London: T.
Cadell and W. Davies)

Perry, M. 1990. *Elizabeth I: the word of a prince: a life from contemporary documents* (London: Folio Society)

Pryor, F. 2003. *Elizabeth I: her life in letters* (Berkley, Los Angeles: University of California Press)

Secondary Sources

Adamson, S. 2007. 'Prescribed reading: pronouns and gender in the eighteenth century', *Historical sociolinguistics and sociohistorical linguistics* 7 <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/index.html> |accessed 14/01/10|

Adamson, S., G. Alexander, and K. Ettenhuber. 2007. *Renaissance Figures of Speech* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Allen, W., and others. 2007. 'A linguistic "time capsule": the Newcastle electronic corpus of Tyneside English', in Beal, Corrigan and Moisl 2007: 16-48

Allinson, R. 2007. 'These latter days of the world: the correspondence of Elizabeth I and James VI, 1590-1603', *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special issue 16, 2, 1-27 <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-16/allilatt.htm> |accessed 06/03/10|.

Anthony, L. *AntConc* <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html> |accessed 02/06/11|

Archer, J. 1995. *The Translations of Queen Elizabeth I* (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Exeter)

Ariel, M. 2008. *Pragmatics and Grammar* Cambridge textbooks in linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Ball, C. 1996. 'A diachronic study of relative markers in spoken and written English', *Language Variation and Change* 8: 227-258

Bayley, R. 2002. 'The quantitative paradigm', in Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes (eds) 2003: 117-141

Bax, R. C. 2002. 'Linguistic accommodation: the correspondence between Samuel Johnson and Hester Lynch Thrale', in Fanego, Méndez-Naya and Seoane 2002: 9-24

Beal, J. C. 2004. *English in Modern Times: 1700-1945* (London: Arnold)

Beal, J. C., K. P. Corrigan, and H. L. Moisl (eds). 2007. *Creating and Digitizing Language Corpora: volume 2 diachronic databases* 2 vols (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Beal, P. 2008. *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology: 1450 to 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Beal, P., and G. Ioppolo (eds). 2007. *Elizabeth I and the culture of writing* (London: The British Library)

Beal, P., and M. J. M. Ezell (eds). 2000. *English Manuscript Studies, 1100-1700: writings by early modern women* English manuscript studies 9 (London: The British Library)

Beesly, E. S. 1900. *Queen Elizabeth* (London: Macmillan)

Benskin, M. 2004. 'Chancery Standard', in Kay, Hough and Wotherspoon (eds) 2004: 1-40

Blake, N. F. 2000. 'The English language of the early modern period', in Hattaway 2000: 71-80

— 1965. 'English versions of 'Reynard the Fox' in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', *Studies in Philology* 62: 63-77

Blake, N. F., and C. Jones (eds). 1984. *English Historical Linguistics: studies in development* CECTAL conference papers series, 3 (Sheffield: Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language for the Department of English Language, University of Sheffield)

Bloch, B. 1948. 'A set of postulates for phonemic analysis', *Language* 24, 1: 3-46 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/410284> |accessed 26/05/11|

Borman, T. 2009. *Elizabeth's Women: the hidden story of the virgin queen* (London: Vintage Books)

Brown, A., and P. Foote (eds). 1963. *Early English and Norse Studies: presented to Hugh Smith in honour of his sixtieth birthday* (London: Methuen)

Brown, P., and S. C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage* Studies in interactional sociolinguistics 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Bruce, J. (ed.). 1861 *Correspondence of James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* Camden society publications, first series 78 (London: Camden Society)

Busse, B. 2010. 'Recent trends in new historical stylistics', in McIntyre and Busse 2010: 32-54

Bybee, J. and P. Hopper. 2001. *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure* Typological studies in language (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)

Caon, L. 2002. 'Final –E and spelling habits in the fifteenth-century versions of the Wife of Bath's Prologue', *English Studies* 83: 4, 296-310 <doi.org/10.1076/enst.83.4.296.8686> |accessed: 14/01/2010|

Castiglione, B. 1561. *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio divided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby.* <http://gateway.proquest.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:22866> |accessed 31/05/11|

Cavanagh, S. 1998. 'The bad seed: princess Elizabeth and the Seymour incident', in Walker 1998: 9-29

Chambers, J.K. 2003. *Sociolinguistic Theory: linguistic variation and its social significance* 2nd edition, Language in society 32 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

Chambers, J. K., P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds). 2002. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* Blackwell handbooks in linguistics (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

Charlebois, J. 2009 'Language, Culture and Social Interaction', in Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2009: 237-243

Clement, J. 2008. 'The queen's voice: Elizabeth I's Christian prayers and meditations', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 13, 3: 1-26. <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/13-3/clemquee> |accessed 11/03/11|

Corpus of Early English Correspondence. 1998. Compiled by T. Nevalainen, H. Raumolin-Brunberg, J. Keränen, M. Nevala, A. Nurmi and M. Palander-Collin at the Department of English, University of Helsinki

Coulthard, M., and A. Johnson (eds). 2010. *The Routledge Handbook of Forensic Linguistics* Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics (Abingdon: Routledge)

Coulthard, M., and A. Johnson. 2007. *An Introduction to Forensic Linguistics: language in evidence* (London: Routledge)

Coupland, N. 2007. *Style: language variation and identity* Key topics in sociolinguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Culpeper, J., and M. Kytö. 2010. *Early Modern English Dialogues: spoken interaction as writing* Studies in English language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Cusack, B. (ed.). 1998 *Everyday English 1500-1700: A reader.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

D'Arcy, A., and S. Tagliamonte. 2010. 'Prestige, accommodation, and the legacy of relative *who*', *Language in Society* 39: 383-410 <doi: 10.1017/S0047404510000205> |accessed 05/06/11|

Davis, N. 1965. 'The *litera troili* and English letters', *R.E.S New Series* 16, 63: 233-244

Daybell, J. 2009. 'Material meanings and the social signs of manuscript letters in early modern England', *Literature Compass* 6, 3: 647-667 <doi: 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2009.00629.x> |accessed 05/06/11|

Daybell, J. 2001. 'Female literacy and the social conventions of women's letter-writing in England, 1540-1603', in Daybell 2001: 59-77

— (ed.). 2001. *Early Modern Women's Letter-writing: 1540-1700*, Early modern literature in history (Basingstoke: Palgrave)

Dekeyser, X. 1984. 'Relativizers in early modern English: a dynamic quantitative study', in Fisiak 1984: 61–87

Demers, P. 2005. *Women's writing in English: early modern England.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)

Dickerman, E. H., and A. M. Walker. 1999. 'The language of blame: Henri III and the dismissal of his ministers', *French History* 13, 1: 77-98 <doi: 10.1093/fh/13.1.77> [accessed 05/06/11]

Doran, S. 2005. 'Loving and affectionate cousins? The relationship between Elizabeth I and James VI of Scotland 1586-1603', in Doran and Richardson 2005: 203-234

——. 2000. 'Elizabeth I's religion: the evidence of her letters' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51, 4: 699-720 <http://journals.cambridge.org.eresources.shef.ac.uk/action/displayFulltext?type=1&pdftype=1&fid =66230&jid=ECH&volumeId=51&issueId=&aid=66229> [accessed 05/06/11]

——. 1998. 'Why did Elizabeth not marry?', in Walker 1998: 30-59

Doran, S., and G. Richardson (eds). 2005. *Tudor England and its Neighbours* (London: Palgrave Macmillan)

Duncan-Jones, K. 2007. 'Elizabeth I and her 'good George': unpublished letters', in Beal and Ioppolo 2007: 29-41

Eckert, P. 2005. 'Stylistic practice and the adolescent social order', in Williams and Thurlow 2005: 93-110

Ellegård, A. 1953. *The Auxiliary 'do': the establishment and regulation of its growth in English* Gothenburg studies in English 2 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell)

Elzinga, D. 2006. 'English adjective comparison and analogy', *Lingua* 116: 757-770

Ettenhuber, K. 2007. 'Hyperbole: exceeding similitude', in Adamson, Alexander and Ettenhuber (eds) 2007: 196-214

Facchinetti, R., and M. Rissanen. 2006. *Corpus-based studies of diachronic English* Linguistic insights 31 (Bern: Peter Lang)

Fanego, T., B. Méndez-Naya, and E. Seoane (eds) *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change: selected papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000* Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science, Series IV, Current linguistic theory (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)

Fisher, J. H., M. Richardson, and J. L. Fisher (eds.). 1984. *An Anthology of Chancery English* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press)

Fisiak, J. (ed.). 1984. *Historical syntax* Trends in linguistics, Studies and monographs 23 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter)

Frye, S. 1993. *Elizabeth I: the competition for representation* (New York: Oxford University Press)

Furnivall, F.J. 1899. 'Note on queen Elizabeth's use of *I* for our long *E*', in Pemberton 1899: xvi-xvii.

Gadja, A. 2010. 'Political culture in the 1590s: the 'second reign' of Elizabeth', *History Compass* 8, 1: 88-100 <10.1111/j.1478-0542.2009.00655.x> [accessed 03/-6/11]

Garrett, P. 2010. *Attitudes to Language* Key topics in sociolinguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Goldberg, J. 1990 *Writing Matter: from the hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press)

Giles, J. A. (ed.). 1864 *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, now first collected and revised, with a life of the author: volume II letters continued, and Toxophilus* 2 vols Google Books. <http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=NLANAAAAYAAJ&dq=the%20whole%20works%20of%20r oger%20ascham&pg=PP5#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 02/06/11]

González-Díaz, V. 2008. *English Adjective Comparison: a historical perspective* Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science, Series IV (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins)

——. 2007. 'On the nature and distribution of English double periphrastic comparison', *R.E.S New Series* 57, 232: 623-664 <http://res.oxfordjournals.org.eresources.shef.ac.uk/content/57/232/623.full.pdf+html> [accessed 04/06/11]

——. 2006. 'The origin of English periphrastic comparatives', *English Studies* 87, 6: 707-739 <doi: 10.1080/00138380600768197> [accessed 04/01/10]

——. 2003. 'Adjective comparison in renaissance English', *SEDERI* 13: 87-100 <http://www.sederi.org/docs/yearbooks/13/13_8_gonzalez.pdf> [accessed 04/06/11]

Grant, T. 2010. 'Text messaging forensics: txt 4n6: idiolect free authorship analysis?', in Coulthard and Johnson 2010: 508-522

Green, J. M. 1997. 'I my self: Elizabeth I's oration at Tilbury camp', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, 2: 421-445 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2543451> |accessed 04/06/11|

Guy, J. A. 2004. *My Heart is My Own: the life of Mary queen of Scots* (London, New York: Fourth Estate)

—. 1995. 'Introduction: the 1590s: the second reign of Elizabeth I?', in Guy 1995: 1-19

—. (ed.). 1995 *The Reign of Elizabeth I: court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Hackett, H. 2009. 'Shakespeare and Elizabeth I: icons and their afterlives', *Literature Compass* 6, 6: 1188-97 <doi: 10.1111/j.1741-4113.2009.00660.x> |last accessed 07/07/10|

Hattaway, M. (ed.). 2000. *A companion to English renaissance literature and culture* Blackwell companions to literature and culture 8 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

Heisch, A. 1980. 'Queen Elizabeth I and the persistence of patriarchy', *Feminist Review* 4: 45-56 <doi: 10.1057/fr.1980.6> |accessed 03/06/11|

—. 1975. 'Queen Elizabeth I: parliamentary rhetoric and the exercise of power', *Signs* 1,1: 31-55 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3172965> |accessed 07/03/11|

Heywood, T. 1632. *Englands Elisabeth her life and troubles, during her minoritie, from the cradle to the crown. Historically laid open and interwoven with such eminent passages of state, as happened under the reigne of Henry the eight, Edward the sixt, Q. Mary; all of them aptly introducing to the present relation. By Thom. Heywood.* Early English Books Online <http://gateway.proquest.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:4249> |accessed 02/06/11|

Hickey, R. (ed.). 2003. *Motives for Language Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Hickey, R., and S. Puppel (eds). 1997. *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday: volume 2 language history* 2 vols (Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter)

Hoover, D. 2010. 'Authorial style', in McIntyre and Busse 2010: 250-271

Hope, J. 1994. *The Authorship of Shakespeare's Plays: a socio-linguistic study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Ihalainen, O. 1983. 'On the notion of possible grammatical change: a look at a perfectly good change that did not quite make it', *Studia Anglia Posnaniensia* 15: 3-11

Ingham, R. 2008. 'Contact with Scandinavian and late Middle English negative concord'. *Studia Anglia Posnaniensia* 44: 123-137

Iyeiri, Y. 1998. 'Multiple negation in Middle English verse', in Tieken Boon van Ostade, Tottie and Wurff (eds) 1998: 121-146

Johnstone, B. 2000. 'The individual voice in language', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29: 405-24 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223426> |accessed 04/06/11|

Kallel, A. 2007. 'The loss of negative concord in Standard English: internal factors', *Language Variation and Change* 19: 27-49 < doi: 10.10170S09543945070070019> |accessed 09/10/09|

—. 2002. 'The age variable in the rise of periphrastic 'do' in English', *Reading Working Papers in Linguistics* 6: 161-185 <http://www.reading.ac.uk/AcaDepts/ll/app_ling/internal/wp6/kallel.pdf> |accessed 04/06/11|

Kantorowicz, E. H. 1957. *The King's Two Bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Kastovsky, D (ed.). 1991 *Historical English Syntax* Topics in English linguistics (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter)

Kastovsky, D. and A. Mettinger. 2000. *The History of English in a social context: a contribution to historical sociolinguistics* Trends in linguistics, Studies and monographs 129 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter)

Kay, C., C. Hough, and I. Wotherspoon. 2004. *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics: selected papers from 12 ICEHL, Glasgow 21-26 August 2002, Volume 2: Lexis and Transmission* 2 vols, Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science. Series IV, Current issues in linguistic theory (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins)

Keene, D. 2000. 'Metropolitan norms: migration, mobility and cultural norms, London 1100-1700', in Wright (ed.) 2000: 93-116

Kytö, M. 1996. '"The best and most excellentest way": The rivalling forms of adjective comparison in Late Middle and Early Modern English', in Svartvik 1996: 123-144

—— 1993. 'Third-person present singular verb inflection in early British and American English', *Language Variation and Change* 5: 113-139

Kytö, M., and M. Rissanen. 1993. 'General Introduction', in Rissanen, Kytö and Palander-Collin 1993: 1-17

Kytö, M, M. Rissanen, and S. Wright. 1994. *Corpora across the Centuries: proceedings of the first international colloquium on English diachronic corpora St Catherine's College, Cambridge, 25-27 March 1993* Language and computers, studies in practical linguistics 11 (Amsterdam: Rodopi)

Kytö, M., and S. Romaine. 2000. 'Adjective comparison and standardization processes in American and British English from 1620 to the present', in Wright 2000: 171-194

——. 1997. 'Competing forms of adjective comparison in modern English: what could be more quicker and easier and more effective?', The British National Corpus, University of Oxford <www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/archive/papers/kytorom.html> [accessed 06/03/2011]

Labov, W. 2010. *Principles of Linguistic Change: volume 3 cognitive factors.* 3 vols, Language in society 39 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

——. 2006. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

——. 2001. *Principles of Linguistic Change: volume 2 social factors.* 3 vols, Language in society 29 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

——. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change: volume 1 internal factors.* 3 vols, Language in society 20 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing)

——. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)

Lass, R. 1999 'Phonology and morphology', in Lass 1999: 56-186

Lass, R. (ed.). 1999. *The Cambridge History of the English Language: volume 3, 1476-1776* 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Lena, K., and R. Möhlig (eds). 2002. *Of Dyuersitie and Chaunge: essays presented to Manfred Görlach on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter)

Levin, C., J. Eldrige-Carney, and D. Barrett-Graves (eds). 2003. *Elizabeth I: always her own free woman* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing)

Magnusson, L. 2011 'Cicero Effects in sixteenth-century English letters', Paper presented at *Culture of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain, 1550-1640,* University of Plymouth April 14th-16th 2011

Marcus, L. 2008. 'Elizabeth on Elizabeth: underexamined episodes in an overexamined life', in Sharpe and Swicker (eds) 2008: 209-232

May, S. W. 2007. 'Queen Elizabeth prays for the living and the dead', in Beal and Ioppolo 2007: 201-211

——. 2004b. 'Queen Elizabeth to her subjects: the Tilbury and Golden speeches', *EIRC* 30, 1: 23-39

McIntosh, A., and others. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English: volume 1 general introduction, index of sources, dot maps* 4 vols (Oxford: Aberdeen University Press)

McIntosh, A., and others. 1986. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English: volume 2 item maps* 4 vols (Oxford: Aberdeen University Press)

McIntosh, A., and C. Williamson. 1963. 'King Lear act i, scene i: a stylistic note' *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 14, 53: 54-58 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/512848> |accessed 05/06/11|

McIntosh, J. L. 2008. 'Introduction: the corporate household', in McIntosh 2008: paragraphs 1 - 39

McIntosh, J. L. 2008. *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: the preaccession households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558* Gutenberg-e, Columbia University Press <www.gutenberg-e.org/mcintosh> |accessed 11/03/11|

McIntyre, D., and B. Busse (eds). 2010. *Language and Style* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan)

Meyer, G. J. 2010. *The Tudors: the complete story of England's most notorious dynasty* (New York: Delacorte Press)

Milroy, J. 2003. 'On the role of the speaker in language change', in Hickey 2003: 143-157

Montrose, L. A. 2006. *The Subject of Elizabeth: authority, gender, and representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

—. 2002. 'Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary', *ELH* 69, 4: 907-946

Mueller, J. 2001. 'Virtue and vitality: gender in the self-representations of Queen Elizabeth I' University of Chicago <fathom.lib.uchicago.edu/1/777777122145/> |accessed 16/05/11|

— 2000. 'To my very good brother the King of Scots: Elizabeth I's correspondence with James VI and the question of succession', *PMLA*, 115, 5: 1063-1071 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/463272> |accessed 05/06/11|

Mugglestone, L. (ed.). 2006. *The Oxford History of English* (New York: Oxford University Press)

Murdin, W. (ed.). 1759. *A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571-1596. Transcribed from original papers and other authentic memorials never before published.* Google Books <http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=I7o_AAAAYAAJ&dq=Murdin%201759&pg=PP13#v=onepage&q&f=false> |accessed 03/06/11|

Nahkola, K., and M. Saanilahti. 2004. 'Mapping language changes in real time: a panel study on Finnish', *Language Variation and Change* 16, 2: 75-91

Neale, J. E. 1925. 'The sayings of queen Elizabeth' *History* 10: 212-233

Nevala, M. 2004. *Address in Early English Correspondence: its forms and socio-pragmatic functions*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 64 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique)

Nevalainen, T. 2006a. 'Mapping change in Tudor English', in Mugglestone 2006: 178-211

—. 2006b. *An Introduction to Early Modern English* Edinburgh textbooks on the English language (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

—. 2006c. 'Negative concord as an English "vernacular universal": social history and linguistic typology', *Journal of English Linguistics* 34: 257-278 <doi: 10.1177/0075424206293144> |accessed 28/10/09|

—. 2002. 'What's in a royal letter? Linguistic variation in the correspondence of King Henry VIII', in Lena and Möhlig 2002: 169-179

—. 2000. 'Gender differences in the evolution of Standard English: evidence from the corpus of early English correspondence', Journal of English Linguistics, 28: 38-59 <doi: 10.1177/00754240022004866> |accessed 24/11/09|

—. 1996a. 'Social Stratification', in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 57-76

—. 1996b. 'Gender Difference', in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 77-92

—. 1991. 'Motivated archaism: the use of affirmative periphrastic *do* in early modern English liturgical prose', in Kastovsky 1991: 303-320

Nevalainen, T., and H. Raumolin-Brunberg. 2003. *Historical Sociolinguistics: language change in Tudor and Stuart England* Longman linguistics library (London: Longman Pearson)

—. 2002. 'The rise of relative *who* in early modern English', in Poussa 2002: 109-124

—. (eds). 1996. *Sociolinguistics and Language History: studies based on the corpus of early English correspondence* (Amsterdam: Rodopi)

Nurmi, A. 1999. *A Sociolinguistic History of Periphrastic Do*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 56 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique)

Nurmi, A., M. Nevala, and M. Palander-Collin (eds). 2009. *The Language of Daily Life in England (1400-1800)*, Pragmatics and beyond new series 183 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)

Osselton, N. 1984. 'Informal spelling systems in early modern English: 1500-1800', in Blake and Jones 1984: 123-137

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <http://www.odnb.com> [accessed 01/03/11]

Oxford English Dictionary Online. <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 01/03/11]

Palander-Collin, M, M. Nevala, and A. Nurmi. 2009. 'The language of daily life in the history of English: studying how macro meets micro', in Nurmi, Nevala and Palander-Collin 2009: 1-26

Palander-Collin, M., T. Juvonen, and M. Hakala. 2010. 'Normalizing the spelling of early English correspondence: levelling social differences?' Paper given at *The Language of Nobility and Early Modern Letters*, a video conference between the School of English, University of Sheffield and Varieng, University of Helsinki, 10th May 2010.

Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence, text version. 2006. Compiled by T. Nevalainen, H. Raumolin-Brunberg, J. Keränen, M. Nevala, A. Nurmi and M. Palander-Collin, with additional annotation by A. Taylor. (Helsinki: University of Helsinki and York: University of York). Distributed through the Oxford Text Archive <http://ota.oucs.ox.ac.uk/headers/2510.xml> [accessed 02/06/11]

Peacham, H. 1593. *The Garden of Eloquence* 2nd Edition, Early English Books Online <http://gateway.proquest.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:14700> [accessed 30/05/11]

Pemberton, C. (ed.). 1899. *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae, A.D. 1593 : Plutarch, de curiositate 1598 ; Horace, De arte poetica (part) A.D. 1598 / edited from the unique ms., partly in the Queen's hand, in the Public Record Office, London by Caroline Pemberton.* EETS. (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co)

Plowden, A. 1971. *The Young Elizabeth* (London: Macmillan)

Podesva, R. J. 2007. 'Phonation type as a stylistic variable: the use of falsetto in constructing a persona', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11, 4: 478-504

Pollen, J. H. (ed.). 1904. *A letter from Mary Queen of Scots to the Duke of Guise, January 1562* Scottish History Society (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

Poster, C., and L. C. Mitchell (eds). 2007. *Letter-writing manuals and instruction from antiquity to the present: historical and bibliographic studies* Studies in rhetoric/communication (Colombia: University of South Carolina Press)

Pound, L. 1901. *The Comparison of Adjectives in English in the XV and the XVI Century* Anglistische forschungen (Heidelberg: Winter)

Poussa, P. (ed.). 2002. *Relativisation on the North Sea Littoral*, LINCOM Studies in language typology (Muenchen: Lincom Europa)

Puttenham, G. 1589/2007. *The Art of English Poesie* (Middlesex: Echo Library)

Raumolin-Brunberg, H. 2006. 'Leaders of linguistic change in early modern England', in Facchinetti and Rissanen 2006: 115-134

—. 2005 'Language change in adulthood', *European Journal of English Studies* 9, 1: 37-51 <doi: 10.1080/13825570500068125> [accessed 28/07/10]

—. 2000 'WHICH and THE WHICH in Late Middle English: free variants?', in Taavitsainen and others 2000: 209-226.

—. 1991. *The Noun Phrase in Sixteenth-Century English: a study based on Sir Thomas More's writings* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 50 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique)

Record Commission. 1849. *State Papers Published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission: Henry the Eighth: volume 6* 11 vols, Google Books <http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=zc0_AAAAcAAJ&dq=Henry%20the%20eighth%20state%20papers%201849%20volume%206&pg=PA476#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 04/06/11]

Reynolds, P. M. 2010. 'George Peele and the judgement of Elizabeth I', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 50, 2: 263-280

Richardson, M. 2007. 'The *ars dictaminis*, the *formulary and medieval epistolary practice'*, in Poster and Mitchell 2007: 52-66

Riddy, F. (ed.). 1991. *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: essays celebrating the publication of A linguistic atlas of late mediaeval English* York manuscripts conferences, proceedings series 2 (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer)

Rissanen, M. 2000. 'Standardisation and the language of early statutes', in Wright 2000: 117-130

—. 1999. 'Syntax', in Lass 1999: 187-326

—. 1994. 'The Helsinki Corpus of English texts', in Kytö, M., M. Rissanen and S. Wright 1994: 73-80

—. 1991. 'Spoken language and the history of do-periphrasis', in Kastovsky 1991: 321-342

—. 1987. 'Variation and the study of English historical syntax', in Sankoff 1987: 97-109

Rissanen, M., M. Kytö, and M. Palander-Collin (eds) 1993 *Early English in the Computer Age: explorations through the Helsinki Corpus,* Topics in English linguistics 11 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter)

Romaine, S. 1982. *Socio-historical linguistics: its status and methodology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

— 1980 'The relative clause marker in Scots English: diffusion, complexity and style as dimensions of syntactic change', *Language in Society* 9: 221–47

Rose, M. B. 2000. 'The gendering of authority in the public speeches of Elizabeth I', *PMLA* 115, 5: 1077-1082 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/463274> [accessed 04/06/11]

Sairio, A. 2009. *Language and Letters of the Blue-stocking Network: sociolinguistic issues in eighteenth-century epistolary English* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 75 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique)

Salmon, V. 1999. 'Orthography and punctuation', in Lass 1999: 13-55

Samovar, L. A., R. E. Porter, and E. R. McDaniel. 2009. *Intercultural Communication: a reader* 12th Edition (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning)

Samuels, M. 1991. 'Scribes and manuscript traditions', in Riddy 1991: 1-7

Samuels, M. L. 1972. *Linguistic Evolution: with special reference to English* Cambridge studies in linguistics 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Sankoff, D. (ed.). 1987. *Diversity and Diachrony* Current issues in linguistic theory 53 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)

Schendl, H. 1997. 'Morphological variation and change in early modern English: my/mine, thy/thine', in Hickey and Puppel 1997: 179-191

Schreier, D. 2006. 'The backyard as a dialect boundary: individuation, linguistic heterogeneity, and sociolinguistic eccentricity in a small speech community', *Journal of English Linguistics* 34: 26-57 <http://eng.sagepub.com/content/34/1/26> [accessed 07/05/11]

Scragg, D.G. 1974. *A History of English Spelling* Mont Follick series 3 (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Sebba, M. 2007. *Spelling and Society: the culture and politics of orthography around the world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Shakespeare, W. 1994. *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* Project Gutenberg E-Text #100 <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/100/pg100.html> [accessed 02/06/11]

Sharp, K., and S. N. Swicker. 2008. *Writing Lives: biography and textuality: identity and representation in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Shenk, L. S. 2007. 'To Love and Be Wise': the Earl of Essex, Humanist Court Culture, and England's Learned Queen. *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special issue 16, 3: 1-27 <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-16/shenwise.htm> [accessed 01/03/11]

—. 2003. 'Turning learned authority into learned supremacy: Elizabeth I's learned persona and her University Orations', in Levin and others 2003: 78-96

Shepard, A. and P. Withington (eds). 2000. *Communities in early modern England: networks, place, rhetoric* (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press)

Shrank, C. 2010. 'This fatall Medea, this Clytemnestra: reading and the detection of Mary queen of Scots', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 73, 3: 523-541<http://www.proquest.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk> [accessed 03/06/11]

—. 2000. 'Rhetorical constructions of a national community: the role of the King's English in mid=Tudor writing', in Shepard and Withington 2000: 180-198

Smith, J. 1996. *An Historical Study of English: function, form and change* (London and New York: Routledge)

Somerset, A. 1991. *Elizabeth I* (London: Phoenix Press)

Sönmez, M. 2000. 'Perceived and real differences between men's and women's spellings of the early to mid-seventeenth century', in Kastovsky and Mettinger 2000: 405-440

Starkey, D. 2000. *Elizabeth: apprenticeship* (Oxford: Chatto and Windus)

Stein, D. 1991 'Semantic aspects of syntactic change', in Kastovsky 1991: 355-366

Strype, J. 1821. *The Life of the Learned John Cheke, kt.: first instructor, afterwards secretary of state, to King Edward VI: one of the great restorers of good learning and true religion in this kingdom* Google Books <http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=1AygAAAAMAAJ&dq=strype%201821&pg=PR1#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 05/06/11]

Strype, J. 1738. *Annals of the Reformation and the establishment of religion, in the Church of England* 4 vols, 2nd edition, Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <http://find.galegroup.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW121842420&source=gale&userGroupName=su_uk&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE> [accessed 30/05/11]

Summit, J. 1996. "'The arte of a ladies penne": Elizabeth I and the poetics of queenship' *English Literary Renaissance* 26, 3: 395-422 <doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6757.1996.tb01505.x> [accessed 02/06/11]

Svartvik, J. (ed.). 1996. *Words: Proceedings of an International Symposium, Lund, 25-26 August 1995* Konferenser 36 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International)

Taavitsainen, I. 2000. 'Scientific language and spelling standardisation 1375-1550', in Wright (ed.) 2000: 131-154

Taavitsainen, I., and others (eds). 1999. *Placing Middle English in Context* (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter)

Tang Boyland, J. 2001. 'Hypercorrect pronoun case in English? Cognitive processes that account for pronoun usage', in Bybee and Hopper 2001: 383-404

Taylor, A., and B. Santorini. 2006. 'PCEEC *annotation and manual*' <http://www.users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/PCEEC-manual/> [accessed: 02/01/11]

Taylor-Smither, L. J. 1984. 'Elizabeth I: a psychological profile', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15, 1: 47-72 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2540839> [accessed 04/06/11]

Teague, F. 2000. 'Elizabeth's Hand in *The Glass of the Sinful Soul*, in Beal and Ezell 2000: 33-48

Tieken Boon van Ostade, I., G. Tottie, and W. van der Wurff. 1998. *Negation in the History of English* Topics in English linguistics, Papers originally presented at a conference at the University of Leiden on Dec 15-16 1994 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter)

Tillyard, E. M. W. 1944. *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London: Chatto and Windus)

Vanhoutte, J. 2009. 'Elizabeth I as stepmother', *English Literary Renaissance* 39, 2: 315-335: <doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6757.2009.01049.x> [accessed 04/06/11]

Vuorinen, A. 2002. 'The gender role of Queen Elizabeth I as reflected by her language', *The Electronic Journal of the Department of English at the University of Helsinki: Corpora: Today's English Studies* 2 <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/hes-eng/volumes/volume-2-corpora-in-todays-english-studies/> [accessed 01/03/2010]

Walker, J. 1998. *Dissing Elizabeth: negative representations of Gloriana* (Durham: Duke University Press)

Wales, K. 1996. *Personal pronouns in present-day English* Studies in English language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Warner, A. 2005. 'Why DO dove: evidence for register variation in early modern English negatives', *Language variation and change* 17: 257-280 <doi: 10.10170S0954394505050106> [accessed 04/06/11]

Wiggins, A. 2011. 'Bess of Hardwick's letter bearers and enclosures', Paper presented at *Culture of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain, 1550-1640*, University of Plymouth April 14th-16th 2011.

Williams, A., and C. Thurlow (eds). 2005. *Talking Adolescence: perspectives on communication in the teenage years* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing)

Williams, G. 2011. 'Theorizing uglyography: the socio-cultural implications of George Talbot's gouty hand', Paper presented at *Culture of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain, 1550-1640*, University of Plymouth April 14th-16th 2011.

Wilson, R. M. 1963. 'The orthography and provenance of Henry Machyn', in Brown and Foote 1963: 203-216

Wischer, I. 2008. 'What makes a syntactic change stop? On the decline of periphrastic do in early modern English affirmative declarative sentences', *Studies Anglia Posnaniensia* 44: 139-154

Woudhuysen, H. R. 2007. 'The Queen's own hand: a preliminary account', in Beal and Ioppolo 2007: 1-28

Wright, L. (ed.). 2000. *The Development of Standard English, 1300-1800: theories, descriptions, conflicts* Studies in English language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)