

# **Second Person Pronouns in Eighteenth-Century Dramas**

**Ayumi Nonomiya**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**School of English**

**June 2017**



## Abstract

This thesis studies the use of THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century English plays by conducting both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Although THOU had died out in Standard English by the eighteenth century, it was still used in dramas, especially in tragedies. This usage has been largely neglected by linguists, who prefer to studying more 'authentic' text. I propose the language of century drama is worth studying as a genre which was understood by the audience, not as a substitute of 'real/authentic' language.

I use a corpus of twenty plays and conduct macro-analysis on genre, class and gender of characters. Genre and class are shown to affect the use of THOU while gender was not. My micro-analysis focuses on the emotion of characters and individual contexts. I also studied related linguistic factors: second person singular pronoun *ye* and address terms.

I attempt to explain the lingering use of THOU in the dramas using enregisterment and indexicality (Johnstone et al. 2006). I argue that there are two usage of THOU in the eighteenth-century drama. One is to show relationships and emotions, as Shakespeare did. The other is to represent the grave style of theatrical language, especially tragedy. This happened because THOU, having fallen almost out of use in everyday language, came to be associated with the language of drama. My thesis presents the possibility of using indexicality to explain how the stylistic meaning of THOU changed from 'casual/intimate' to 'formal/elevated'.

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

## **Acknowledgement**

First and foremost, I would like to show my greatest gratitude to my supervisor Dr Jane Hodson, for her support and encouragement throughout my course. I could not have completed my PhD thesis without her great help.

My deep appreciations also go to Dr Christine Wallis, who proofread my thesis and gave me many useful suggestions. Needless to say, for all of the typos and mistakes remain I am solely to blame. I would like to thank my colleagues and friends, too numerous to be named. They helped me in my struggles and gave me some ideas about this thesis (one of them pointed out Voltaire on Shakespeare).

I also would like to express my gratitude to those who supported me financially. The The Rotary Foundation funded me as a Rotary International Ambassadorial Scholar in the year 2011-2012. Additionally, my family supported me to complete my degree in a foreign country, both emotionally and financially.

# Contents

Abstract	1
Declaration	2
Acknowledgement	3
List of Tables	10
List of Figures	13
1. Introduction	15
1.1. Introductory remarks	15
1.2. Research questions and thesis overview	20
1.2.1. Research questions	20
1.2.2. Thesis overview	25
1.3. Methodology and corpus	27
1.3.1. Methodology	27
1.3.2. Plays in the corpus and the short descriptions of their story	30
1.3.2.1. The list of the plays and the criteria of selection	30
1.3.2.2. Short descriptions of the plays in the corpus	34
1.4. Summary	38
2. Previous studies	39
2.1. Introduction: The history of THOU and YOU	39
2.2. Power and solidarity	47
2.3. Politeness theory	49
2.4. Markedness	52
2.5. Studies on Shakespeare's works	54
2.5.1. Ulrich Busse (2002)	54
2.5.2. Freedman (2007)	56
2.6. Studies including eighteenth-century dramas	57
2.6.1. Mitchell (1971)	57
2.6.2. Walker (2007)	59

2.6.3.	Kerridge (2014)	61
2.7.	Summary	62
3.	Pilot study	63
3.1.	Introduction	63
3.2.	Macro-analysis	64
3.2.1.	Overall figures	64
3.2.2.	Gender	66
3.2.3.	Class	68
3.2.4.	Summary of macro-analysis	70
3.3.	Micro-analysis	70
3.3.1.	<i>The Covent-Garden Tragedy</i> (1732)	71
3.3.2.	<i>The Tragedy of Tragedies</i> (1736)	76
3.3.3.	<i>The Modern Husband</i> (1732)	79
3.3.4.	<i>The Author's Farce</i> (1734)	81
3.3.5.	<i>A Beggar's Opera</i> (1728)	83
3.4.	Summary and Conclusion	88
4.	THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century plays	91
4.1.	Introduction	91
4.2.	The overall distribution	91
4.3.	Genre and medium	95
4.3.1.	Genre	95
4.3.2.	Verse and prose	95
4.4.	Chronological difference or idiolect?	100
4.5.	Cases of pronouns	102
4.5.1.	<i>Thy</i> vs <i>thine</i>	105
4.6.	Summary	106
5.	THOU and YOU in the tragedies	108
5.1.	Quantitative study	108
5.1.1.	Gender	108

5.1.2.	Class	115
5.1.2.1.	Classification of classes	115
5.1.2.2.	Data and analysis	118
5.1.2.3.	Lower class	119
5.1.2.4.	Middle class	120
5.1.2.5.	Upper-class	121
5.2.	Qualitative study	122
5.2.1.	YOU as a marked form	122
5.2.1.1.	Distancing	123
5.2.1.2.	Seriousness	126
5.2.1.3.	Mock-politeness	128
5.2.2.	Marked use of THOU	131
5.2.2.1.	Emotion	131
5.2.2.2.	Special relationships	132
5.2.2.3.	Unaccountable use of THOU and rapid switches between THOU and YOU	134
5.2.3.	Influence of Elizabethan playwrights	138
5.3.	Summary and conclusion	144
6.	Comedies	147
6.1.	Introduction	147
6.2.	Gender	148
6.3.	Class	151
6.3.1.	Lower class	152
6.3.2.	Middle class	154
6.3.3.	Upper-middle class	158
6.3.4.	Upper class	162
6.4.	Emotions	164
6.4.1.	Positive emotions	166



6.4.1.1.	Love	166
6.4.1.2.	Friendship	168
6.4.1.3.	Patronisation	170
6.4.2.	Negative emotions	170
6.4.2.1.	Anger	170
6.4.3.	Characterisation	173
6.5.	Conclusion	175
7.	Aside and apostrophe	177
7.1.	Introduction	177
7.2.	Previous studies	181
7.3.	Data and analysis	183
7.3.1.	Overall figures	183
7.3.2.	Speakers of aside and apostrophe	187
7.3.2.1.	Aside	187
7.3.2.2.	Apostrophe	191
7.4.	Dead and unconscious characters	197
7.4.1.	Dead characters	197
7.4.2.	Unconscious characters	199
7.5.	Conclusion	200
8.	Second person pronoun <i>ye</i>	201
8.1.	Introduction	201
8.2.	Distribution of <i>ye</i> in the whole corpus	201
8.2.1.	The grammatical cases of <i>ye</i>	201
8.3.	<i>Ye</i> in the tragedies	202
8.3.1.	Nominative	202
8.4.	<i>Ye</i> in the comedies	205
8.4.1.	Nominative	205
8.4.2.	Objective	208

8.5. Summary	209
9. Address terms in the eighteenth-century plays	211
9.1. Introduction	211
9.2. Previous studies	214
9.2.1. Studies including eighteenth-century dramas	214
9.2.2. Studies on Shakespeare's use of address terms	217
9.3. Data	221
9.4. Address term types	232
9.4.1. Overall data	232
9.4.2. Types of address terms in each play	238
9.4.2.1. Tragedies	238
9.4.2.2. Comedies	248
9.5. Co-occurrence with THOU/YOU	255
9.5.1. Tragedies	255
9.5.2. Comedies	259
9.6. Qualitative study	262
9.6.1. Address terms to show the change of interpersonal relationships in <i>Stoops</i>	262
9.6.2. Address terms to show the change of interpersonal relationships in <i>Revenge</i>	268
9.7. Conclusion	271
10. The influence of Elizabethan dramatists on eighteenth-century dramas	273
10.1. Popularity of Elizabethan dramatists in the eighteenth century	273
10.2. Treatment and 'correction' of Shakespeare's text	278
10.3. THOU and YOU in Elizabethan and Eighteenth-century plays	281
11. Enregisterment	287
11.1. Introduction	287
11.2. Register	287
11.3. Enregisterment	288

11.4.	Speech chain	288
11.5.	Diachronic studies of enregisterment	290
11.6.	Indexicality	291
11.7.	Third-order Indexicality in literary texts	292
11.8.	Enregisterment without self-identification (first-order indexicality)	293
11.9.	Enregisterment of THOU: THOU as a pronoun of elevated language	296
11.10.	Summary	300
12.	Conclusion	301
12.1.	Issues addressed	301
12.2.	Contributions of this research to scholarship	303
12.3.	Limitations	304
12.4.	Further areas of study	305
12.5.	Concluding remarks	307
	Appendix	309
	Appendix I: The number of words in each text	309
	Appendix II: The number of THOU, YOU and <i>you</i> (pl.) in the comedies	310
	Appendix III: The list of female characters attending another woman in Shakespearean works	311
	Appendix IV: The frequency of types of address terms	312
	Appendix V: Address terms which co-occur with THOU in the comedies	314
	Bibliography	316
	Primary Sources	316
	Secondary Sources	316

## List of Tables

Table 1: The list of plays in 5-year blocks.	32
Table 2: Second person pronouns in Late West Saxon Old English. (Hogg 1992: 145)	39
Table 3: Early Modern personal pronouns. (Nevalainen 2006: 77)	41
Table 4: Prototypical pronoun paradigm in the twentieth century (standard English) (adapted from Wales 1996: 13)	46
Table 5: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in each play.	64
Table 6: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the gender of characters.	66
Table 7: The frequency of THOU to YOU per 1,000 words and the class of the speaker.	68
Table 8: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words and the hearer's class in the speeches of the middle-class characters.	69
Table 9: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in each play.	92
Table 10: The percentage of THOU in previous studies on dramas.	93
Table 11: Frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in verse and prose.	96
Table 12: The percentage of THOU to YOU and <i>you</i> (pl.) in the tragedies.	100
Table 13: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by male and female characters in the tragedies.	111
Table 14: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in female characters' speech.	113
Table 15: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in male characters' speech.	113
Table 16: The classification of classes and categories in eighteenth-century dramas.	116
Table 17: The identity of Norval and Douglas in <i>Douglas</i> .	117
Table 18: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the class of the characters.	118
Table 19: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by the lower class in tragedies.	119
Table 20: THOU and YOU spoken by middle-class characters in the tragedies.	120
Table 21: THOU and YOU spoken by upper class in the tragedies.	121
Table 22: Agis's use of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words and percentage of THOU according to the addressees.	127
Table 23: The number of THOU and YOU per character in the Shakespearean-based text in <i>Shore</i> .	141
Table 24: The number of THOU and YOU per character in the text created by Rowe in <i>Shore</i> .	

	141
Table 25: The number of THOU and YOU per character in <i>Penitent</i> .	142
Table 26: The frequency of THOU and YOU and the gender of characters.	148
Table 27: The gender of the speaker and the addressee of THOU in <i>Foundling</i> .	149
Table 28: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the class of the speaker.	151
Table 29: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by lower-class characters in the comedies.	152
Table 30: The number of THOU and YOU spoken by middle-class characters in the comedies.	154
Table 31: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by upper-middle-class characters in comedies.	158
Table 32: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by upper-class characters in the comedies.	162
Table 33: The number of THOU and YOU spoken by the characters in <i>Careless</i> .	174
Table 34: The number of THOU and YOU in aside, apostrophe and dialogues.	184
Table 35: The frequency of THOU in aside and apostrophe in the entire corpus.	186
Table 36: Second person singular pronouns in aside.	187
Table 37: Second person singular pronouns in apostrophe.	191
Table 38: Addressees of THOU and YOU in apostrophe in the corpus.	192
Table 39: The number of THOU and YOU when the characters are alive and dead.	198
Table 40: The distribution of <i>ye</i> in the tragedies and the comedies.	201
Table 41: The frequency of second person pronouns per 1,000 words in nominative and objective.	202
Table 42: Elements co-occurring with nominative singular <i>ye</i> in the comedies.	205
Table 43: The gender of the speakers and the addressees of <i>d'ye</i> in the comedies.	206
Table 44: Beatrix Busse's categorisation of vocatives (summarised from 2006: 12-13 and 450).	218
Table 45: Type/Token Ratio (TTR) of address terms in each play.	227
Table 46: The number of addressees, types and tokens of address terms in each play.	228
Table 47: The two most frequent address terms in each play.	231
Table 48: The types and the frequency of address terms per 1,000 words in the tragedies and comedies. The percentage in the parenthesis shows the percentage of the category to the entire figure in one genre.	233
Table 49: Honorific address terms used in the Italian, Egyptian and Greek plays.	236
Table 50: The English and Spanish address terms used in <i>Revenge</i> and <i>Gil Blas</i> .	236

Table 51: The rough correspondences of Beatrix Busse's (2006) categories and mine.	239
Table 52: Relative frequency of each type of address terms in <i>Richard III</i> (from Busse 2006: 148).	242
Table 53: The relative frequency of each type of address terms in <i>Shore</i> .	242
Table 54: The relative frequency of personal names in the tragedies.	245
Table 55: Relative frequencies of <i>conventional</i> address terms in the Shakespearean tragedies (based on Busse 2006: 148).	245
Table 56: The categories of address terms co-occurring with THOU and YOU in the comedies.	259
Table 57: The main characters of <i>Stoops</i> (* represents a mistaken or disguised identity).	263
Table 58: Th-forms and Y-forms in Elizabethan tragedies (based on Mitchell 1971: 67)	282
Table 59: The raw number of THOU and YOU and their frequency per 1,000 words in the Elizabethan tragedies.	283
Table 60: The values of THOU and YOU in the history of the English language. (Wales 1996: 77)	297
Table 61: The number of words in each text.	309
Table 62: The number of THOU, YOU and <i>you</i> (pl.) in the comedies.	310
Table 63: The list of female characters attending another woman in Shakespearean works.	311
Table 64: The frequency of each type of address terms per 1,000 words in the tragedies.	312
Table 65: The frequency of each type of address terms per 1,000 words in the comedies.	313
Table 66: Address terms which co-occur with THOU and YOU in the comedies.	314

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Two levels of discourse in drama. (Short 1996: 169)	19
Figure 2: An example of the data in an Excel sheet.	28
Figure 3: An example of the data of address terms.	28
Figure 4: Chaucer's use of the second person pronoun. (Burnley 2003: 29)	41
Figure 5: The two-dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension. (Brown and Gilman 1960: 259)	48
Figure 6: Strategies of doing an FTA. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60)	50
Figure 7: The axis of social distance. (Bruti 2000: 35)	53
Figure 8: The axis of emotional attitude. (Bruti 2000: 35)	53
Figure 9: Markedness reversals. (Bruti 2000: 39)	79
Figure 10: The percentage of THOU to YOU in the tragedies and the comedies.	94
Figure 11: The percentage of THOU to YOU and their cases in the tragedies and the comedies.	104
Figure 12: The percentage of THOU according to the gender of speaker and addressee in the tragedies.	114
Figure 13: The axis of emotional attitude. (Bruti 2000: 35)	123
Figure 14: Vocative forms on the politeness scale. (Shiina 2005a: 124)	216
Figure 15: The placing of the address formulae on the scale (Nevala 2002: 154).	220
Figure 16: The frequency of address terms per 1,000 words in the corpus.	222
Figure 17: The frequency of vocatives per 1,000 words in Shakespeare (based on Busse 2006: 148).	223
Figure 18: The frequency of address terms per 1,000 words. (based on Shiina 2005: 134)	226
Figure 19: The percentage of the two most frequent address terms to the entire figures of address terms in each play.	230
Figure 20: The percentage of each type of address terms appearing in the tragedies and the comedies.	234
Figure 21: The relative frequency of address term types in each tragedy.	240
Figure 22: Relative frequencies of vocatives in the tragedies (plays are listed chronologically) (Busse 2006: 156).	240
Figure 23: The relative frequency of address terms per type in the tragedies.	241
Figure 24: Tragedies' share in the different vocative clusters (Busse 2006: 157).	241
Figure 25: The relative frequency of address types in each comedy.	249
Figure 26: Relative frequencies of vocatives in the comedies (Busse 2006: 167).	250

Figure 27: The relative frequency of address terms per type in the comedies.	250
Figure 28: Comedies' share in the different vocative clusters (Busse 2006: 168).	251
Figure 29: Vocative categories ranked according to co-occurring pronouns considered in the aggregate. (Busse 2002: 184)	256
Figure 30: The percentage of address terms co-occurring with THOU.	256
Figure 31: The percentage of THOU to YOU (including plural) in the Elizabethan tragedies and the eighteenth-century tragedies.	284
Figure 32: Speech chains. (Agha 2003: 247)	289



## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Introductory remarks

MELANTHON: Oh! Philotas,  
If thou ha'st not renounc'd humanity;  
Let me behold my sov'reign; once again  
Admit me to his presence, let me see  
My royal master.

PHILOTAS: Urge thy suit no further;  
Thy words are fruitless; Dionysius' orders  
Forbid access; he is our sov'reign now;  
'Tis his to give the law, mine to obey.

MELANTHON: Thou can'st not mean it — his to give the law?  
Detested spoiler! — his! — a vile usurper!  
Have we forgot the elder Dionysius,  
Surnam'd the Tyrant? To Sicilia's throne  
The monster waded thro' whole seas of blood.

(Arthur Murphy, *The Grecian Daughter* (1772), 1.1)

The above is taken from the beginning of an eighteenth-century play. One remarkable feature in the extract is archaic language, including the frequent use of THOU.<sup>1</sup> Although THOU had disappeared from Standard English by the eighteenth century (Jespersen 1954: 45, Baugh and Cable 1993<sup>4</sup>: 237), it remained used in special contexts. Strang states: 'by 1770 it [THOU] survived only in dialects, among Quakers, in literary styles as a device of heightening (even in Wordsworth!), and in its present religious function' (1970: 140). Several other studies mention the use of THOU in religious and/or poetic contexts (Jespersen 1954, Denison 1998, Beal 2004 etc.). However, the use of THOU in dramatic

---

<sup>1</sup> Following Walker (2007), I use small capital THOU and YOU to refer to all forms of *thou* and singular *you*.

texts after Elizabethan times has not gathered much attention compared to the other genres, although, as I have shown above, THOU was still used. As I will show in this thesis, THOU was still used very frequently in the eighteenth-century tragedies in my corpus while it was used rarely, though meaningfully, in the eighteenth-century comedies. Although this genre occasionally receives scholarly attention (Mitchell 1971, Walker 2007 (comedies only) and Kerridge 2014 (comedy only)) and anecdotal episodes of the use of THOU are sporadically mentioned (e.g. Denison 1998: 106 on Sheridan's *A Trip to Scarborough* (1777)), the full description of the usage of second person pronouns in eighteenth-century British dramas has not appeared yet. This thesis aims to fill this gap, by revealing the factors which made the archaic pronoun THOU linger on in eighteenth century dramas, especially tragedies. To do this, I will investigate the use of second person pronouns in twenty eighteenth-century British plays. I deal with two genres of drama, comedies and tragedies to see if there is any synchronic difference due to genre despite that the audience of both genres would be almost the same.

The language of the dramas does not necessarily reflect the contemporary language which people actually used in their everyday life. This is especially true with tragedies, which demand 'a sense of detachment heightened by the use of verse or rhetorical prose' (Hartnoll 1983: 836). Hope (1993) is sceptical about considering drama texts as a closest representation of spoken language:

now that the questions being posed about early Modern English are becoming more and more detailed, and are more linguistic in intent, it is positively harmful for linguists to believe that literary dramatic dialogue represents our closest source to spoken early Modern English.

(1993: 84)

Lass (1999) also warns about the use of fictional texts, in that they are a representation of what authors observe, not necessarily a representation of real-life speeches:

we must be cautious about taking the speech of literary characters as evidence for that of real-world persons; characters are not independent of their authors' linguistic habits. As evidence, the speech of literary characters is only as good as authorial observation of the speech of others; and without an independent check we cannot know how good this is. While the internal worlds of highly crafted literary works may mirror the 'outside world', they also may not, and may not accurately reflect behaviour even in the real communities their authors inhabit.

(1999: 150)

Given this scepticism, what is the point of studying such language? Although the language of dramas differs from everyday language, it is still related to people living in that time. There are many scholars who support this view. To take a few examples, Taavitsainen, who studied interjections in the Early Modern English section (1510-1700) of the *Helsinki Corpus*, claims

The discourse form of comedy is based on dialogue, and the characters in these plays represent the middle layers of society; thus the language imitates the normal speech of common people. This is the nearest approximation to everyday spoken language in historical texts.

(1995: 460)

and Mazzon, who studied the usage of personal pronouns in three Shakespearean tragedies, states

it could be claimed that such uses [of personal pronouns in Shakespearean works] must belong to an established code that was recognisable to a Elizabethan audience, and was probably shared to a certain extent, since they were found in theatrical works (the "mimetic" genre *par excellence*)' [...].

(2002: 228).

Culpeper and Kytö (2000) examined four speech-related text types written in the seventeenth century, i.e. witness depositions, trial proceedings, prose fiction and comedies, in terms of how linguistically close they are to spoken interaction. They concluded that comedy is closest to spoken interaction based on their criteria, although ‘These text types — indeed, all our text types — include or filter out different conversational features for different reasons.’ (2000: 195). Considering that ‘interpersonal involvement, which is clearly involved in both lexical repetitions and interruptions, is very much the source of dramatic interest in drama’, (2000: 187), drama text seems to be suitable to study interpersonal interactions including the use of THOU and YOU.

Shiina, who studies vocatives in gentry comedies, argues that there is a relationship between the language of dramas and everyday speech:

The linguistic competence of the playwright and audience is formed by the language in society, and the drama must be based upon such language use to the extent that the audience can understand it. [...] Based upon those researchers’ claim (Salmon and Burness 1987; Simpson 1998), I would rather maintain that the playwrights construct the characters in their dramatic world based upon the language use in the real world of the period. Especially in comedies, language can be exaggerated. However, the audience would not be able to understand or laugh at extraordinary use of vocatives, unless they knew, implicitly or explicitly, the generally observed patterns of vocative use.

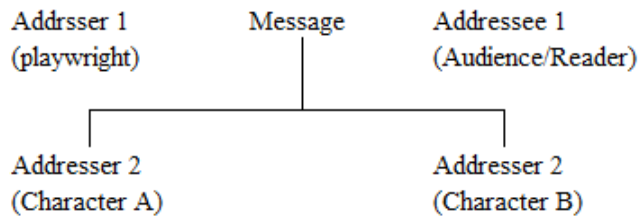
(2005a: 86-87)

As she argues, although the language of plays differs from everyday language, it is written to be performed for and read by a contemporary audience. Accordingly, the language of the plays still reflects some aspects of the language competence of the contemporary audience.

The fact that the language of drama needs to be understood by the audience is made

clear by Short's explanation on the two levels of discourse in drama (Figure 1):

Figure 1: Two levels of discourse in drama. (Short 1996: 169)



Prototypical drama is [...] having at least two levels of discourse, the author-audience/reader level and the character-character level: [...] The overarching level of discourse is that between the playwright and the audience. Character talk is embedded in that higher discourse, allowing the audience to 'listen in' to what the characters say.

(Short 1996: 169)

Short shows that characters in a drama communicate with each other at one level, the audience must be present and involved in the play as a hearer/bystander to appreciate the play at another level. This suggests that the language spoken in dramas is expected to be understood by the audience as well as by dramatic characters. Staged performances including dramas are '*for* audience not just *to* audience' (Coupland 2007: 147) and their aim is to entertain and interest the audience, not just to communicate a message to them (Bell and Gibson 2011: 57). It should also be noted that actors and directors who perform the play also need to read and understand the play (Short 1998: 7). Therefore, despite how distant the language of dramas seems from every-day language, it still has an access to contemporary people's understanding of their language. Bell and Gibson state that studying the language of performance is important in sociolinguistics that it 'opens up to sociolinguistic enquiry a much broader and richer range of styles, genres and media' (2011: 558) by shifting its focus from vernacular to 'the non-everyday and the non-

vernacular – or to the vernacular which is intentionally reproduced’ (ibid.). The language of dramas is important to study not because it resembles the everyday language but because the genre itself has its own characteristics to study and studying it can provide new perspectives on the study of language in general, as I will show in the conclusion (Chapter 12).

The aim of my study is to reveal the usage of second person pronouns in eighteenth-century plays, not in eighteenth-century English in general. Comparing the data in different genres and obtaining a perspective on the wider use of pronouns in eighteenth-century English would be ideal, but it is beyond the scope of one PhD thesis.

## **1.2. Research questions and thesis overview**

### **1.2.1. Research questions**

Previous studies have shown that THOU was disappearing in the eighteenth century. However, they have not investigated in detail why and how it continued in use. While eighteenth-century comedies have gained occasional attentions from scholars (Walker 2007 etc.), eighteenth-century tragedies have been almost neglected since Mitchell (1971). While Mitchell’s study reveals that there is a clear difference in the distribution of THOU and YOU in comedies and tragedies, investigations into the usage of second person singular pronouns in the two genres have not been done yet. In this study, I aim to reveal what happened to the usage of THOU in its demise in eighteenth-century plays, especially focussing on the difference in usage in tragedies and comedies. In order to investigate this point, I set up following research questions:

1. What was the usage of THOU in eighteenth-century plays? (Why did people keep using

- THOU in plays, especially in tragedies?)
2. How does genre affect the use of second person pronouns? What are the characteristics of usage of second person pronouns in tragedies opposed to comedies?
  3. What extralinguistic factors affect the use of second person pronouns?
    - 3.1 What is the influence of class of speakers and addressees?
    - 3.2 Does gender of speakers and hearers affect the choice of THOU and YOU?
  4. Can we understand the reasons why characters are shown to use THOU at specific moments – what are the interpersonal functions of THOU? (qualitative study)
  5. As the pronominal address term THOU was disappearing, did people use nominal address terms to supplement its loss?
  6. Where can I map the usage of THOU and YOU in the eighteenth century dramas in the perspective of the history of the English language? What is the difference between the usage of earlier periods (e.g. Elizabethan texts) and that in the eighteenth-century dramas? (stylistic/register)

These questions are formulated based on the findings of previous studies. Firstly, the genre of plays has been revealed to affect the use of second person singular pronouns in plays; THOU appears more frequently in tragedies (Busse 2002 for Shakespeare; Johnson 1966 for seventeenth-century plays). Secondly, the influence of class has been revealed by several studies, such as Walker (2007) (seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comedies) and Nakayama (2015) (nineteenth-century novels). Several studies of the use of Shakespeare's THOU and YOU show class and gender of the speaker and the addressee affect his works too (Mazzon 2003, Stein 2003, etc.). Thirdly, gender was chosen for two reasons. Walker (2007) discusses how women's position was inferior to men and they

were more likely to receive THOU (pronoun used from a superior to an inferior) as such. Additionally, there was a notion in the eighteenth century that women were still considered as inferior to men in point of intelligence. Görlach mentions that in the eighteenth century people still considered that women's intelligence was not equal to men's, and women tended to be portrayed as making mistakes in speaking and writing, such as Mrs Malaprop in Sheridan's *The Rivals* (2001: 56-57). There are two more examples which show that this notion was prevalent in the eighteenth century. Firstly, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1994), who studies mistakes in the choice of pronoun cases in eighteenth-century private writings, shows an anecdote of women considered as less intelligent; a passage from Walpole's writing attributes inaccurate use of pronouns to women, which Tieken-Boon van Ostade's study reveals to be groundless:

You will be diverted to hear that a man who thought of nothing so much as the purity of language, I mean Lord Chesterfield, says, "you and me shall not be well together," and this not once, but on every occasion. A friend of mine says, it was certainly to avoid that female inaccuracy *they don't mind you and I*, and yet the latter is the least bad of the two.

(as quoted by Leonard 1929: 188, quoted in Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1994: 219, emphasis added).

Secondly, Coates (1993) shows that some eighteenth-century men of letters considered women guilty of incorrect usage. She quotes a passage from the writing of Richard Steele, whose comedies (*Tender* and *Conscious*) will be investigated in my study:

By the Hand, at first sight, I could not guess whether they came from a Lady, but having put on my spectacles, and perused them carefully, I found by some peculiar Modes in Spelling, and a certain Negligence in Grammar, that it was a Female Sonnet.

(Steele 1713; as quoted in Tucker 1961: 69, quoted in Coates 1993: 25)

Coates calls this phenomenon of treating women as intellectually inferior to men as



‘Androcentric rule’:

Men will be seen to behave linguistically in a way that fits the writer’s view of what is desirable or admirable; women on the other hand will be blamed for any linguistic state or development which is regarded by the writer as negative or reprehensible.

(1992: 16-17)

Two hypotheses on the usage of THOU and YOU can be drawn from this notion of women as (intellectually) inferior. One is that men might use THOU to women and receive YOU rather than the other way, as the superior sex. The other is that female characters might make more mistakes than male characters in the use of second person pronouns (whether the choice of THOU/YOU or their case). Such gender difference in characters’ speeches can be observed in eighteenth-century novels. My previous study on imperatives in eighteenth-century novels suggests that the female characters in Daniel Defoe’s *Moll Flanders* and Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* tend to use the vulgar form of negative imperative ‘*don’t V*’ more often than the male characters to show the female characters’ lack of intelligence (Nonomiya 2008: 54-55). It should be noted that all of the playwrights in my corpus are men, so it is quite likely that they wrote their female characters’ lines based on their notion of female speech rather than the real usage of contemporary women (cf. Freedman 2007: 4).

*Ye* will be studied in order to contrast its disappearance with that of THOU. *Ye* is another option of personal pronoun which disappeared from Standard English, and it is still used as a part of archaic, elevated language in the Present-day English, just like THOU (Wales 1996: 89). It would be worthwhile to study if the two pronouns disappeared in the same way or if there are any factors peculiar to each case.

Address terms will be studied in relation to the use of THOU and YOU. Both second

person pronouns and (nominal) address terms are used as vocatives (Leech 1999), often appearing together, e.g. ‘You idiot!’. Shimonomoto suggests that studying other markers of politeness along with second person pronouns would be useful to find out how the latter is used:

If the speaker shifts from an ‘unmarked’ form to a ‘marked’ one, it signals that some change in the situation, or in the speaker, is taking place, but does not specify what kind of change it is. In interpreting the affective meaning of the pronoun, the presence of other categories of politeness markers would be a help. In the case of the terms of address [...] there are more options varieties available to the speaker, and, therefore, the choice of the form could bear more specific information as to what the speaker intended to say.

(2000: 79)

This suggests that studying address terms can reveal the motifs of the choice of THOU and YOU.

The last question is formed in order to find out how (or whether) the usage of THOU in dramas has changed since the Elizabethan era, when it was still used to show interpersonal relationships and emotion. Studies on Late Modern English tend not to discuss the qualitative differences, describing the usage in the poetic and dramatic language as ‘same as Shakespeare’ (e.g. Nakayama 2015). However, it is possible that the use of THOU has changed since it disappeared from Standard English, i.e. when authors and audience/readers are exposed to THOU only in created texts and they no longer speak THOU as a choice of second person pronouns (in other words, they are not a native speaker of THOU any more). I will discuss this point from the viewpoint of stylisation and enregisterment in Chapter 11.

In order to answer these questions, qualitative studies are needed. Quantitative

analyses are often employed in the studies of second person pronouns to show overall trends (e.g. Mitchell 1971), but they cannot explain why there are some unusual, rare occurrences of the marked form. And yet, it is these unusual uses that are important to investigate why THOU still appears in the eighteenth-century plays. As I will reveal later, the use of THOU depends very much on its context, so qualitative studies, i.e. conducting a close reading of all of the occurrences of second person pronouns, are needed.

### **1.2.2. Thesis overview**

The construction of this thesis is as follows: I present the methodology and corpus in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 presents previous studies. Firstly, I introduce some of the important notions used to explain the use of second person pronouns: power and solidarity, politeness and markedness. Following these, I show two studies dealing with second person pronouns in eighteenth-century plays. I also refer to Shakespearean studies for comparisons because of the scarcity of studies on eighteenth-century plays.

Chapters 3-7 study the use of second person singular pronouns THOU and YOU in the the corpus. Chapter 3 is based on my pilot study on Henry Fielding's plays. I will present findings from the plays and discuss some further points from the study in the later chapters. Chapter 4 investigates the overall data of THOU and YOU retrieved from my entire corpus. Special attention is paid to the genre of the plays, which answers research question 2. I also consider linguistic factors which might affect the use of THOU and YOU. Chapters 5 and 6 investigate the use of THOU and YOU in the tragedies and the comedies respectively. After undertaking quantitative analysis on each genre sub-corpus, I analyse the data focussing on the interlocutors' gender and class in both chapters (research question 3). Following that, I undertake qualitative studies on the special usage of THOU and YOU,

looking into their contexts in detail. This is particularly important with the data retrieved from the comedies, for the frequency of THOU in them is too low to see any overall trend quantitatively. Chapter 7 deals with special contexts found in plays: aside, apostrophe and addresses to dead or unconscious people. Chapter 8 deals with the second person singular pronouns *ye* to see how fossilised this form is.

In Chapter 9, I investigate the relationships between second person pronouns and address terms, based on my hypothesis that address terms supplement the lost function of THOU (research question 4). Here I employ the categorisation used in Shiina (2005a), based on the emotional distance between the speaker and the addressee. I also study the collocation of second person pronouns and address terms. Ulrich Busse (2002, 2003) shows that certain categories of address terms collocate with either THOU or YOU in Shakespearean works. I will investigate whether similar phenomena can still be observed in my eighteenth-century drama corpus and if there were any changes in their usage.

Chapter 10 discusses the influence of Elizabethan plays on the eighteenth-century plays. As will be shown in Chapters 6-8, they seem to play an important role in preserving the older forms of second person pronouns. Many playwrights read them or see them performed, and some of them edited or adapted their predecessors' works.

Chapter 11 discusses an important notion coming up through the above discussions on second person pronouns; enregisterment. Based on the findings, I hypothesise that the use of THOU and *ye* in the eighteenth-century plays, especially tragedies, is a result of the enregisterment of these pronouns into the language of dramas. (Research question 6)

Chapter 12 presents the conclusions to this thesis, trying to explain what happened to the usage of second person pronouns compared to the Elizabethan era.

### 1.3. Methodology and corpus

#### 1.3.1. Methodology

In order to investigate the research questions listed above, I created an electronic corpus of eighteenth-century plays. This is to enable electronic searches. The rough size of the entire corpus (excluding the corpus for the pilot study) is c. 422,000 words; c. 162,000 words in the tragedies corpus and c. 260,000 words in the comedies corpus.<sup>2</sup> The tragedies corpus is smaller than the comedies corpus because of the size of each text in the two genres. The average text size of the tragedies is 16,700 words while that of the comedies is 26,000 words, i.e. the comedies are 1.5 times longer than the tragedies (see the appendix for the number of words in each text).

The electronic texts were retrieved from Literature Online (LION). With regards to the reliability of LION texts, I compared the first act of each play on LION with the original texts found in ECCO and confirmed that there was no alteration regarding personal pronouns and address terms. Prologues, epilogues and songs are excluded from the corpus because my focus is on the main text.

The data on second person pronouns, i.e. THOU, YOU and *ye*, were collected electronically using WordSmith. The plural *you*, its variants and plural *ye* are separated from the data manually by reading the context. After that, I added the information about the scene number, the speaker, addressee, their relationship and the case of the pronoun to each occurrence of second person pronouns in Excel sheets (Figure 2).

---

<sup>2</sup> The number of words was calculated using MS Word's word count to each drama text. As such, these figures include the stage direction and the name of the speakers to each line. The actual number of words in dialogues only would be smaller than these figures.

Figure 2: An example of the data in an Excel sheet.

1	N	scene	Concordance	Set	speaker	hearer	relationshi	case
2	903	1.1	I vow , Mr. Hardcastle, you're very particular.	you're	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	nom
3	902	1.1	Ay, your times were fine times, indeed;	your	Hardcastle	Mrs Hardc	couple	gen
4	901	1.1	you have been telling us of them for many a long ye:	you	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	nom
5	900	1.1	And all our entertainment your old stories of Prince	your	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	gen
6	899	1.1	and, I believe, Dorothy, (taking her hand) you'll own	you'll	Hardcastle	Mrs Hardc	couple	nom
7	898	1.1	Lord, Mr. Hardcastle, you're for ever at	you're	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	nom
8	897	1.1	at your Dorothy's and	your	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	gen
9	896	1.1	and your old wife's.	your	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	gen
10	895	1.1	You may be a Darby, but I'll be no Joan,	you	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	nom
11	894	1.1	I promise you.	you	Mrs Hardc	Hardcastle	couple	acc

With regard to address terms, they were collected manually by reading through each each play. Electronic search could not be done because address terms are an open set and it is impossible to predict what words are used as an address term. In the same way as the data of second personal pronouns, to the data of address terms was added the information of the speaker and addressee (Figure 3).

Figure 3: An example of the data of address terms.

	Scene	line	speaker	hearer	term	T/Y	relationship	type
1	1.1	This is the Room, Signor--Here, here!	Bernarda	Gil Blas	Signor	-	host-customer	deferential
2	1.1	And now, young Man, you are welcome	Bernarda	Gil Blas	man	Y	host-customer	generic
3	1.1	Thank you, thank you, Signora.	Gil Blas	Bernarda	signora	Y	customer-host	deferential
4	1.1	I presume, Signor--but I never ask Quee	Bernarda	Gil Blas	signor	-	host-customer	deferential
5	1.1	Very possibly, Signora. The Sciences at	Gil Blas	Bernarda	signora	-	customer-host	deferential
6	1.1	But my Master, Signora--my Master m	Gil Blas	Bernarda	signora	Y	customer-host	deferential
7	1.1	Nay, Signor, Heaven forbid that I should	Bernarda	Gil Blas	signor	Y	host-customer	deferential
8	1.1	Gil Blas, can you be faithful?	[Aurora]	[Gil Blas]	full name	Y	master-servant	name
9	1.1	Signor Gil Blas!	Bernarda	Gil Blas	signor+full	-	host-customer	title+FN/SI
10	1.1	Signor Gil Blas! Where are you,	Bernarda	Gil Blas	signor+full	Y	host-customer	title+FN/SI

Additionally, the collocation of address terms with second person pronouns was considered. The address terms found in the data were separated into categories (e.g. terms of endearment, terms of abuse). See Chapter 8 for the further discussions on these categories.

I mainly paid attention to the following traits of characters: class, gender and their

relationship with the addressee. I do not include age as an extralinguistic factor to investigate in this study, although this is often shown as one factor to influence the use of THOU and YOU (Walker 2007, Nakayama 2015 etc.). This is because the age of the most of the characters is not specified. Adding to that, there are very few characters who are specified as ‘old’ or ‘young’ and there are no preteen children. The absence of children might be due to the actors’ age. Because ‘old’ or ‘young’ characters tend to appear with their family members, I will look at their power difference within family members rather than focussing on their age.

When a character is in disguise or assuming a different identity, I treat them separately from their true self. This is because the interlocutors of the characters in disguise tend to choose their language based on the disguise, not the character’s true identity. By the same token, when a character mistakes their addressee as somebody else, it is also treated separately. To take an example from *Stoops*, when an upper-class character Marlow mistakes an upper-middle-class character Hardcastle as an innkeeper, he talks to him as such:

*[Hardcastle is enraged with Marlow’s impertinent behaviour in his house. Marlow, mistaking Hardcastle as an innkeeper, tries to resolve the situation by paying the bill.]*

HARDCASTLE: To come to my house, to call for what he likes, to turn me out of my own chair, [...] and then to tell me this house is mine, Sir. By all that’s impudent it makes me laugh. Ha! ha! ha! Pray, Sir, *[bantering.]* as you take the house, what think you of taking the rest of the furniture? [...]

MARLOW: Bring me your bill, Sir, bring me your bill, and let’s make no more words about it.

*(Stoops 4.1)*

The hearer of Marlow’s speech is labelled as ‘innkeeper (Hardcastle)’ [lower class], not ‘Hardcastle’ [upper-middle class] because it is what the speaker thinks. I will discuss

individual cases in Chapters 5 and 6.

Both the data on second person pronouns and those on address terms were analysed quantitatively in the first part of Chapters 4-9, then interesting factors were presented qualitatively in the latter half of the chapters. It is true that qualitative studies take enormous amount of time (cf. Busse 2002: 41). For this reason my corpus is rather small, with ten comedies and tragedies each. My study is by no means a representative of eighteenth-century plays in general, but by concentrating on qualitative studies I have been able to discover some special traits hidden behind the rare instances of THOU and YOU.

### **1.3.2. Plays in the corpus and the short descriptions of their story**

#### **1.3.2.1. The list of the plays and the criteria of selection**

I set up two corpus, one for pilot study and the other for the main study. The pilot study corpus was set up to compare the use of second person pronouns in different genres written by the same author (Henry Fielding). The full description on this mini-corpus will be given in 3.1.

The corpus for the main study was set up to include both tragedies and comedies of the same number, in the hope of discovering the differences of the use of second person pronouns in between two genres. The plays included in my corpus are as follows:

#### **<Tragedy>**

Rowe, Nicholas (1674-1718)

*The Fair Penitent* (1706) (hereafter *Penitent*)

*The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (1714) (hereafter *Shore*)

Young, Edward (1683-1765)

*Busiris* (1719)

*The Revenge* (1721) (hereafter *Revenge*)



Lillo, George (1693-1739)

*The London Merchant* (1731) (hereafter *Merchant*)

*The Fatal Curiosity* (1736) (hereafter *Curiosity*)

Home, John (1722-1808)

*Douglas* (1756)

*Agis* (1758)

Murphy, Arthur (1727-1805)

*The Grecian Daughter* (1772) (hereafter *Grecian*)

*The Rival Sisters* (1786) (hereafter *Sisters*)

### <Comedy>

Cibber, Colley (1671-1757)

*The Careless Husband* (1704) (hereafter *Careless*)

*The Lady's Last Stake* (1707) (hereafter *Stake*)

Steele, Richard (1672-1729)

*The Tender Husband* (1705) (hereafter *Tender*)

*The Conscious Lovers* (1723) (hereafter *Conscious*)

Moore, Edward (1711-1757)

*The Foundling* (1748) (hereafter *Foundling*)

*Gil Blas* (1751)

Colman, George Elder (1717-1779)

*The Jealous Wife* (1761) (hereafter *Jealous*)

*Clandestine Marriage* (1766) (hereafter *Clandestine*) (written by George Colman and David Garrick)

Goldsmith, Oliver (1728-1774)

*The Good-Natur'd Man* (1767) (hereafter *Good-Natur'd*)

*She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) (hereafter *Stoops*)

Table 1: The list of plays in 5-year blocks.

	Tragedies	Comedies
1700		<i>Careless</i> (1704)
	<i>Penitent</i> (1706)	<i>Tender</i> (1705), <i>Stake</i> (1707)
1710	<i>Shore</i> (1714)	
	<i>Busiris</i> (1719)	
1720	<i>Revenge</i> (1721)	<i>Conscious</i> (1723)
1730	<i>Merchant</i> (1731)	
	<i>Curiosity</i> (1736)	
1740		
		<i>Foundling</i> (1748)
1750		<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)
	<i>Douglas</i> (1756), <i>Agis</i> (1758)	
1760		<i>Jealous</i> (1761)
		<i>Clandestine</i> (1766), <i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)
1770	<i>Grecian</i> (1772)	<i>Stoops</i> (1773)
1780		
	<i>Sisters</i> (1786)	

I chose these plays based on three factors. Firstly, I chose two works from the same author so that I can compare the two data and see if there is any idiolect involved. Secondly, I tried to choose plays with similar length in each category – the average word count is c. 26,000 in the comedies and c. 16,700 in the tragedies. Thirdly, I tried to make my corpus cover a large period of the eighteenth century, although not all decades are covered due to lack of suitable works (Table 1). As regards the authors, I tried to choose English authors to avoid dialect influence, but there are some authors from outside England – John Home is from Scotland and Arthur Murphy, Richard Steele and Oliver Goldsmith are from Ireland. All of the plays were performed in London. Although I tried to limit the location of the setting and exclude regional influences, I could not find enough plays set

in Britain with chronological spread. Therefore I included several plays set in European countries (*Penitent* in Italy, *Revenge* and *Gil Blas* in Spain, *Agis*, *Grecian* and *Sisters* in Greece) and one set in ancient Egypt (*Busiris*). The reason why there are so many tragedies set in outside Britain is the nature of tragedies as a genre:

Tragedy in the narrow theatrical sense demands a cast of heroes or demi-gods, an unfamiliar background—exotic, romantic, or imaginary—and a sense of detachment heightened by the use of verse or rhetorical prose.

(Hartnoll 1983: 836)

To endorse this theory, there is no tragedy set in contemporary (i.e. eighteenth-century) Britain. Among the tragedies set in Britain, *Shore* is set in fifteenth-century England, *Merchant* and *Curiosity* are in England in early modern period and *Douglas* is in medieval Scotland. In contrast, comedy is a genre which deals with contemporary people's life, so most of the comedies in my corpus are set in Britain (often in London) with main characters in the upper or upper-middle class.

Only male playwrights were chosen so that the gender difference of authors does not affect the data. This does not mean that female authors or gender difference in authors' style are not worth studying. It also does not mean there is no gender difference in writers' usage.<sup>3</sup> To take a few examples, Nakayama shows nineteenth-century British female novelists were more willing to use 'ungrammatical' forms than their male counterparts (2015: 260). Freedman points out that there is a difference between Aphra Behn's use of THOU and that of her male contemporary dramatists:

---

<sup>3</sup> It might be worth pointing out that there are cases where gender difference cannot be observed. My study on the use of imperative sentences in comedies by eighteenth-century dramatists of the both genders cannot find any gender difference (Nonomiya 2011).

playwrights may not always accurately represent the usage of their time if they venture into social milieux outside their own experience: when Barber (1976) drew conclusions about the speech of smart London society in the mid-seventeenth century based on a survey of Restoration comedies, he found that though male friends could use T [THOU] to one another, V [YOU] was the pronoun of choice for women, even if they were close friends or sisters. In the plays of Aphra Behn, however, close female friends, sisters and cousins frequently slip into T when they are alone together (the opening scene of *The Rover* is a good example). It seems that, unlike Jane Austen, who knew that she did not know how men spoke to one another in all-male company, male playwrights extrapolated from women's public behaviour and drew the wrong inference.

(2007:4)

While studying both male and female playwrights' works and comparing the results would be ideal, it would exceed the limit of my PhD project. I chose male authors over female so that I can compare my results with previous studies on eighteenth-century plays, who deal with male playwrights only (Mitchell 1971: 7-11, Walker 2007: 173).

### **1.3.2.2. Short descriptions of the plays in the corpus**

Context and interpersonal relationship are crucially important when studying the usage of second person pronouns. To make it easier to understand the context, I give a brief description of each play here:

#### **<Tragedies>**

***The Fair Penitent*** (*Penitent*) by Nicholas Rowe (1706)

The heroine is an unfaithful woman named Calista, who has a lover and plans with him to kill her husband. Her lover attacks her husband but gets killed, and Calista is taken into custody. Calista, repenting her deeds, kills herself.

***The Tragedy of Jane Shore*** (*Shore*) by Nicholas Rowe (1714)

The story is loosely based on Shakespeare's *King Richard III*. The protagonist is Jane Shore, who is now courted by Hastings after Edward IV's death. The Duke of Gloster tries to make her persuade Hastings to support him instead of Edward V but she rejects

Gloster. Gloster executes Hastings for treason and accuses Jane of witchcraft. When Jane is dying from hunger and misery, her husband Shore comes to help, in vain.

***Busiris*** by Edward Young (1719)

Is set in ancient Egypt under the reign of King Busiris. While Rameses and other conspirators are planning to overturn the king, Rameses's father Nicanor, who is a faithful subject to Busiris, is unwilling to join them. Nicanor brings down the kingdom with his son in wrath after his daughter is sexually assaulted by the son of Busiris.

***The Revenge*** by Edward Young (1721)

A black man named Zanga, who used to be a prince of Moore, is forced to work as a slave after his kingdom is conquered by his current master Alonzo. Zanga plots against Alonzo by making him believe that his wife is having an adulterous relationship with his best friend. Alonzo kills both of them, then Zanga tells him the truth. Alonzo commits suicide in despair and Zanga is arrested for treason.

***The London Merchant (Merchant)*** by George Lillo (1731)

The tragic story of young apprentice named George Barnwell, who is seduced by a prostitute named Millwood, who manipulate him into commit theft and murder. Barnwell, repenting his deeds, heads for his execution.

***The Fatal Curiosity (Curiosity)*** by George Lillo (1736)

A merchant has just returned from the Indies to his hometown. His appearance has so altered that none of his old friends can recognise him. So he, out of 'curiosity', decides to visit his parents as a stranger to see if they can tell who he is. His impoverished parents, desperate for money, kill the wealthy stranger to steal his jewels without realising he is their long-lost son.

***Douglas*** by John Home (1756)

Deals with Scottish noble families. A young shepherd named Norval finds his real mother by chance and is told his real identity is the son of the former feudal lord of the land. The mother's husband and his evil knight become jealous of Norval and kill him. Norval's mother throws herself from a cliff, lamenting his death.

***Agis*** by John Home (1758)

The story of Agis, the king of Sparta. He has lost popularity and now is under threat of the

former king and Thracian soldiers. Although his friends try to save him, Agis is captured and executed.

***The Grecian Daughter* (*Grecian*) by Arthur Murphy (1772)**

The protagonist is a princess of Sicilia named Euphrasia. She saves her old father from death and becomes the saviour of her kingdom by killing the king of her enemies.<sup>4</sup>

***The Rival Sisters* (*Sisters*) by Arthur Murphy (1786)**

Loosely based on the ancient Greek myth of Theseus and Ariadne. Although Ariadne has saved Theseus at the sacrifice of everything for his love, he is now in love with her sister Phædra. After Theseus and Phædra elope together, Ariadne kills herself in despair.

**<Comedies>**

***The Careless Husband* (*Careless*) by Colley Cibber (1704)**

Deals with an unfaithful man named Sir Charles Easy and his chaste wife Lady Easy.

When he falls asleep with one of his mistresses in his house, Lady Easy puts a handkerchief on his head so that he will not catch a cold. He is moved by her generous deed and repents.

***The Tender Husband* (*Tender*) by Richard Steele (1705)**

Mr Clerimont, an unfaithful husband, sets a trap for his wife Mrs Clerimont by disguising one of his mistresses as a young man and making her seduce Mrs Clerimont. Meanwhile, Mr Clerimont's brother succeeds in gaining Bridget, a romantic young lady's heart.

***The Lady's Last Stake* (*Stake*) by Colley Cibber (1707)**

Mrs Conquest is in love with Sir George Brilliant, but she is too proud to accept his courting. She has to change her attitude when a rival in love appears.

***The Conscious Lovers* (*Conscious*) by Richard Steele (1723)**

Sir Bevil is troubled by his son Jack, who is rumoured to keep a mistress. It turns out Jack is supporting a poor girl out of generosity. After she is reunited with her long-lost family, Sir Bevil lets his son marry her.

---

<sup>4</sup> I put *Grecian* in the category of 'tragedy' following LION, despite its happy ending.

***The Foundling*** by Edward Moore (1748)

Young Belmont has introduced Fidelia to his family as his deceased friend's sister, although she is in reality an orphan girl whom he has saved while travelling abroad. As a rumour regarding her true identity spreads around the family, her former guardian appears and reveals her secret. Then, Fidelia finally finds her long-lost family.

***Gil Blas*** by Edward Moore (1751)

An aristocratic woman named Aurora is in love with Don Lewis, but he is in love with Isabella, who is cheating on him. To save him from the malicious woman, Aurora disguises herself as her brother and becomes friends with Don Lewis, while appearing as herself as a young lady to attract him. Her plan succeeds with the help of her saucy servant Gil Blas.

***The Jealous Wife (Jealous)*** by George Colman (1761)

Mrs Oakley is an extremely jealous wife, who suspects everything Mr Oakley does to be a sign of adultery. Her jealousy hits a peak when her son's sweetheart secretly seeks help from Mr Oakley.

***The Clandestine Marriage (Clandestine)*** by David Garrick and George Colman (1766)

Fanny, a daughter of a well-to-do merchant, is in trouble because of her excessive attractiveness – both her sister's fiancé and his old uncle have fallen in love with her. While her father is trying to marry her to her sister's fiancé for money, she has to face an ordeal to tell her family that she has been married to a poor clerk for several months.

***The Good-Natur'd Man (Good-Natur'd)*** by Oliver Goldsmith (1767)

Mr Honeywood is an extremely good-natured man, who trusts and gives away his money to everybody. When he is put into a gaol due to debt, he has to learn what the true friendship is.

***She Stoops to Conquer (Stoops)*** by Oliver Goldsmith (1773)

Mr Marlow is very shy around women of his rank, but he is very saucy with lower-class women. He visits his fiancée's house with his friend for the first time, but he is fooled into believing her house is an inn and she is a barmaid. Seeing his mistake, his fiancée Miss Hardcastle decides to take advantage of the situation to cure his shyness and make him fall in love with her. On another front, Mr Marlow's friend is trying to elope with Miss Hardcastle's cousin, who also lives in the house.

#### **1.4. Summary**

In this chapter I have shown the meanings and the method of studying the language of plays. The language of dramas should be studied not as a substitute of everyday language but as a genre created and appreciated by contemporary audience.

The current study will deal with both quantitative and qualitative analyses, but the main focus is on qualitative studies. This is because my aim is to find out why THOU continued in use in dramas even though people did not use it in their everyday language. In such a situation, the instances of THOU can be rare, and quantitative studies cannot show why it is used.

In the following chapter, I will introduce some of the previous studies on second person pronouns and theories which are useful to explain the choice of second person pronouns.



## 2. Previous studies

### 2.1. Introduction: The history of THOU and YOU

Before I start looking into individual works, I will give a brief overview of the development of the second person pronoun system in the history of the English language.

Second person pronoun system in the English languages underwent two major changes: the singular form THOU fell out of use and the plural form YOU came to be used as both singular and plural;<sup>5</sup> the nominative plural form *ye* was replaced by the objective form *you*. Firstly, I will look at the loss of THOU in the history of the English language, then the loss of *ye* form.

At the period of Old English, neither of the changes had happened yet, as shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Second person pronouns in Late West Saxon Old English. (Hogg 1992: 145)

	Singular	Dual <sup>6</sup>	Plural
Nom.	þu	ġit	ġe
Acc.	þe	inc	ēow
Gen.	þīn	incer	ēower
Dat.	þe	inc	ēow

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hickey discusses that the loss of dyadic address system and the loss of specific forms for the second person singular are two separate issues; although they are historically linked (2002: 344):

The decline in the use of *you* for deference is one thing and the disappearance of *thou* is another, although historically linked. Of course what happened in the south-east is that *you* came to be used with singular reference (Lutz 1998), thus making *thou* superfluous. The loss of *thou* in the history of English should not be taken for granted. It is linked both to its relative rarity in the south-east and of its situational use at the beginning of the early modern period.

(2000 : 34)

<sup>6</sup> Dual form was used to refer to two persons. This form appeared mostly exclusively in Old

At this stage, the plural form *ge* and its variants were used to refer to plural objects only. Additionally, the difference between *hu* and *ge* was ‘purely one of number: there was no sociolinguistic difference as there was in Middle English’ (Hogg 1992: 144).

The use of second person plural pronouns referring to a single person began to be found from the thirteenth century (Burnley 2003: 28). THOU became non-neutral and the use of second person plural for a single person had been established by the Late Middle English period, firstly in the courtly literature:

the establishment of *ye* as a fairly consistent formal singular appears clearly only in the courtly literature of the second half of the fourteenth century. In other literature, the singular was accepted form. The polite plural form came to be used by the nobility amongst themselves. The choice of *ye* and *thou* according to the notion of superiority/inferiority of a social rank was fairly well observed, though emotional colouring often predominates over the difference of rank.

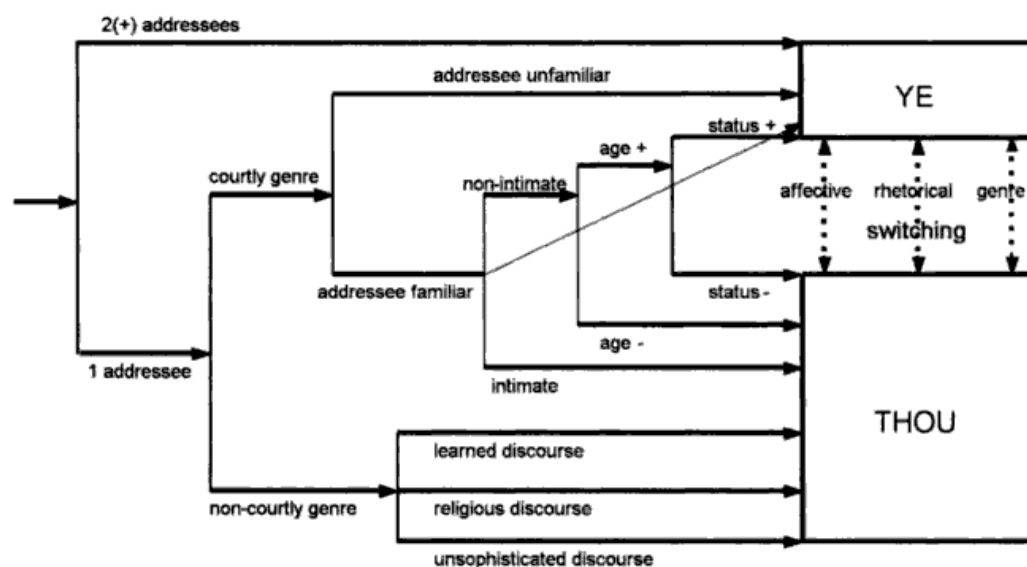
(Shimonomoto 2000: 166)

Lass states that as the use of second person plural pronouns as singular had been established from fourteenth century to seventeenth century, THOU (and *ye*) became ‘marked’ and *you* (both as nominative and objective) became ‘neutral’ (1999: 150). Burnley (1983, 2003) holds that the distribution of second person pronouns in Middle English is unpredictable, that not only class differences but also several other factors such as style and familiarity affect the choice of pronouns. He produces a diagram of Chaucer’s use of the second person pronoun based on her analysis of interpersonal relations in contexts, as reproduced in Figure 4 below:

---

English (Hogg 1992: 144).

Figure 4: Chaucer's use of the second person pronoun. (Burnley 2003: 29)



I will argue further about factors which affect the choice of pronouns further in 2.2 onwards below.

The use of THOU kept declining in the Early Modern English period and had almost disappeared from Standard English by the end of the seventeenth century (summarised in Table 3):

Table 3: Early Modern personal pronouns. (Nevalainen 2006: 77)

Person/ Number	Subjective case	Objective case	Possessive, determiner	Possessive, independent
1st sing.	<i>I</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>my/mine</i> → <i>my</i>	<i>mine</i>
1st pl.	<i>we</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>our</i>	<i>ours</i>
	<i>thou</i> ~	<i>thee</i> ~ <i>you</i>	<i>thy/thine</i> →	<i>thine</i> ~ <i>yours</i>
2nd sing.	<i>ye</i> → <i>you</i>		<i>thy</i> ~ <i>your</i>	
2nd pl.	<i>ye</i> → <i>you</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>your</i>	<i>yours</i>
3rd sing. personal	<i>he, she</i>	<i>him, her</i>	<i>his, her</i>	<i>his, hers</i>
3rd sing. non- personal	<i>(h)it</i> → <i>it</i>	<i>him, (h)it</i> → <i>it</i>	<i>his (thereof)</i> → <i>its (of it)</i>	<i>(his</i> → <i>its)</i>
3rd pl.	<i>they</i>	<i>them ('em)</i>	<i>their</i>	<i>theirs</i>

Wales (1996) lists three factors which contributed to THOU's decline. The first factor is the rise of a (London) standard, which aligned THOU, associated with dialectal use, with non-standard or impolite usage:

*Thou*-forms prevalent in rural dialects and in the speech of the artisan immigrants to the city, inherited from Old English, would increasingly become associated with social unacceptability, and would be avoided also by the rising middle classes.

(Wales 1996: 76)

The second factor is the emergence of radical political and religious factions (e.g. Levellers and Quakers), which employed THOU based on their notions of equality. Their use of THOU added associations with such sects and social stigma to THOU (Wales 1996: 76). The third factor is the use of THOU in many biblical texts, most notably the Authorised Version. THOU was favoured as an equivalent of Latin and Greek original personal pronouns. This made people consider THOU as an archaic, liturgical pronoun (Wales 1996: 76-77).<sup>7</sup>

THOU disappeared in Standard English in the course of the late modern period (Denison 1998: 106; Beal 2004: 69). Beal describes the use of THOU in Late Modern English as follows:

Throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *thou* continued to be

---

<sup>7</sup> Kerridge (2014) cites an anecdote which shows THOU was perceived as a feature of both Quakerism and archaism, written by a French protestant man: 'Amongst their other customs, one of which is the use of the pronoun "thou", is that of never giving any man his titles, whatever his position or worth may be, for everyone to them is but a vile earthworm inhabiting this planet for a few years. Quakers make use of a sort of Bible talk, which strikes you more particularly, as it appears to date two hundred years back, no Bible having been printed in England in the fine modern language, the earliest edition of the Holy Book being still in use.' (de Saussure 1729, cited in van Muyden 1902: 323).

used in increasingly restricted contexts, at least in Standard English. Apart from the usage of Quakers, who had defied the convention in the seventeenth century [...] the use of *thou/thee* was mainly confined to religious and poetic usage.

(Beal 2004: 70)

There are some anecdotes recording the use of THOU in eighteenth-century fictions. Denison points out that Sheridan occasionally used THOU in *A Trip to Scarborough* (1777) (1998: 106). Curme shows the use of THOU in Richardson's novel *Pamela* (1740):

Richardson in his *Pamela* lets Lady Davers use *thou* to her brother in moments of strong emotions and employ *thou* to Pamela in moments of anger and tenderness.

(1931: 16)

The reactions to the use of THOU from contemporary grammarians were mixed. Some eighteenth-century prescriptive grammarians supported the use of THOU, possibly because they modelled their grammars on Latin and Greek ones, which have both singular and plural pronouns, despite the fact that contemporary speakers have by then almost abandoned THOU. According to Sundby et al., three grammars claimed that second person singular pronoun should be THOU (1991: 221).<sup>8</sup> Hornsey rejects singular YOU as ungrammatical: 'Out of complaisance, the phrase *you are*, is generally used for *thou art*, when we speak to a single person; but it is certainly ungrammatical' (1793: 23-24). On the other hand, there were ten grammarians who claimed people should use *you* instead of THOU (Sundby et al. 1991: 220).<sup>9</sup> Lowth holds that THOU was used in both polite and familiar style (1762: 48). Farro described THOU as 'being accounted ungentle and rude

---

<sup>8</sup> *A real English grammar* (1764), Hornsey (1793) and Fogg (1796).

<sup>9</sup> Greenwood (1711), Loughton (1739), *An English grammar, wrote in a plain familiar manner*, ... (1750), Farro (1754), Lowth (1762), Fenning (1771), *English grammar* (1781), Brittain (1788), Fogg (1796) and Wright (1800).

to say *thou dost* this or that; savouring a little of *Quakerism*, as some *Churchmen* say.’ (1754: 186). Brittain holds that *you* is used as singular as well as plural, explaining that THOU is obsolete and emotionally charged:

By a certain refinement of latter ages, *thou* is almost disused, unless by the Quakers; and seems now reserved only to express either a sort of neglect or contempt, and such a degree of veneration, and such confidence of reciprocal esteem, as is above all suspicion of contempt: and then it becomes a mark even of secure friendship. The plural, therefore, *you (vous)* is now substituted for *thou*; and applied to second persons of the singular number also; as, *You are the man*.

(1788: 88-89)

Whether these grammarians support the use of singular *you* or not, they seem to have a rule in their mind, whether following grammatical rules (especially under the influence of Latin, which has both singular and plural pronouns) or admitting the negative meanings added to THOU.

Although THOU has disappeared from the personal pronoun paradigm of the present-day English, it still survives in certain types of texts. Wales claims that THOU is not yet ‘obsolete’ in the Present-day English:

That *thou* and its related forms (*thee, thine, thy, thyself*) and corresponding verb form (*-est* (pres.), *-edst*) actually remain in twentieth-century standard liturgical discourse, written and chanted [...] should warrant their inclusion in descriptions and paradigms of the standard English pronominal system. [...]

Certainly, [...] with the decline of the Authorised Version of the Bible in favour of modernised version like the Revised English Bible (1989), [...] *thou* is increasingly unfamiliar as a contemporary form to many people.

None the less, it is not yet obsolete. *The book of common prayer* is still used for Evensong and *thou*-forms are found in the Eucharist of the Alternative Service. They are also retained in the marriage service even in civil ceremonies [...].

(1996: 77-78)

She also points out some instances of THOU used in twentieth-century poems (Walter de la Mare 1945) and lyrics in a pop song (Diana Loss, 1980). As she suggests, THOU is still used in the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, sometimes as a parody of old style, and THOU finds its way into subcultures (such as films and comics) as a representation of ancient or medieval characters or the image of the Bible.<sup>10</sup>

Although I do not deal with dialects due to the nature of play texts I chose (1.2), it would be worth pointing out that some dialects have kept THOU even after it fell out of use in Standard English. There are studies on both older and present-day representations of dialects: Petyt 1974 on Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Nakayama 2015 on nineteenth-century novels; Trudgill (1990) and Beal (2010) on present-day dialects in the UK; Hickey (2002) on Irish and Scottish English. It should be borne in mind, however, that as Petyt points out, 'the "thou" of prayer and poetry differs from that in colloquial [dialect] speech in phonetics, grammar, and semantics' (1974: 291), in other words, findings in dialect studies do not necessarily correspond with findings in other genres such as dramas and poetry.

With regards to the disappearance of *ye*, the oblique form *you* began to be used as a nominative form from the fourteenth century, mainly in post-verb position (Lass 1999: 153) and its use was in decline in the second half of the sixteenth century (Busse 2002: 251). By the eighteenth century, *you* was the norm regardless of the case, with *ye* relegated

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, a website called TV tropes (<http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/YeOldeButcheredeEnglishe>) lists numerous books, comic books and other subculture writings which use THOU. Another instance of THOU in the twenty-first century I found is an instruction on a body scrub, 'How do I scrub *thee*?', which is a parody of Elizabeth Barret Browning's Sonnet 43 'How Do I Love Thee?' in *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1850).

to special registers (Lass 1999: 154). Phillips points out that *ye* was ‘a rare poetic and archaic form’ in Jane Austen’s novels, such as in apostrophe (1970: 167). In Present-day English, *ye* as nominative plural is considered archaic and regional, such as in Irish English (OED, *ye*, *pron. and n.*; Hickey 2002).

Ulrich Busse introduces three possible reasons of the replacement of *ye* with *you*: ‘a phonological and a syntactic one [explanation], or rather a combination of the two, i.e. a confusion of weak forms in unstressed contexts and a cross-over analogy to the second person singular pronouns *thou* and *thee*’ (2002: 252) and spelling, ‘as both *thou* and *you* and *thee* and *ye* could be written with <y>’ (2002: 253; Lass 1999: 154). However, he also refers to Lutz’s study, who rejects cross-over analogy of *you* and *thou* as a decisive factor of the change from *ye* to *you* and holds that the both internal and external factors could attribute the change, such as morphologically and phonetically similar French pronoun *vous* and the personalisation of impersonal constructions (Busse 2002: 254).

To sum up, both THOU and *ye* forms disappeared from the paradigm of pronouns in standard Present-day English, as summarised in Table 4:

Table 4: Prototypical pronoun paradigm in the twentieth century (standard English) (adapted from Wales 1996: 13)

	Personal pronouns		Possessive pronouns	
	subjective case	objective case	determiner function	nominal function
sg.	<i>you</i>		<i>your</i>	
pl.				

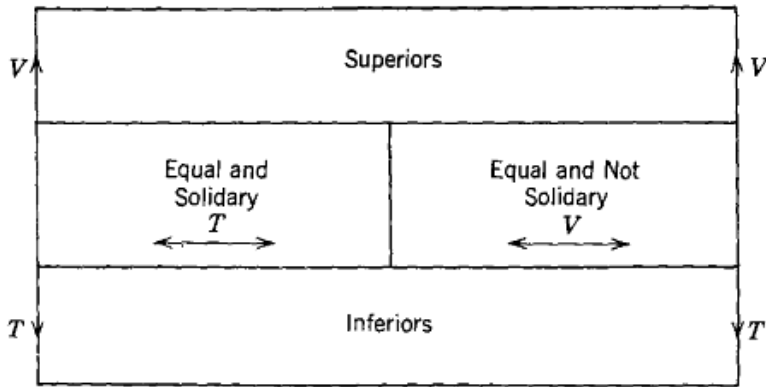
In the following sections, I will look at some major theories used to analyse the choice of second person pronouns: power and solidarity, politeness and markedness.



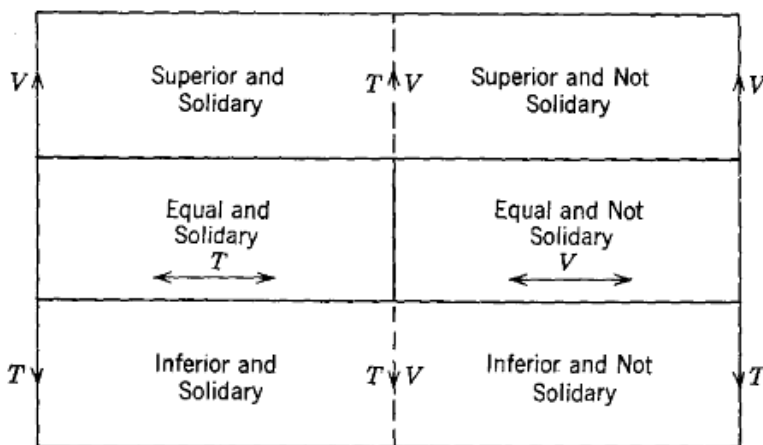
## **2.2. Power and solidarity**

The classic work in the field of the studies of *thou* and *you* is Roger Brown and Gilman (1960). Their theory is based on the notion of 'power' and 'solidarity'. They introduce the symbols T and V, named after French *tu* and *vous*, 'as generic designators for a familiar and a polite pronoun in any language' (1960: 254). The notion of power is a relationship between at least two persons and can be based on 'physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family' (1960: 255). The notion of solidarity is 'a symmetrical relationship between equals and the norm form is T' (1960: 258). When solidarity is in equilibrium, those who have more power give T and receive V and vice versa. When solidarity is in conflict, there is a possibility that people use T or V in any power relationships.

Figure 5: The two-dimensional semantic (a) in equilibrium and (b) under tension. (Brown and Gilman 1960: 259)



(a)



(b)

This approach, however, has received much criticism. Lass claims that

English never developed a rigid, hierarchical opposition. What evolved was loose, unstable and pragmatically more subtle, with some T/V properties and other quite different ones.

(1999: 149)

and proposes more subtle reading of each context. Ulrich Busse states that Roger Brown and Gilman's approach

has been criticised as being too rigid and too deterministic, as it does not readily lend itself to account for variation as a rule rather than an exception, although – from the present-day point of view – the intricate nature of pronoun variation makes it difficult to include it in any theoretical concept.

(2002: 21-22)

The approach of power and solidarity is too rigid to apply to an eighteenth-century corpus, in which occurrences of THOU are very scarce and THOU is not used consistently.

### **2.3. Politeness theory**

The approach following power and solidarity is politeness theory, which developed significantly after 1970s in the field of pragmatics. Politeness is ‘a strategy (or series of strategies) employed by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations’ (Thomas 1995: 158). One of the most influential works on politeness is Penelope Brown and Levinson (1987). Their theory is based on the concept of ‘face’, which was originally proposed by Goffman (1967). Face is ‘the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61), and has two related aspects: negative and positive, described as follows:

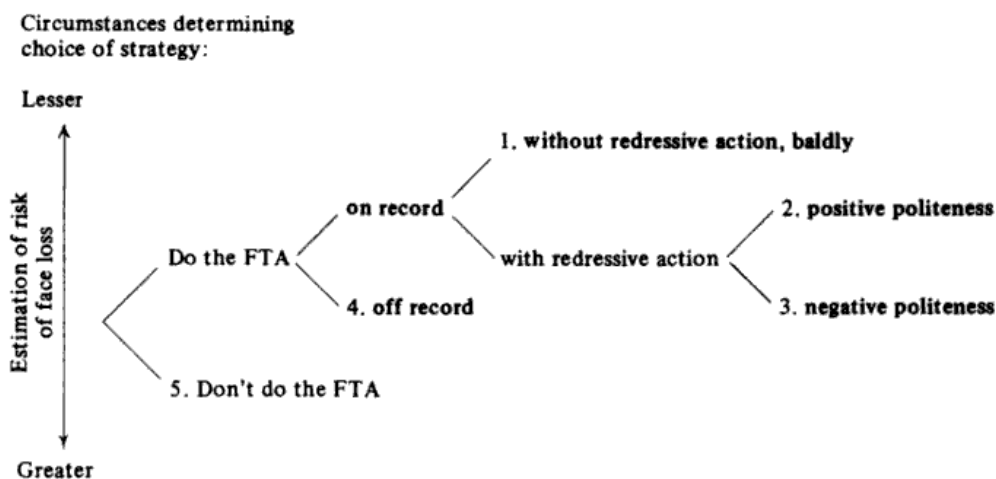
- (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition
- (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or ‘personality’ (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 61)

There are two types of politeness corresponding to these two faces, which are well defined by Kopytko (1995). Positive politeness is ‘oriented towards the addressee’s positive face, i.e. his positive self-image or personality, which imposes on S[subject] (although

informally) the requirement of satisfying H[earer]’s positive self-image, at least to some degree’ (Kopykto 1995: 516-517) and negative politeness is ‘oriented towards (partially) satisfying H[earer]’s negative face, that is his/her preference for freedom of action and self-determination and reluctance to impose’ (Kopykto 1995: 524). Brown and Levinson hold that some acts of rational human beings intrinsically threaten the hearer’s or the speaker’s face, and these are called ‘face-threatening acts’ (FTAs). For example, orders and requests threaten the hearer’s face because they ‘predicate some future act A of H[earer], and in so doing put some pressure on H[earer] to do (or refrain from doing) the act A’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 65). When performing an FTA, four types of strategies are available to minimize the threat: (1) doing the FTA without redress; (2) doing the FTA on record using positive politeness strategies (e.g. using in-group identity markers); (3) doing the FTA on record using negative politeness strategies (e.g. hedge, deference); (4) doing the FTA off record (e.g. hinting, metaphor), as shown in Figure 6:

Figure 6: Strategies of doing an FTA. (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60)



Roger Brown and Gilman (1989) adapted Penelope Brown and Levinson (1987)’s politeness strategies to analyse FTAs including the use of second person pronouns in

*Hamlet, King Lear, Macbeth and Othello*. They chose Shakespeare's four major tragedies for the following reasons: '(1) dramatic texts provide the best information on colloquial speech of the period; (2) the psychological soliloquies in the tragedies provide the access to inner life that is necessary for a proper test of politeness theory; and (3) the tragedies represent the full range of society in a period of high relevance to politeness theory' (1989: 159). Their study focuses especially on three parameters employed by Penelope Brown and Levinson, power (P), distance (D) and ranked extremity (R):

**Power:** an asymmetric social dimension of relative power

**Distance:** a symmetric social dimension of similarity/difference within which S[peaker] and H[earer] stand for the purpose of this act [FTA]

**Ranked extremity:** a culturally and situationally defined ranking of impositions by the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an agent wants of self-determination or of approval (his negative- and positive-face wants)

(Brown and Levinson 1987: 77)

Roger Brown and Gilman reveal that power and ranked extremity are in proportion to politeness while distance does not necessarily affect politeness. With regard to second person pronouns, they state that the choice of pronouns is mainly regulated by social status (status rule) but also influenced by strong emotion (expressive rule).

The problem of politeness theory is that not all occurrences and switches of THOU and YOU are related to FTAs nor can all instances be explained in terms of politeness, as expressed by Walker (2007: 45-46). Brown and Gilman limit their study to FTAs 'since the occasion for politeness (in the Brown/Levinson theory) is always and only a face-threatening act' (1989: 173), but a switch of personal pronouns does occur where there is no apparent FTA, as illustrated below (for further study of this passage see 3.3.4):

*[Witmore is surprised that his poet friend Luckless wrote a play.]*

LUCKLESS: What is it? — Oh! one of my Play-Bills.

WITMORE: One of thy Play-Bills!

LUCKLESS: Even so, Sir! — I have taken the Advice you gave me this Morning. [...]

WITMORE: Well — I wish you Success.

(Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce* 2.9, underline mine)

## 2.4. Markedness

Another concept often employed in the study of second person pronouns is (un)markedness. This concept was first introduced by Quirk: ‘*thou* and *you* were in contrast, not as singular and plural, but as marked and unmarked member respectively of an opposition with reference to the singular’ (1964: 31). Bruti, who outlines the use of THOU in the Falstaff plays, argues the notion of ‘(un)markedness’ based on Greenberg (1966)’s criteria for the assessment of markedness values:

- 1) Universal implication law: “if a language has the item A, then it necessarily has also B, but not vice versa. A is the marked element, B the unmarked one.”
- 2) Zero expression: the unmarked term usually shows zero inflection in comparison with the marked element.
- 3) Neutralisation/*par excellence* expression: the unmarked choice usually stands for the generic category or the specific opposite item of the marked category.
- 4) Syncretism: subdistinctions within the unmarked category are syncretised, that is, lost or not developed, in the marked category.
- 5) Distribution: the unmarked option is supposed to have a wider distribution than the marked one.

(Bruti 2000: 30)

She integrates two axes determining the selection according to the criteria above: the axis of social distance and the axis of emotional attitude, as shown in the figures below (2000: 35):

Figure 7: The axis of social distance. (Bruti 2000: 35)

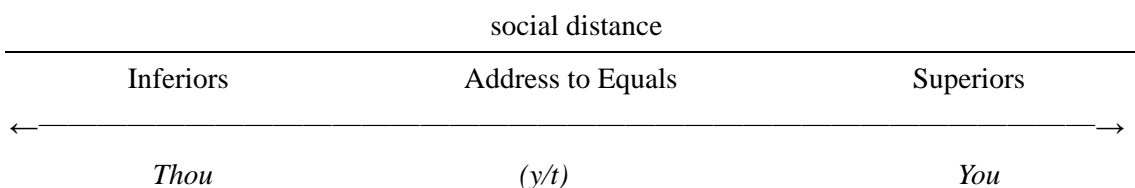
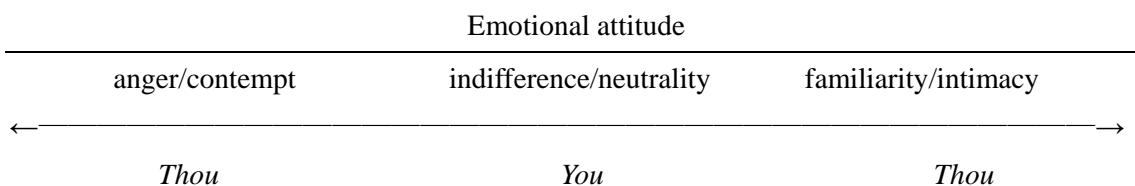


Figure 8: The axis of emotional attitude. (Bruti 2000: 35)



She argues that there is a markedness reversal, in other words, ‘a marked choice on one axis may be exactly the opposite on the other. For this reason evaluation of markedness values must take into account both parameters’ (2000: 36).

Stein (2003) also employs markedness theory in investigating second person pronouns in *As You Like It* and *King Lear*. He describes markedness as ‘an element of variation superimposed on and constrained by these norms [= power and solidarity] in a complex way’ (2003: 252). He classifies the social relationships such as ‘between father and daughter or son’ and ‘among sovereigns’, and shows that although there is an unmarked form in each relationship, there is room to choose a pronoun to fit to their aims.

The problem with this approach is that it could be too vague as an explanation. Mazzon claims that ‘unmarkedness of some uses does not seem to be based on firmly-grounded theoretical premises, given the fact that these terms cannot be taken to have any absolute value when applied to such studies’ (2003: 226). Burnley points out that

[t]oo often this [=markedness] tends to operate as a device to avoid engaging with the contexts which determine the marked form. Since the marked form changes according to

context and history, the label “marked” is frequently unrevealing.

(2003: 41)

Walker declines to label THOU simply as ‘marked’ and proposes to

examine usage irrespective of whether it might be labelled marked or unmarked, and study how pronouns were actually used in particular dialogues by one person/character to another, and then consider trends on the basis of this analysis.

(2007: 48)

Stein makes a refutation against this comment:

[i]t is hoped that the theoretical problems pointed out by Mazzon are being overcome by implementing a more dynamic approach of markedness of the type set forth by Garcia (1994). This approach allows for a relative and flexible definition of the basis of markedness, i.e. a local definition of the default pronoun relative to the respective state of the relationship within any dyad, which is more congenial to the local movements in the state of the relationship between any two persons than an exclusively static notion based on type relationships only, such as husband - wife, or king - subordinate.

(2003: 254-255)

## **2.5. Studies on Shakespeare’s works**

Numerous studies have been done on Shakespeare’s use of THOU and YOU, some of which were mentioned in the sections above. Here I introduce two large-scale studies which deal with all of his plays.

### **2.5.1. Ulrich Busse (2002)**

Ulrich Busse did a computer-based study using all of Shakespeare’s works, both plays and poems as his corpus. He employed three linguistic approaches: corpus linguistics, socio-historical linguistics and historical pragmatics (2002: 8). He did not single out



plural YOU manually but calculated the proportion of plural YOU in the number of whole *you* and its variants by using a control corpus because the latter was deemed too time-consuming and unwieldy:<sup>11</sup>

a control corpus with nine plays from different genres and different dates of composition has been set up, which investigates the figures for singular *you* in relation to *thou* and *thee* and also the ratio between singular and plural *you*.

(2002: 41)

Then, he investigates the sonnets, which are solely written in verse, and found that unlike in plays, THOU is the norm or unmarked form in the sonnets and markedness plays an important role in synchronic level as well as in progression of change. He concludes that:

Within the genre of poetry a cline from more overtly public, colloquial “written orality”—preferring *you*— to more private, artistic, conventionalised and formal “truly written” kind of writing –preferring *thou*—could be shown to exist.

(2002: 99)

He found the following two things: firstly, he revealed that THOU appears more frequently in verse and YOU in prose regardless of genres. He claims that ‘[t]he hypothesis that there exists a correlation between *you* or *thou* as the statistically more or less probable form in either of the media has been confirmed’ (2002: 75). Secondly, he studied address terms in relation to second person pronouns and showed that some address terms tend to occur with THOU and others with YOU.

---

<sup>11</sup> Ulrich Busse mentions Stein’s comment on counting pronouns manually: ‘It is clear that counting frequencies of all occurrences of the two pronouns even only for selected dyads in two plays is a colossal, menial and lowly task’ (2003: 254).

### 2.5.2. Freedman (2007)

Freedman conducted a qualitative and detailed study on the use of THOU and YOU in each Shakespearean play. She uses markedness theory as described above, rejecting the notion of power and solidarity (2007: 3-4). She argues the reason for the disappearance of THOU as follows:

the very factors in 'thou' use which led to its disappearance were those that made it so effective and dramatic a mode of address around 1600, before it started to disappear: while V gained ground as the 'safe' pronoun, neutral, standard, appropriate both for public and private use, T was, by contrast, 'risky' both in its ability to subvert the social order and its power to raise the emotional temperature.

(2007: 15)

She also employs an approach with 'a director's eye', in other words, 'looking for readings that are dramatically satisfying and theatrically convincing and consistent with the emerging patterns of T/V use' (2007: 20).

She found that the emergence of THOU and YOU is related to genre and the relatively high frequency of THOU in (especially earlier) history plays is probably due to conscious archaism (2007: 259). However, she also claims that genre is not the only factor to determine the use of pronouns, and similar speeches in different genres such as dialogues between lovers are not essentially different. She concludes that:

[w]hat we see, at any particular moment in any play, is a chosen use, a use that is an essential note in the voice of the speaker. It is a use motivated partly by genre, but also by setting, situation, character, relationship, mood, tenor and rhetoric.

(2007: 259)

In her Appendix she mentions the use of THOU and YOU in the sonnets. She rejects the claim that Shakespeare differentiated the use of second person pronouns in his plays

and in sonnets claiming:

it cannot have been the case that audiences were expected to learn a special code for T/V use in the theatre, and though readers of sonnets would have been a smaller and more literary-minded group, the fact that Shakespeare's usage in the sonnets is consistent with that in his plays makes it most unlikely that some 'special' code is being used here.

(2007: 263)

She proposes to employ the theory of markedness to pronouns in the sonnets as well as in his plays.

One possible shortcoming of her study is it is almost solely qualitative. Because she does not try to synthesize the results retrieved from each play, it is hard to see the overall tendency or characteristics specific to certain groups or genres.

## **2.6. Studies including eighteenth-century dramas**

As far as I know, studies focussing on eighteenth-century dramas are few, but there are three large-scale studies including eighteenth-century dramas in their corpora.<sup>12</sup> However, this does not mean that there is no phenomenon to study in the century, as I will reveal in the following chapters. In this section I will give a close look at individual works, specially paying attention to the results of eighteenth-century dramas.

### **2.6.1. Mitchell (1971)**

Mitchell (1971) studies sixty-two representative dramas of five genres (tragedies,

---

<sup>12</sup> There is another large-scale study on the second person pronoun of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dramas, Bock's 'Der Stilistische Gebrauch des Englischen Personalpronomens der 2. Person im Volkstümlichen Dialog der Älteren Englischen Komödie' (1938), of which I was not able to obtain a copy.

comedies, farce, heroic drama and pantomime) by twenty-nine playwrights published in the period 1580-1780. In chronological analysis, she found that the mid-sixteenth century is the time when the decline of THOU became significant. She also reveals that 'between 1730-1780 *th[ou]* forms dropped to less than 10% of the total occurrences of the pronoun of address' (1971: 99). As for the decline of each form of THOU, she revealed that some forms survived longer than others: *thyself* and *thine* disappeared most quickly in the course of the seventeenth century; *thou* was almost gone by the middle of the eighteenth century; *thy* and *thee* faltered in the seventeenth century but still lingered on into the eighteenth century; *ye* kept appearing in her whole corpus, especially in the frozen expressions *look ye* and *hark ye* (1971: 100).

Of the drama types she found that tragedies contained two and a half times as many THOU as comedies did (35%; 14%) (1971: 100). The percentage of THOU in tragedies is conspicuous considering that THOU is thought to have been close to extinction in the eighteenth century. This finding is in accord with the results of studies on Shakespearean works (e.g. Freedman (2007: 18-19)). Mitchell partially attributes the reason for the high frequency in tragedies to the use of apostrophe, in which emotional speeches often occur (1971: 101) (cf. Walker 2007).

Analysis of writers reveals that while the age at which a writer wrote the play and their birthdates do not seem to affect their use of second person pronouns, their birthplace and dialect can have influence on it. Although she could not find relevant data for writers from Scotland, where THOU form prevailed,<sup>13</sup> dramas by Irish writers within her corpus, i.e. Boyle, Goldsmith, Farquhar, Sheridan, Southerne and Steele, contain 90% or more

---

<sup>13</sup> See Walker (2007) for the influence of dialects on the use of pronouns in Early Modern English.

ratio of YOU forms (1971: 64).

One possible problem with her study is that she does not give qualitative analysis. She only deals with the data retrieved from the electronic search and does not look into contexts or parameters of characters such as age. Also, she fails to give the full explanation of how and why the use of THOU has declined. There is much space to study the characteristics of speakers, such as gender and idiolect to give more detailed view of the use of the second person pronouns. Because her study was done before markedness and politeness theory appeared, it would be worthwhile to employ such theories to a large-scale study like hers.

Another big problem with her study is that she includes *ye* in THOU forms. She put them in the same category under the name of ‘old forms’ (1971: 11), but THOU and *ye* declined in a different way in British Isles (cf. 2.1).

### **2.6.2. Walker (2007)**

Walker (2007) carried out qualitative micro-analysis on trial proceedings, witness depositions and drama comedies mostly taken from *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760 (CED)*.<sup>14</sup> Although her main focus is on ‘real’ speech, i.e. trials and depositions, she gives a detailed analysis on ‘constructed’ speeches in comedies for comparative purposes. She uses the sex, age and rank of the speaker and addressee as extra-linguistic factors and explains minutely how she determines these factors in her corpus. The results show that THOU declines in the course of the period in all of the three genres.

Among the three parameters sex and rank play an important role, but age has a visible effect only in comedies. As predicted from other sociolinguistic works (e.g.

---

<sup>14</sup> See Kytö and Walker (2006) for more detailed information about CED.

Trudgill (1995)), women tend to use less THOU, i.e. are less likely to use the less prestigious and less normal form than men do, and people of higher rank tend to receive more YOU and give more THOU. The study of depositions reveals that dialects have much to do with the decline or preservation of THOU; in the regions where THOU is still considered to be used today, viz. the North, West, and South-west (see Figure 1), THOU did not show significant decline.

She gives a close look to factors which may influence the choice of pronouns in comedies: asides and apostrophes and disguise. She claims that *thou* is more frequently used in apostrophe and asides, where heightened emotion is common. When characters disguise and assume sex, age and/or rank, sex and rank have more influence on the use of *thou/you* than the assumed age does. As for direct address, emotion can induce the use of *thou*.

After studying the three genres, she studies the influence of linguistic factors on the usage of THOU and YOU in the three genres, but none of the linguistic factors, i.e. kinds of verbs and the forms of pronouns seems to have much impact on usage (cf. Mitchell (1971)).

Although Walker has interesting things to say about drama, her primary focus is trials and depositions and she includes only five comedies written in the eighteenth century (Walker 2007: 173).<sup>15</sup> However, as I reveal later in this thesis, there are differences between plays written in the eighteenth century and larger-scale studies on eighteenth-century plays are needed.

---

<sup>15</sup> The works studied are: George Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707), Thomas Killigrew's *Chit-Chat* (1719), Richard Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1723), James Miller's *The Mother-in-Law* (1734) and David Garrick's *The Male-Coquette* (1757).

### 2.6.3. Kerridge (2014)

Kerridge (2014) studies motivations of shifts between THOU and YOU used with singular reference, using a pragmaphilological model (Jacob and Jucker 1995). She utilises the entire CED as her corpus, which includes six genres: trial proceedings, witness depositions, drama comedy, didactic works, language teaching handbooks and miscellaneous texts.<sup>16</sup> Unlike Walker (2007), she studies the entire play texts by reading original texts in EEBO whenever possible so that she can analyse the context and relationships between characters (2014: 71). Since her research is a qualitative study based on a pragmaphilological model (Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 11), she does not give quantitative data for each pronoun, except the percentage of address terms and epithets co-occurring THOU and YOU (Kerridge 2014: 70).

Her research is inductive rather than deductive in the point that she does not assume or hypothesise any factors which encourage pronoun shift but ‘find all examples of *thou* usage in my corpus and then to identify any common features in their context’ (2014: 69). She establishes the unmarked form of pronoun of each speaker by close reading, not presupposing it by their rank (2014: 334), then analyses the unmarked use of second person pronouns and marked usage / markedness reversal. She also studies address terms and epithets co-occurring with THOU or YOU.<sup>17</sup> She concludes that THOU was used to

---

<sup>16</sup> Miscellaneous texts are ‘almost all fictional dialogues which resemble Didactic Works, but seem to be intended as entertainment or complaint [...] rather than being informative/instructional’ (Kytö and Walker 2006: 24). See 2.6.2 and Kytö and Walker (2006) for more information about CED.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Epithets’ used in Kerridge’s study refer to evaluative address terms and modified address terms, i.e. ‘the evaluative categories of endearments and insults’ (Kerridge 2014: 77) and ‘can occur as an apostrophe (*Be quiet, wretch!*), appositive to a pronoun (*you wretch*) or as a predicate complement (*you are a wretch*)’ (Chapman 2008:3).

connote affect throughout her 200-year data and that switching between THOU and YOU functions as a pragmatic marker.

One problem to point out about her study is that although her corpus includes six genres, she does not make comparisons between genres. This might be because her aim is to discover a diachronic change of THOU in Early Modern English in general (2014: 347), rather than finding out the differences between genres. This seems to lead her to a vague conclusion that '*thou* connotes affect throughout the period studied' (ibid.). Another problem is she does not give any figures to her data. Although she conducts diachronic analyses based on her data about unmarked pronouns and concludes THOU has declined over time, she shows the percentage of THOU and YOU co-occurring with address terms and epithets only. It seems more suitable to utilise statistical data (e.g. Walker 2007) to show the decline of THOU through time, rather than showing the decrease in the percentage of address terms and epithets co-occurring with THOU.

## **2.7. Summary**

My review of works on second person pronouns has revealed that many studies have been done on the subject. There are three theoretical approaches often employed in such studies: power and solidarity, politeness and markedness. However, many of the studies deal with Shakespeare and not much attention has been paid to eighteenth-century comedies. From their findings it would be possible to draw a tentative conclusion; *thou* is not a normal or 'unmarked' option in the eighteenth century and it is used to show emotion or superiority of the speaker to the hearer.



### 3. Pilot study

#### 3.1. Introduction

In order to begin investigating the use of THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century British dramas, I conducted a pilot study on a small-sized sample corpus, testing methodologies used by previous studies.<sup>18</sup> Then, I refined my research questions in response to the findings in the pilot study.

I chose Henry Fielding, as a main playwright for this study. He was chosen because he wrote various genres (comedies, farces, and (mock-) tragedies) over a short period of time (1728-1737), which means chronological changes can be disregarded. The dramas included in this pilot study are as follows:

Henry Fielding (1707-1754)

**<(Mock-)Tragedies>**

*The Covent-Garden Tragedy* (1732) (hereafter *Covent*)

*The Tragedy of Tragedies; or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great* (1737)  
(hereafter *TT*)

**<Farce>**

*The Author's Farce* (1734) (hereafter *AF*)

**<Comedy>**

*The Modern Husband* (1732) (hereafter *Modern*)

John Gay (1685-1732)

*The Beggar's Opera* (1728) (hereafter *Beggar*)

Steele, Richard (1672-1729)

*The Conscious Lovers* (1723) (hereafter *Conscious*)

---

<sup>18</sup> Some parts of this pilot study were published as Nonomiya (2013).

I chose three different genres, i.e. (mock-)tragedy, farce and comedy so that I could compare the influence of genres on the use of second person singular pronouns. Two plays from different playwrights, *Beggar* and *Conscious*, are also studied for comparison. *Beggar* was chosen to make a comparison with *Covent* because both of them contain many lower-class characters such as prostitutes. *Conscious* was chosen because its setting and characters are close to *Modern*.

As in the main study (described in Chapter 1), all of the texts were retrieved from Literature Online. I searched for the pronouns electronically using WordSmith, then read through the plays and excluded all instances of plural *you*, *your* and *yours* manually. Prologues, epilogues and songs are excluded from the corpus since the focus of this pilot study is the dialogues.

### 3.2. Macro-analysis

#### 3.2.1. Overall figures

The percentage of THOU in the whole corpus is considerably low (26%) (Table 5):

Table 5: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in each play.

	THOU	YOU
<i>Covent</i> (1732)	24.2 (75%)	7.9
<i>Modern</i> (1732)	2.1 (5%)	36.9
<i>AF</i> (1734)	2.9 (8%)	33.8
<i>TT</i> (1736)	15.3 (55%)	12.4
<i>Conscious</i> (1722)	1.4 (4%)	33.7
<i>Beggar</i> (1728)	5.0 (18%)	22.9
TOTAL	50.8 (26%)	147.6

When I look at the difference between plays, there are two plays containing exceptionally high frequency of THOU; *Covent* (75%) and *TT* (55%). This striking difference seems to

be due to the difference of the genre; *Covent* and *TT* are a (mock-)tragedy while the other plays are comedies and farces. This finding is in accord with previous studies, Mitchell (1971) and Freedman (2007) (see also 4.2).

Compared with the difference in genres, the differences of frequency between authors in the same genre are relatively small; the percentage of THOU in Fielding's comedy and farce, i.e. *Modern* and *AF* (5% and 8%), is closer to Steele's *Conscious* (4%) and Gay's *Beggar* (18%) than that in his tragedies (75% and 55%). The slightly high number in *Beggar* may be because of characters who frequently use THOU, possibly for characterisation.<sup>19</sup> I will discuss this point in the micro-analysis (3.3.5). Therefore, I conclude that genre, not idiolect, determines the use of THOU and it would be useful to try to see the characteristics of each genre, rather than sticking to one author's variations.

---

<sup>19</sup> Walker points out that 'dramatists might exploit pronoun usage as a means of characterisation' (2007: 2).

### 3.2.2. Gender

The overall average of the per cent of THOU in all text in Table 6 shows that gender has an influence on the use of THOU and YOU.

Table 6: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the gender of characters.

		M→M <sup>20</sup>		M→F		F→M		F→F	
<i>Covent</i> (1732)	THOU	2.0	(91%)	4.7	(70%)	13.8	(82%)	1.6	(38%)
	YOU	0.2		2.0		3.0		2.6	
<i>Modern</i> (1732)	THOU	0.8	(9%)	0.7	(5%)	0.7	(7%)	0	(0%)
	YOU	9.1		13.4		10.3		3.3	
<i>AF</i> (1734)	THOU	1.4	(8%)	0.1	(1%)	0.7	(10%)	0	(0%)
	YOU	16.9		7.6		6.8		2.9	
<i>TT</i> (1737)	THOU	7.8	(75%)	4.8	(57%)	2.5	(42%)	0.6	(36%)
	YOU	2.6		3.6		3.5		1.1	
<i>Conscious</i> (1722)	THOU	0.7	(3%)	0.2	(3%)	0.2	(3%)	0.2	(6%)
	YOU	21.2		5.0		6.0		4.3	
<i>Beggar</i> (1728)	THOU	0.3	(7%)	1.3	(14%)	2.8	(34%)	0.6	(12%)
	YOU	4.0		8.4		5.5		4.1	
Average	THOU	32%		25%		30%		15%	

\*The per cent shows the proportion of THOU to YOU in the same category.

Both male and female characters employ YOU more frequently than THOU except in *Covent* and *TT*. This trend does not seem to be affected by the gender of the addressee. Walker's hypothesis that men give more THOU to women, who have less power than men (2007: 180), is not borne out by my data except in *Covent* and *TT*. With regards to the two plays, female characters seem to use THOU less frequently than men do, especially

<sup>20</sup> M→M represents 'male speaker to male hearer', M→F represents 'male speaker to female hearer', F→M represents 'female speaker to male hearer' and F→F represents 'female speaker to female hearer'.

when they talk to another woman.<sup>21</sup> One reason for the high frequency of YOU among women is due to the power relationships. While men with superior power generally employ THOU to those who have less power, women sometimes use YOU to their inferiors of both genders, from a bawd to prostitutes, for example. This is also applicable to the number in F→M categories. For further discussion of the use of YOU and THOU in the tragedies see 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. There is no significant difference in M→F category between comedies and tragedies.

With regards to F→M categories, 34% in *Beggar* is outstanding among comedies/farces. The appearance of THOU in *Beggar* is highly influenced by the idiolect of the main characters, as I will show in 3.3.5.

The percentage of THOU differs from play to play and is difficult to generalise, and so needs micro-pragmatic analysis. *Modern*, *AF*, and to some extent *Conscious* show similar proportions of THOU in all of the four categories of sex relationships. This may be because they are in the same genre (comedy) and consequently have similar sets of characters and relationships.

---

<sup>21</sup> Freedman suggests that male playwrights may not know the usage of pronouns between women and female characters in their play may use THOU less frequently than contemporary women actually used (2007: 4).

### 3.2.3. Class

In this section I will look at the relationship between the interlocutors' class and the choice of THOU and YOU:

Table 7: The frequency of THOU to YOU per 1,000 words and the class of the speaker.

		Lower	Middle	Upper-middle	Upper
<i>Covent</i> (1732)	THOU	17.4 (75%)	2.8 (67%)	-	-
	YOU	5.7	1.4	-	-
<i>Modern</i> (1732)	THOU	0 (0%)	-	1.9 (7%)	0.7 (7%)
	YOU	1.7	-	25.6	9.3
<i>AF</i> (1734)	THOU	0.6 (3%)	1.0 (8%)	-	-
	YOU	15.8	11.0	-	-
<i>TT</i> (1736)	THOU	0 (0%)	2.9 (7%)	-	6.5 (12%)
	YOU	0.5	36.0	-	47.0
<i>Conscious</i> (1722)	THOU	0.2 (2%)	0.3 (3%)	0 (0%)	0.7 (6%)
	YOU	11.7	11.0	2.7	11.2
<i>Beggar</i> (1728)	THOU	5.0 (18%)	-	-	-
	YOU	22.9	-	-	-

Table 7 shows that there is a lot of variation among plays. Among the four classes, the upper class shows a higher percentage of THOU than the other classes in *TT* and *Conscious*. This is in accord with the hypothesis that social superiors give THOU and receive YOU (Brown and Gilman 1960). Another category which tends to have a higher percentage of THOU than others is the middle class. Two reasons can be hypothesised why middle-class characters use THOU more often than others. One is, as same with the upper-class characters, that they use THOU to their social inferiors, i.e. the lower-class characters. The other hypothesis is the lower the class of characters is, they tend to exchange THOU with their equals (Walker 2007). In order to find out which hypothesis is correct, I will look at whom the middle class characters address with THOU, as shown in Table 8:

Table 8: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words and the hearer's class in the speeches of the middle-class characters.

		Lower	Middle	Upper-middle	Upper
<i>Covent</i> (1732)	THOU	2.8 (67%)	-	-	-
	YOU	1.4	-	-	-
<i>Modern</i> (1732)	THOU	-	-	-	-
	YOU	-	-	-	-
<i>AF</i> (1734)	THOU	0.5 (6%)	0 (0%)		
	YOU	8.1	0.7		
<i>TT</i> (1736)	THOU	-	1.2 (38%)	-	1.7 (39%)
	YOU	-	2.0	-	2.7
<i>Conscious</i> (1722)	THOU	0 (0%)	0.3 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	YOU	1.3	7.2	0.2	2.2
<i>Beggar</i> (1728)	THOU	-	-	-	-
	YOU	-	-	-	-

Again, the table indicates a great variation among each play. In *Covent* the middle-class characters use THOU more often than YOU to their inferiors, i.e. the lower class. In contrast, the middle class use THOU to their equals and the upper class in *TT*, although they employ YOU more frequently to the both classes. Considering the power difference (all of the upper-class characters are royalty and the middle class characters are their courtiers), it seems rather unusual to address them with THOU. One possible explanation for this is the authors chose to use THOU as a prototypical feature of tragedies – he used THOU randomly and excessively to make his mock-tragedy look like a real tragedy. I will discuss this kind of overuse of THOU further in Chapter 6.

Although class does not show any clear patterns, I decided to include it in the main corpus. This is because there seems to be some class-based usage in individual plays, if not in overall trend. I need to conduct a larger-scale study to see if such patterns exist widely in other works or it is just a personal preference / idiolect. Additionally, the works

in this corpus do not have many instances of conversations between characters of different classes. For these reasons, I will try a larger-scale study in the hope of finding some patterns in the usage.

#### **3.2.4. Summary of macro-analysis**

Apart from the two (mock-)tragedies, THOU in eighteenth-century dramas seem to be an option falling out of use compared to the data in the previous centuries (Chapter 2). Considering this decrease, a question arises here; what kind of use of THOU lingered or disappeared in the course of the time? I decided to focus on two factors: genre and gender. Genre is apparently a factor which has strong influence on the use of THOU and YOU, as shown in Table 5. The gender seems to have influence to on the use of THOU and YOU to some extent, that the female characters use YOU more often than the male characters. However, there is a lot of variation and women use THOU more often than men in the tragedies. With regards to class of the interlocutors, again there is a lot of variation. Some plays seem to follow the pattern of the use of THOU and YOU verified in previous studies (e.g. social superiors receive YOU and give THOU), but more data are needed to draw a conclusion. Therefore, a larger-scale study is needed to verify these points.

### **3.3. Micro-analysis**

As we have seen above, there is a great variation among each work, but macro-analysis could not explain the reasons or factors of the variation. In this section, I provide a close look at characteristic uses of THOU and YOU in each play in order to find out what makes these variations. The use of personal pronouns can be influenced not only by genre and gender, as we have seen in the previous section, but also by speaker's emotion. In this



pilot study, the motivation of using thou can be roughly classified into two categories: heightened emotion and style. When THOU is the unmarked form, the use of YOU can deliver special meaning, as THOU in plays whose unmarked form is YOU.

I deal with the two tragedies first, then Fielding's comedy and farce, and finally *Beggar* as a comparison. I will analyse *Conscious* later in Chapter 4 onwards, for this play is also included in the corpus of my main study.

### **3.3.1. *The Covent-Garden Tragedy* (1732)**

*Covent* is a satirical piece by Henry Fielding, written in the style of tragedy, in blank verse and lofty language.<sup>22</sup> The play is set in a brothel and the main characters are prostitutes and their customers. A young prostitute Kissinda and her customer Lovegirlo are seriously in love while another prostitute Stormandra, who also loves Lovegirlo, asks her devoted customer Bilkum to kill him. As shown in his anonymous 'criticism' on *Covent*, the author fully understood what tragedy was and deliberately deviated from the tradition of tragedy to mock his own contemporary tragedies. Fielding himself defines a tragedy in his anonymous criticism of *Covent*, attached before the main text:

“a Tragedy is Thing of five Acts, written Dialogue-wise, consisting of several fine Similies [sic], Metaphors, and Moral Phrases, with here and there a Speech upon Liberty. That must contain an Action, Characters, Sentiments, Diction, and a Moral.”  
Whatever falls short of any of these, is by no means worthy of the Name of a Tragedy.  
(‘A Criticism on the *Covent-Garden Tragedy*, originally intended for, the *Grub-street Journal*’, in *Covent* p.5)

Then, he goes on to criticise the faults of *Covent*, including the ‘the Meanness of the

---

<sup>22</sup> ‘In his second and last burlesque, *The Covent-Garden Tragedy*, he [Fielding] ridiculed the debased blank verse of pseudo-classical tragedy’ (Taylor and Trussler 1969: 211).

Diction, which is some degrees lower than I have seen in any Modern Tragedy' ('Criticism', p. 9). His criticism shows the author's aim to make readers compare *Covent* with other contemporary tragedies and think critically about both of them. Considering these factors, the language of *Covent* should be treated as a (exaggerated) stereotype of tragic language and it might be more or less different from the language used in (genuine) tragedies.<sup>23</sup>

In *Covent*, in which THOU is the unmarked or the more common form, whereas YOU

---

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Adair (2016) discusses that Jonathan Swift also parodied the language of poetry by combining mundane objects with THOU or ye:

In *On Poetry: A Rapsody*, [...] an additional stratum of satire accompanies these poetic stylistics.

Observe with what majestick Port  
This *Atlas* stands to prop the Court:  
[...]  
Thou great Vicegerent of the King,  
Thy Praises ev'ry Muse shall sing. (ll. 443-8)

The pious address to Atlas and the artificiality of the pronominal choices empty the verse of any praise, and signal its ironic intent. A similar device is seen in *An Elegy on Mr. Partridge*: 'Thou, high-exalted in thy Sphere, / May'st follow still thy Calling there' (ll. 73-4). Here, the satire is measured by the distance between the humble cobbler and the language of his elevation. The potential for deflationary ridicule in a well-placed (or misplaced) 'ye' or 'thou' was one Swift recognized well: in declining to write in 'the lofty Stile', he declares to his would-be muse that he acts 'For your Sake, as well as mine' (ll. 217-18); to apply such rhetoric to an unheroic object risks the appearance of scorn. Choice of pronouns is crucial to the creation of this tone; no less so because the gap between mock-heroic misprision and the use of 'thou' as an unironic invitation to friendly solidarity is not wide.

(2016: 114)

represents formality and earnestness. One example in point is a dialogue between a prostitute Stormandra and one of her customers Captain Bilkum:<sup>24</sup>

*[Stormandra asks her devoted customer Bilkum to kill Lovegirlo, who has deserted her.]*

STORMANDRA: Captain, are you a Man?

BILKUM: I think I am; The Time has been when you have thought so too,  
Try me again in the soft Fields of Love.

STORMANDRA: 'Tis War not Love must try your Manhood now,  
By Gin, I swear, ne'er to receive thee more,  
'Till curs'd *Lovegirlo*'s Blood has dy'd thy Sword.

BILKUM: *Lovegirlo*! Whence this Fury bent on him?

STORMANDRA: Ha! dost thou question, Coward? — Ask again,  
And I will never call thee Captain more.  
Instant obey my Purpose, or [...]  
I will arrest thee for the Note of Hand,  
Which thou hast given me for twice on Pound;  
But if thou dost, I call my sacred Honour  
To witness, thy Reward shall be my Love.

BILKUM: *Lovegirlo* is no more. Yet wrong me not,  
It is your Promise, not your Threat, prevails.

(*Covent 2.7*)

Bilkum and Stormandra exchange the unmarked form THOU to each other in the previous scene. Here, however, Stormandra opens the conversation with YOU, probably because of the serious content of her speech that she wants to ask him to kill a man who deserted her. Shimonomoto writes that characters in Chaucer's works address their friends as *ye* when they want to ask them a difficult service (2000: 23).<sup>25</sup> The use of YOU in Stormandra's

---

<sup>24</sup> Underlines in the quotations from the plays in my corpus are mine unless otherwise notified. Single underlines mark YOU and double underlines mark THOU.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Earnest requests can be represented or highlighted by exploiting different expressions. Blake argues out that 'modifier + possessive adjective + title' (e.g. *good my lord*) is employed 'when a suitor was trying to ask for a hearing from, attract the sympathy of or offer

speech might be partly induced by the same reason. Bilkum responds to her with YOU, following her formality. She replies to him with YOU, but soon she starts using THOU with rather vulgar swearing 'By gin'. She keeps using THOU after that. THOU in the last part of her speech might represent lovers' use of THOU (Freedman 2007). Bilkum uses YOU, taking her proposal seriously.

Another special use of YOU in *Covent* is alienation, which is shown in the dialogue below:

*[Punchbowl is criticising Bilkum, one of her regular customers, for making noise in front of her brothel.]*

PUNCHBOWL: What is the Reason, Captain, that you make  
This Noise within my House? [...]  
Oh! cou'dst thou bear to see the rotten Egg  
Mix with my Tears, and trickle down my Cheeks, [...]  
Or see me follow the attractive Cart,  
To fee the Hangman lift the Virgal Rod,  
That Hangman you so narrowly escap'd!  
BILKUM: Ha! that last Thought has stung me to the Soul; [...]  
Behold thee Carted—oh! foresend that Sight,  
May *Bilkum's* Neck be stretch'd before that Day.  
PUNCHBOWL: Come to my Arms, thou best below'd of Sons,  
Forgive the Weakness of thy Mother's Fears:

(*Covent* 1.3)

In this scene Punchbowl blames Bilkum for making a fuss in front of her brothel. Punchbowl acts as Bilkum's mother and she usually calls him 'my son'.<sup>26</sup> At the

---

some excuse to, a superior' (2002: 281)

<sup>26</sup> As Fielding points out in his anonymous 'criticism', the relationship between Bilkum, Stormandra and Punchbowl is unclear:

I cannot conceive why she [Mother *Punchbowl*] is called Mother. Is she the Mother

beginning of her speech Punchbowl employs formal and alienating YOU with a formal term of address ‘Captain’, which she uses only once in the entire play.<sup>27</sup> Previous studies suggest that using an occupational term can be negative: Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, who study address terms in Early Modern English letters, state that ‘[t]he professional or occupational titles [...] are not far from the negative extreme’ (1995: 557) and Kerridge holds that addressing somebody the speaker knows can distance the speaker from the addressee because it denies the addressee’s individuality and categorises them as a type (2014: 328). Punchbowl slips into THOU in the middle of her speech, possibly because of her heightened emotion, then she goes back to YOU. After Bilkum shows his repentance, she starts using THOU with words representing their strong bond ‘best below’d of Sons’ and ‘thy Mother’. Freedman holds that the shift of address terms can trigger the change from YOU to THOU in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Philaster*,<sup>28</sup> rebutting Berry (1958)’s claim that the shift is due to carelessness (2007: 11-12).

---

of any Body in the Play? No. From one Line one might guess she was a Bawd, [...] but [...] In the third Scene of the second Act she appears to be *Stormandra*’s Mother. [...] But, if I mistake not in the Scene immediately preceding, *Bilkum* and she have mother’d and son’d it several times. Sure, she cannot be Mother to them both, when she wou’d put them to bed together. Perhaps, she is Mother-in-law to one of them, as being married to her own Child:

(‘criticism’, *Covent* p.6)

Accordingly, terms of endearment *mother* and *son* used in the quoted scene do not necessarily signify real blood relationships.

<sup>27</sup> Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, who study address terms in Early Modern English letters, state that ‘[t]he professional or occupational titles [...] are not far from the negative extreme’ (1995: 557).

<sup>28</sup> ‘In *Philaster* 1.2, Arethusa asks, ‘What will **you** do, Philaster, with **your** self?’, but follows the question with, ‘Dear, hide **thy** self.’ (Freedman 2007: 11-12)

In conclusion, in *Covent* YOU is used to convey seriousness and coldness while THOU is used as an unmarked form.

### 3.3.2. *The Tragedy of Tragedies* (1736)

*TT* is a farce written in the style of tragedy by Henry Fielding. He pretended that *TT* was a newly discovered Elizabethan drama and aimed at showing verbal absurdity of tragedies in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Sherburn and Bond 1967: 891).<sup>29</sup> The story is loosely based on the folk tale ‘Tom Thumb’ but the setting is moved to a court and the main topic is Tom Thumb’s marriage with Princess Huncamunca and the death of Tom Thumb and most of the characters.

In this section I would like to make a comparison with Stein’s (2003) study on *King Lear*. *TT* and *King Lear* contain similar relationships: ‘king and his child’ and ‘lovers and spouses’. By comparing the data in *TT* and in a Shakespearean tragedy, I would like to show how (un)successful Fielding was in imitating older tragic style.

In *TT*, in which THOU is more frequent (55%), men use THOU more often than women. About a third of the tokens of THOU by male characters are by King Arthur (52x; 35%). Because he has the greatest power in the play, he uses THOU to all of his interlocutors most of the time. Compared to *King Lear*’s use of THOU (Stein 2003),

---

<sup>29</sup> Preface to *TT* (written by a scholar Scriblerus Secundus, a pseudonym of Fielding) discusses its origin as follows:

I shall wave at present, what hath caused such Feuds in the learned World, Whether this Piece was originally written by *Shakespear* [...] Let it suffice, that the *Tragedy of Tragedies*, or, *The Life and Death of Tom Thumb*, was written in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

(‘Preface’, p.v)

Arthur's use is much more simplified; Lear uses YOU more often to various people including inferiors. One exceptional person who receives only YOU from Arthur is Glumdalca, the queen of giants. Even though she is defeated and in captivity, he pays respect to her as a queen. This use is in accord with Shakespeare; Stein states that the address term between sovereigns is normally YOU (2003: 265). Another person who receives YOU from Arthur is his daughter Huncamunca. He mainly uses YOU to her, but when he sees his daughter's grief is gone, he switches to intimate THOU to show his strong emotion (joy) and affection to her:

*[King Arthur is asking his daughter Huncamunca the reason of her grief.]*

KING:            Daughter, I have observ'd of late some Grief,  
                      Unusual in your Countenance — your Eyes,  
                      That, like two open Windows, us'd to shew,  
                      The lovely Beauty of the Rooms within,  
                      Have now two Blinds before them — What is the Cause? [...]

HUNCAMUNCA: O spare my Blushes; but I mean a Husband.

KING:            If that be all I have provided one,  
                      A Husband great in Arms, [...]  
                      *Tom Thumb.*

HUNCAMUNCA: Is it possible?

KING:            Ha! the Window Blinds are gone,  
                      A Country Dance of Joy is in your Face,  
                      Your Eyes spit Fire, your Cheeks grow red as Beef.

HUNCAMUNCA: [...] Yes, I'll own, since licenc'd by your Word,  
                      I'll own *Tom Thumb* the Cause of all my Grief.  
                      For him I've sigh'd, I've wept, I've gnaw'd my Sheets.

KING:            Oh! thou shalt gnaw thy tender Sheets no more,  
                      A Husband thou shalt have to mumble now.

(TT 2.4)

In this example Huncamunca uses YOU to her father and she only uses YOU to him.

Compared to other characters, she is a YOU-user; in her speeches THOU takes up only 23% of her address pronouns while THOU takes up to 57% on average in the speeches of the other female characters. She uses YOU to her father the king (cf. Stein reveals the unmarked form of address from children to a father is YOU (2003: 271)), her lovers and strangers. In a violent quarrel with Glumdalca the queen of giantess, she once slips into THOU, which is the only instance of her THOU in the entire play:

*[Huncamunca and Glumdalca are quarrelling who is more attractive.]*

HUNCAMUNCA: Well, may your Chains be easy, since if Fame  
Says true, they have been try'd on twenty Husbands. [...]

GLUMDALCA: I glory in Number, and when I  
Sit poorly down, like thee, content with one,  
Heaven change this Face for one as bad as thine.

HUNCAMUNCA: Let me see nearer what this Beauty is,  
That captivates the Heart of Men by Scores.

*[Holds a Candle to her Face.]*

Oh! Heaven, thou art as ugly as the Devil.

GLUMDALCA: You'd give the best of Shoes within your Shop,  
To be but half so handsome.

HUNCAMUNCA: Since you come  
To that, I'll put my Beauty to the Test;  
*Tom Thumb*, I'm yours, if you with me will go.

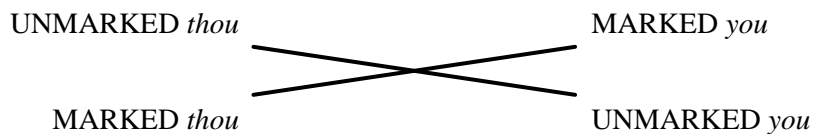
(TT 2.7)

In this scene Huncamunca and Glumdalca have a quarrel over Tom Thumb, the man they are both in love with, and try to scorn each other. Huncamunca consistently uses the polite YOU while Glumdalca uses THOU as a sovereign. When Huncamunca sees Glumdalca's face, she effectively uses THOU to express her surprise and scorn. Glumdalca employs YOU in response in order to convey insolence. Since her unmarked form is THOU, using THOU as contempt cannot have as strong an impact as Huncamunca's use of THOU. By



deliberately choosing an unusual form Glumdalca tries to attack back her rival in love. This is probably best described in terms of markedness reversal: ‘the unmarked *you* which turns into the marked *thou* along a different axis’ (Bruti 2000: 39, as shown in Figure 9):

Figure 9: Markedness reversals. (Bruti 2000: 39)



The two female characters’ use of THOU and YOU does the reverse of their unmarked and marked pronouns.

To sum up, in *TT* THOU is used to show strong emotion and scorn while YOU represents polite attitude but also shows scorn if used by THOU-users. It should be noted, however, that *TT* is a mock-tragedy rather than written in a ‘genuine’ tragic language and these usage of THOU might be exaggerated or ridiculed as a burlesque (see also the discussion on *Covent* in 3.3.1).

### 3.3.3. *The Modern Husband* (1732)

From this section we deal with comedies. *Modern* is Fielding’s comedy of corrupt couples and young lovers. An amorous nobleman tries to snare a chaste wife with his inferior while the aristocrat’s children fall in love with the children of the chaste woman. Most of the main characters are aristocrats and gentry.

In this play YOU is much more dominant or unmarked. Freedman shows that YOU represents the speaker’s purity and coolness while THOU clarifies the speaker’s infidelity in both tragedies and comedies of Shakespeare’s contemporaries (2007: 12-13). This is also true of *Modern*’s characters; dishonest lovers, especially in adultery, employ more

THOU than honest ones do. Lord Richly, an amorous and arrogant nobleman who believes all women in the town are his, uses THOU when he tries to conquer a woman. Mr Modern and Mrs Modern, a couple with cold feelings towards each other, use THOU to each other when they reproach their spouse.

One of the exceptional uses of THOU by sincere lovers is strong emotion. Mrs Bellamant, a chaste wife usually uses YOU to her husband, but she once uses THOU to him at the climax:

*[Mr Bellamant is arrested and carried away from his wife.]*

MRS. BELLAMANT: And, must we part?

MR. BELLAMANT: Since it obliges you.

MRS. BELLAMANT: That I may have nothing to remember you by, take back this, and this, and this, and all the thousand Embraces thou hast given me— till I die in thy loved Arms — and thus we part for ever.

*(Modern 4.10)*

In this scene Mr Bellamant is caught at the spot of adultery by his acquaintances and his wife and is about to be taken out of the house. Although Mrs Bellamant is badly deceived by her husband, she generously forgives him and still loves him even after the event. She shows strong love and sorrow by THOU at their parting.

Another exceptional use of THOU between true lovers is apostrophe:

*[Emilia is talking to herself about Gaywit, then Gaywit comes to the scene.]*

SCENE III

Emilia *alone*.

EMILIA: [...] Oh! *Gaywit!* too much sympathize with thy Uneasiness. Didst thou know the Pangs I feel on thy Account, thy generous Heart would suffer more on mine.  
[Enter *Gaywit*]<sup>30</sup> Ha! my Words have rais'd a Spirit.

---

<sup>30</sup> I follow Wood (2007)'s addition of stage direction to make the context clearer.

#### SCENE IV

Emilia, *Mr. Gaywit*.

MR. GAYWIT: I hope, Madam, you will excuse a Visit at so unseasonable an Hour.

EMILIA: Had you come a little earlier, you had met a Mistress here.

(*Modern 5.3-4*)

Emilia is a daughter of Mr Bellamant and Mr Gaywit is a nephew of the amorous aristocrat. She addresses him with THOU in apostrophe (5.3) according to the convention of plays. She, however, switches to YOU as soon as he appears (5.4), i.e. her speech is not apostrophe any more. I will discuss the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe further in Chapter 7.

Thus, THOU is used to show strong emotion and signify apostrophe in *Modern*.

#### **3.3.4. *The Author's Farce* (1734)**

*AF* is Fielding's three-act farce. The first and second acts show a tragic story of a poor poet Harry Luckless. He is driven out of his lodgings and his girlfriend leaves him. The third act presents a puppet-show written by the poet, but gradually the puppet-show and the real life (the world where the poet lives) merge and the play ends with a hilarious happy-ending scene.

YOU is much more dominant than THOU (8%) in *AF*. One motivation of using THOU in this play is to represent heightened emotion such as love and surprise when talking with friends, as described in the dialogue between a poor poet named Luckless and his friend Witmore below:

[*Witmore is surprised that the play bill he has bought is written by his friend Luckless.*]

WITMORE: Oh! Luckless, I am overjoy'd at meeting you — here, take this Paper, and you will be discouraged from Writing, I warrant you.

LUCKLESS: What is it? — Oh! one of my Play-Bills.

WITMORE: One of thy Play-Bills!

LUCKLESS: Even so, Sir! — I have taken the Advice you gave me this Morning. [...]

WITMORE: Well — I wish you Success.—

LUCKLESS: Where are you going?

WITMORE: Any where but to hear you damn'd, which I must, if I were to go to your Puppet-Show. [...] If they shou'd laugh till they burst—the Moment they knew you were the Author—they wou'd change their Faces, and swear they never laugh'd at all.

LUCKLESS: Pshaw, I can't believe thee.

(AF 2.9)

Both Luckless and Witmore use THOU only once in the dialogue, when they are very surprised. In this case the appearance of THOU is ephemeral and speaker switches from THOU to YOU quickly. Presumably this is partly because THOU is used as a signal to show the change of feeling of the characters.

Another interesting usage of THOU in *AF* is positive politeness, in other words, to make the speaker close to the hearer (cf. Chapter 2). THOU is used by a bookseller Bookweight to a young scribe Scarecrow when they meet for the first time:

*[Scarecrow is applying for a job at Bookweight's office.]*

BOOKWEIGHT: Then, Sir, if you please to throw by your Hat, which you will have no more use for, and take up your Pen.

SCARECROW: But, Sir, I am afraid I am not qualified for a Translator.

BOOKWEIGHT: How, not qualified! [...] — If I was an Emperor thou should'st be my Prime Minister. Thou art as well vers'd in thy Trade, as if thou had'st labour'd in my Garret these ten Years.

(AF 2.6)

As a stranger Scarecrow and Bookweight exchange neutral, polite YOU. When Scarecrow becomes unsure whether he is suitable for the business, Bookweight abruptly addresses to him with THOU. Bookweight also changes the style from pure office enquiries to

patronising and in-group tone by using metaphor ‘If I was an Emperor thou should’st be my Prime Minister’ (underline mine). This metaphor may imply that THOU is used to show that the speaker is in a stronger position than the hearer as well as intimacy. In this way the speaker tries to encourage the hearer by resorting to the hearer’s positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). Freedman (2007) points out that THOU can convey a patronising tone in Shakespearean plays, which seems to be applicable here.

Style also induces THOU in *AF*. Don Tragedio, a personification of tragedy in the puppet show, addresses Goddess of Nonsense with rhymed iambic pentameter (cf. 3.2.1):

*[Goddess of Nonsense is giving an audience to Don Tragedio.]*

TRAGEDIO: To *Shakespear, Johnson, Dryden, Lee, or Rowe,*

I not a Line, no, not a Thought, do owe.

Me, for my Novelty, let all adore,

For, as I wrote, none ever wrote before.

NONSENSE: Thou art doubly welcome, welcome.

(*AF* 3.1)

Unlike Tragedio, Goddess of Nonsense speaks in prose and never uses THOU elsewhere. Her use of THOU here seems to simply imitate her interlocutor’s manner of speech, either consciously or unconsciously. It is not so unusual to mimic an interlocutor’s speech; there is another instance in my main corpus (*Tender*), as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Thus, in *AF* THOU is used to show strong emotion, positive politeness and tragic grave style.

### **3.3.5.A *Beggar’s Opera* (1728)**

*Beggar* is a ballad opera written by John Gay in 1728. It was a huge hit and many people

including Henry Fielding watched it and mentioned in their writings.<sup>31</sup> The protagonist of this play is an attractive highwayman named Macheath. Although he can achieve help from the two heroines by resorting to his charm and eloquence, in the end he is caught and sentenced to death. Unlike most eighteenth-century comedies, *Beggar* is full of lower-class characters such as highwaymen and prostitutes. Because this is ‘opera’ it contains numerous songs but I excluded all of them from my corpus to focus on dialogues (3.1).

As we have seen in 3.2.2 (Table 6), THOU is most commonly attested in the category ‘a woman to a man’. This is because the two heroines in *Beggar* use THOU very often. Polly, the younger heroine, uses THOU to her husband Macheath twice as much as she uses YOU (22x (69%): 10x (31%)). Also, Macheath utilises THOU much more often to her (6x; 60%) than his overall average (29%), as shown below:

*[Polly’s parents are trying to lock Macheath in their house and hand him to the police. Polly is helping Macheath’s escape.]*

POLLY: Were you sentenc’d to Transportation, sure, my Dear, you could not leave me behind you — could you?

MACHEATH: Is there any Power, any Force that could tear me from thee? You might sooner tear a Pension out of the Hands of a Courtier, [...] But to tear me from thee is impossible!

*[AIR XVI. Over the Hills and far away. (sung by Macheath and Polly)]*<sup>32</sup>

POLLY: Yes, I would go with thee. But oh! — how shall I speak it? I must be torn from

---

<sup>31</sup> Fielding refers to *Beggar* in his writings. *AF* borrows several songs from *Beggar* (Engetsu 1998: 10). His novel *Shamela* also mentions *Beggar*: ‘The Fate of poor Mr. *Williams* shocked me more than my own: For, as the *Beggar’s Opera* says, *Nothing moves one so much as a great Man in Distress.*’ (*Shamela* p. 334, underline mine).

<sup>32</sup> As mentioned in 3.1 songs are excluded from my analysis. Therefore, I only points out that Macheath uses YOU only while Polly’s lines do not include any second person pronouns in Air XVI.

thee. We must part. [...] My Papa and Mama are set against thy Life. They now, even now are in Search after thee. They are preparing Evidence against thee. Thy Life depends upon a Moment.

[*AIR XVII. Gin thou wert mine awn thing. (sung by Polly)*]<sup>33</sup>

One Kiss and then — one Kiss — begone — farewell.

MACHEATH: My Hand, my Heart, my Dear, is so riveted to thine, that I cannot unloose my Hold. [...]

POLLY: And will not Absence change your Love?

MACHEATH: If you doubt it, let me stay — and be hang'd.

POLLY: O how I fear! how I tremble! — Go — but when Safety will give you leave, you will be sure to see me again; for 'till then Polly is wretched.

(*Beggar* 1.13)

One explanation for their use of reciprocal THOU in the above scene is imitation of romance. Freedman shows that THOU is a lover's pronoun and connotes role-playing (2007: 259). It is revealed that Macheath has lent Polly books of romance and she seems to believe they are such genuine lovers as in romances.<sup>34</sup> Macheath, who is a master of seducing and exploiting women, has probably done so in order to exploit her easily in the name of love. His excessive use of THOU is to maintain Polly's romantic image.

In contrast to Macheath's almost constant use of THOU, Polly switches from YOU to THOU, then switches back to YOU. It seems that she uses YOU when she talks about her concerns as herself, not as a heroine of romance. In the first sentence above, she asks Macheath if he still be with her. Macheath answers her with flowery, dramatic language, followed by a song on true love ('I would love you all the day'). Polly, moved by the dramatic, romantic atmosphere he has created, switches to THOU of romantic lovers. However, she becomes worried about their future again, and switches back to YOU.

---

<sup>33</sup> Polly uses THOU only in Air XVII.

<sup>34</sup> 'POLLY: Nay, my Dear, I have no Reason to doubt you, for I find in the Romance you lent me, none of the great Heroes were ever false in Love.' (*Beggar* 1.13)

Macheath replies to her, this time, with YOU of seriousness (Ronberg 1992: 85).<sup>35</sup> Polly, still being worried about their love and his safety, keeps using YOU until the end of the scene.

In the case of Macheath and his older wife Lucy, the portion of THOU decreased to only 20% probably because their relationship is not as passionate as that of Macheath and Polly. However, they use THOU effectively when he tries to induce her to help him:

*[Macheath is imprisoned in Lucy's father's prison. He is asking her to get the keys of the prison for him so that he can escape. She is doubtful about his fidelity.]*

MACHEATH: I am naturally compassionate, Wife; so that I could not use the Wench as she deserv'd; which made you at first suspect there was something in what she said.

LUCY: Indeed, my Dear, I was strangely puzzled.

MACHEATH: [...] No, *Lucy*, — I had rather dye than be false to thee.

LUCY: How happy I am, if you say this from your Heart! For I love thee so, that I could sooner bear to see thee hang'd than in the Arms of another.

MACHEATH: But couldst thou bear to see me hang'd?

LUCY: O *Macheath*, I can never live to see that Day.

MACHEATH: You see, *Lucy*; in the Account of Love you are in my debt, and you must now be convinc'd, that I rather chuse to die than be another's. — Make me, if possible, love thee more, and let me owe my Life to thee. — If you refuse to assist me, Peachum and your Father will immediately put me beyond all means of Escape.

LUCY: [...] If I can procure the Keys, shall I go off with thee, my Dear?

MACHEATH: If we are together, 'twill be impossible to lye conceal'd. As soon as the Search begins to be a little cool, I will send to thee — 'Till then my Heart is thy Prisoner.

LUCY: Come then, my dear Husband — owe thy Life to me — and though you love me not — be grateful — But that *Polly* runs in my head strangely.

*(Beggar 2.15)*

Here he switches between YOU and THOU tactfully to appeal to Lucy's love. While he uses

---

<sup>35</sup> I will discuss YOU of seriousness further in 5.2.2.2.



(neutral) YOU when he expresses facts (e.g. 'you are in my debt') and conditions (e.g. 'if you refuse to assist me'), he employs THOU when appealing to her affection (e.g. make me, if possible, love thee more'). Probably he is aware that Lucy, being his wife for a while, will not be cheated into doing him a favour just by acting as a romantic hero. He manipulates his speech more tactfully, in order to move her heart with subtle and frequent changes of second person pronouns. In contrast, Lucy knows Macheath no longer loves her and he just takes advantage of her affection. Nevertheless, she releases him because she still loves him. She uses THOU when talking to Macheath as a wife but employs YOU when half talking to herself (e.g. 'How happy I am, if you say this from your Heart!'). This older couple shows their affection not by the consistent use of THOU as a lover, but the frequent *switches* between YOU and THOU.

Another usage of THOU, from parents to children can be found in speech between Mrs Peachum and Polly and between Lockit and Lucy. They generally use YOU to their daughters but they switch to THOU when their emotion towards their daughters is heightened with anger, for example:

*[Mrs Peachum is furious to find out her daughter Polly has got married to a highwayman (Macheath).]*

MRS. PEACHUM: If you must be married, could you introduce no-body into our Family but a Highwayman? Why, thou foolish Jade, thou wilt be as ill-us'd, and as much neglected, as if thou hadst married a Lord!

PEACHUM: Let not your Anger, my Dear, break through the Rules of Decency, [...].

MRS. PEACHUM: With Polly's Fortune, she might very well have gone off to a Person of Distinction. Yes, that you might, you pouting Slut!

*(Beggars 1.8)*

*[Lockit is asking his daughter Lucy how much she has charged Macheath to release him.]*

LOCKIT: To be sure, Wench, you must have been aiding and abetting to help him to this Escape. [...] Did he tip handsomely? — [...] How much, my good Girl?

LUCY: You know, Sir, I am fond of him, and would have given Money to have kept him with me.

LOCKIT: Ah Lucy! thy Education might have put thee more upon thy Guard; for a Girl in the Bar of an Ale-house is always besieg'd.

(*Beggar* 3.1)

In the first quotation above, Mrs Peachum starts her speech with YOU, which is her unmarked form to her child, but when her anger comes to the peak she starts using THOU with a strong negative address term *Jade*. Soon after this speech she is soothed by her husband and goes back to her normal YOU, although she is still angry and calls her with an abusive address term *slut*.

In the second example, Lockit is trying to be nice to his daughter Lucy so that he can get money from her, using neutral YOU and address terms of endearment *my good girl*. His tone changes greatly as soon as he learns Lucy has not acted as he expected. He is chagrined at her decision, with the third conditional *might have* and exclamation ('Ah Lucy!'). His use of THOU here seems to represent his chagrin as well as anger.

To sum up, THOU is employed to show affection and strong emotion in *Beggar*.

### 3.4. Summary and Conclusion

In macro-analysis (3.2) I have presented three factors which could influence the use of THOU and YOU: genre, gender and class of characters. Genre plays the most important role in the choice of second person singular pronouns; THOU is prevalent in the (mock-)tragedies while it is scarce in the comedies and farces. The gender of the characters also has an influence of the frequency of THOU, although there is a lot of variation from play to play (3.2.2). In tragedies, the male characters' unmarked and dominant form is THOU while the female characters employ both YOU and THOU to their

equals and inferiors. The data on the class of the characters do not show clear patterns, but within some plays there is a tendency that the superior receives YOU while giving THOU to their inferiors.

In 3.3 I have done micro-analysis on the uses of THOU and YOU in each play, which proved to be important to explain their use. In the comedies and farces, THOU is not used consistently and the most common use of THOU is a signal of heightened emotion, including scorn (in *TT* and *Beggar*), positive politeness (in *AF*). Another major usage of thou is to represent the style of poetry/literature, such as tragic style (in *AF*), apostrophe (in *Modern*) and role-playing of lovers in a Romance (in *Beggar*). In the (mock-)tragedies, if a speaker uses THOU as their dominant form their use of YOU can represent coldness and formality while the user of YOU can show contempt and scorn by using THOU. It should be noted, however, that mock-tragedies were written to satirise the language of tragedies and their language traits might be exaggerated.

In response to this result, I have decided to build my main corpus with two genres, tragedies and comedies. I limited the number of plays to study because of the importance of micro-analysis, which requires time-consuming close reading, while macro-analysis is also needed to show what common factors have influence on various eighteenth-century plays. I estimated the time required by doing this pilot study and limited the number of plays to twenty. I did not include farces because their style and data seem similar to comedies.<sup>36</sup> Since the time is limited as a PhD study, it would be more worthwhile to focus on two genres which are proved to show clear differences. I chose comedies over

---

<sup>36</sup> The distinction between comedies and farces can be fuzzy. For example, LION classifies Garrick's *Male Coquette* (1757) as a farce, while CED includes it as a comedy (Kytö and Walker 2006).

farces because the former are much more widely studied and it will be easier to compare my data with other studies on eighteenth-century comedies. I will consider the gender of the characters and their emotion in relation to the use of THOU and YOU in the following chapters.

## 4. THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century plays

### 4.1. Introduction

My pilot study (Chapter 3) has given some insights into the use of THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century dramas; genre and the gender of characters have strong influence on the use of pronoun, while the class of characters have less influence on it. In this chapter, I will investigate the influence of genres using a bigger corpus, after analysing the overall data to see if there is any chronological or idiolectal influence. I will also investigate whether different cases or forms of pronouns have different ratios of THOU to YOU.

### 4.2. The overall distribution

Firstly, I will look at the overall trend across the entire corpus. Table 9 shows the number of THOU and YOU (singular) in each text, in chronological order.<sup>37</sup> There are some irregular instances excluded or included in the data. YOU includes nonstandard spellings *yoew*, *yowe* and *yower*. Unclear forms ('*ee* and *y*') are excluded from the data. Adding to that, discourse markers (e.g. *you see*), formulas (e.g. *your servant*), addresses including titles (e.g. *your honour*) and generic YOU are excluded (1.3.1). I also excluded three occurrences of *you/your* which can be both singular and plural, as shown below:

Malignant powers! or blind unerring Fate,  
This is your work: now you assert your empire.

(*Agis* 5.1)

In the above example, it is impossible to judge which the subject is, powers (plural) or Fate (singular).

---

<sup>37</sup> For the abbreviation of titles of the plays, see Section 1.3 and bibliography.

Table 9: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in each play.

Author	Year	Title	THOU	YOU	THOU %
Cibber	1704	<i>Careless</i>	1.6	38.5	4.0%
Steele	1705	<i>Tender</i>	2.1	38.7	5.2%
Rowe	1706	<i>Penitent</i>	29.0	9.1	76.1%
Cibber	1707	<i>Stake</i>	1.1	33.2	3.1%
Rowe	1714	<i>Shore</i>	21.4	17.4	55.2%
Young	1719	<i>Busiris</i>	14.7	14.3	50.7%
Young	1721	<i>Revenge</i>	16.4	20.7	44.2%
Steele	1723	<i>Conscious</i>	1.5	33.6	4.2%
Lillo	1731	<i>Merchant</i>	3.2	24.7	11.4%
Lillo	1736	<i>Curiosity</i>	14.6	15.6	48.3%
Moore	1748	<i>Foundling</i>	4.7	34.1	12.1%
Moore	1751	<i>Gil Blas</i>	0.0	41.0	0.1%
Home	1756	<i>Douglas</i>	20.6	8.1	71.6%
Home	1758	<i>Agis</i>	21.2	6.2	77.4%
Colman	1761	<i>Jealous</i>	0.2	40.0	0.5%
Colman	1766	<i>Clandestine</i>	0.6	41.1	1.5%
Goldsmith	1767	<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	0.4	30.4	1.3%
Murphy	1772	<i>Grecian</i>	21.5	6.2	77.7%
Goldsmith	1773	<i>Stoops</i>	0.1	28.6	0.5%
Murphy	1783	<i>Sisters</i>	10.0	28.4	26.1%

Although previous studies suggest that THOU petered out in the course of time (Chapter 2), it is apparent from Table 9 that there is no clear decline during the eighteenth century in my play corpus. Adding to that, the average percentage of THOU to YOU in each decade shows great variation without pattern, compared to the previous studies I have shown in Chapter 2 (Table 10):

Table 10: The percentage of THOU in previous studies on dramas.<sup>38</sup>

	Busse (2002)	Walker (2007)	Johnson (1966)	Mitchell (1971)	Present study
1560					
1570					
1580		24%			
1590					
1600	41%				
1610		26%	25%	40%	
1620					
1630					
1640					
1650					
1660		10%		19%	
1670			16%		
1680		9%			
1690					
1700					22%
1710				18%	53%
1720					24%
1730		5%			30%
1740					12%
1750					50%
1760					1%
1770				10%	39%
1780					26%

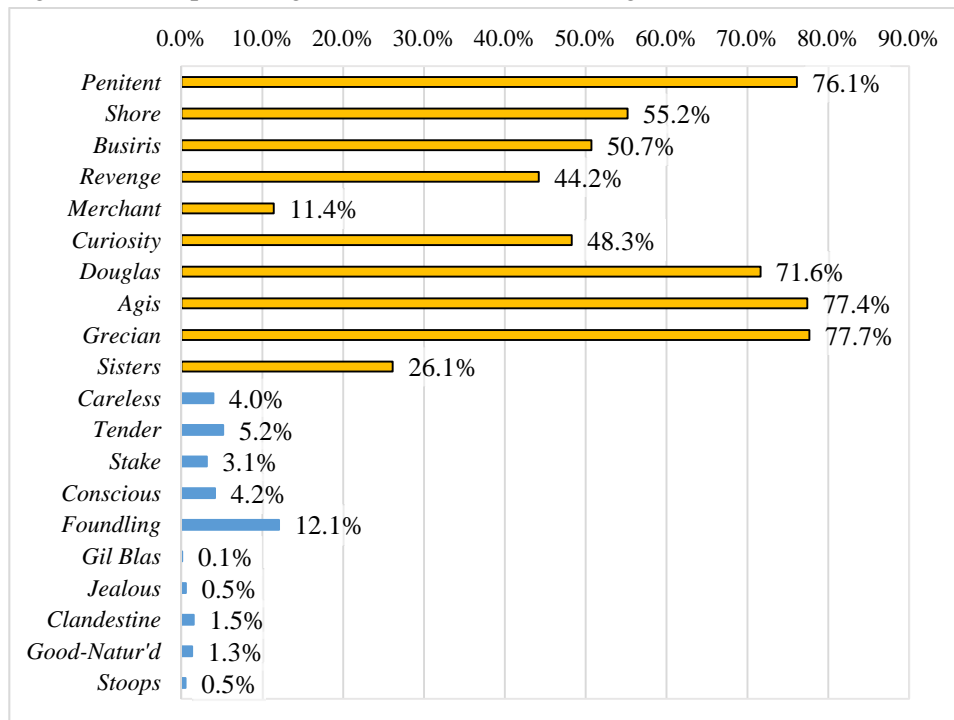
This wide variation of percentage seems to result from the vast differences among dramas.

Most of the works in my data have either large (over 40%) or very small (less than 10%)

<sup>38</sup> Among these previous works, Walker deals with comedies only while the others include several genres of dramas (tragedies, histories etc.).

percentage of THOU. When we separate the works into two groups according to the percentage of THOU, one thing becomes noticeable; all of the works containing a large proportion of THOU are tragedies, while all of the comedies contain a small proportion of THOU (between 0.1% and 11.9%). This is in accord with what I found in my pilot study (Chapter 3). The difference in genre can be shown more clearly in Figure 10 (the first ten plays (in the lighter shade) are tragedies and the latter ten plays (in the darker shade) are comedies):

Figure 10: The percentage of THOU to YOU in the tragedies and the comedies.



There are two exceptional tragedies with comparatively low percentage of THOU; *Merchant* (11.4%) and *Sisters* (26.1%). I will discuss them further in the sections below.



### 4.3. Genre and medium

#### 4.3.1. Genre

The style of tragedies and comedies differs significantly in the eighteenth century; comedies tend to deal with a contemporary setting in prose while tragedies were written in verse and ‘ordinarily set in the romantic past, in “days of old”, and its heroes are (for example) a fifteenth-century king or a fourteenth-century Earl of Northumberland’ (McIntosh 1994: 69).

Several previous studies point out the influence of genre on the use of second person pronouns. Mitchell (1971) shows that in her entire corpus tragedies contain a higher number of THOU (35% on average), while the number is low in comedies (14% on average) (1971: 56).<sup>39</sup> Ulrich Busse reveals that YOU appears more frequently in Shakespearean comedies than in histories or tragedies (2002: 38). I have conducted a pilot study with a small corpus with one main playwright, Henry Fielding, to verify this point (Chapter 3). It has shown that Fielding changes his style according to the genre of his plays; he used very few examples of THOU in his comedy *Modern* (1732) and farce *AF* (1734) while he used it quite often in his pseudo-tragedies *Covent* (1732) and *TT* (1736). The percentage of THOU in his comedies is closer to that in comedies written by other authors than that in his tragedies. We can conclude from the data above that the influence of genre on the use of THOU is much bigger than an individual authors’ idiolect.

#### 4.3.2. Verse and prose

Another factor important in the use of pronouns is the media, i.e. verse or prose, and this seems to be the reason why *Merchant* has exceptionally low percentage of THOU (11.4%);

---

<sup>39</sup> I will deal with this increase of THOU in Mitchell’s data further in Chapter 6.

it is the only tragedy written almost entirely in prose in my corpus. The figure is even more striking when compared with *Curiosity* (48.3%), a tragedy written by the same author. These two tragedies have many things in common – they were written by the same author, in the same decade, dealing with middle-class characters in England – the only difference is the medium. For this reason, the percentage in *Merchant* is closer to that in the comedies in my corpus (which are written entirely in prose) than that in the other tragedies (which are written in verse). One exception as concerns medium is *Sisters* (26.1%). This has a comparatively low frequency although it is written entirely in verse. I will discuss this play further in 4.4 below.

Ulrich Busse reveals that the majority of the Shakespearean plays show a preponderance of THOU in verse and of YOU in prose; 79.44% of all appearances of THOU are found in verse while 29.77% of all appearances of YOU are in verse (2002: 66-67). His statement seems to be applicable to my data, in which 89.0% of occurrences of THOU are in verse while 17.6% of YOU are in verse, as shown below:<sup>40</sup>

Table 11: Frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in verse and prose.

	THOU	YOU	THOU %
verse	18.8	14.0	57.3%
prose	1.4	34.9	3.9%
verse %	93.0%	28.7%	

My data show that the gap has widened compared with Ulrich Busse’s data with verse, with a 14% greater proportion of THOU appearing in verse while there is not much

---

<sup>40</sup> Prose includes all of the comedies and the majority of *Merchant*. Some comedies have a few sentences written in verse (often appearing as rhyming couplet to mark the end of an act) but there are no occurrences of second person singular pronouns. Verse includes a few paragraphs of *Merchant* (which includes 1x THOU and 5x YOU) and all of the other tragedies.

difference in YOU towards prose. One explanation for this is that the use of verse and prose in eighteenth-century English plays became more rigid than in Shakespearean works. Although he wrote 11 plays almost exclusively in verse (over 90% of the entire play), Shakespeare employed both verse and prose in his histories, tragedies and comedies (Busse 2002: 67-69). To take examples from *Hamlet* (72.5% in verse (Busse 2002: 68)), Hamlet speaks in prose when he pretends to be insane, and his friends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern speak in prose when chatting with 'mad' Hamlet (speaking in prose) while they speak in verse when seeing King Claudius. On the other hand, eighteenth-century comedies were written in prose and tragedies in verse almost exclusively.

Another difference in the use of media between Shakespeare and eighteenth-century dramatists is characterisation. Ulrich Busse points out that some characters in Shakespearean dramas speak entirely in verse or prose regardless of the genre of the play they appear. For example, inn keepers, servants, butlers and chambermaids speak entirely in prose (2002: 65). In my eighteenth-century tragedies in verse, on the other hand, all characters including the lower class speak exclusively in verse while all of the characters speak in prose in the comedies. This is because verse was associated with tragedies in the eighteenth century. Branam explains that eighteenth-century tragedians used blank verse entirely because it was considered as the language of tragedies:

The eighteenth century had more definite ideas about the proper language of tragedy than simple understandability. [...] Blank verse was, throughout the eighteenth century, regarded as the proper medium for tragedy.

(1956: 74)

Branam also points out that some eighteenth-century adapters thought it unsuitable to have prose in Shakespeare's texts:

Shakespeare had followed the general practice of allowing only his clowns and lower-class characters to speak in prose, but he had not been consistent in this. Some adapters (particularly those writing in the first half of the [eighteenth] century) conscientiously eliminated the prose passages in the tragedies [of Shakespeare]. [...] Prose was occasionally admitted in the speech of a servant or other lower-class person, but scarcely ever in the speech of an important character.

(1956: 74-75)

Considering THOU appears very frequently in verse, i.e. in the tragedies (Table 11), both THOU and verse are strongly associated with tragedies, and eighteenth-century playwrights used these to create a grave archaic style suitable for the genre, rather than using them to suit characters' traits and the atmosphere of the scenes, as Shakespeare did. I will discuss this point further in Chapters 5 and 10.

Although the percentage of THOU appearing in verse is high (93.0%), THOU only accounts for 57.3% of the entire amount of second person singular pronouns in verse (Table 11). There are two possible reasons for this. One is that although their use of THOU is more rigid than in Shakespeare, the eighteenth-century playwrights still try to differentiate the use of THOU and YOU, especially regarding social class system. To take an example, servants use YOU to their master/mistress and receive THOU and their use of THOU to their master/mistress is mostly confined to aside and apostrophe. Below is a case in point:

*[Alonzo confides his concern to his slave Zanga. Zanga pretends to be a loyal slave, but hides his grudge against Alonzo for conquering his country and enslaving him.]*

ALONZO: Come near me, *Zanga*;

For I dare open all my Heart to thee. [...]

ZANGA: We hear, my Lord, that in that Action too,  
Your interposing Arm preserv'd his Life.

ALONZO: It did — with more than the Expence of Mine;  
For oh! this Day is mention'd for their Nuptials.

But see, she comes! I'll take my leave, and die.

ZANGA: [*Aside.*] Hadst thou a thousand Lives, thy Death would please me.

Unhappy Fate! My Country overcome!

(*Revenge* 1.1)

I will look into the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe further in Chapter 7.

Another reason why THOU accounts for only a little over half of the number of second person pronouns in tragedies is that there is one tragedy in verse with a comparatively smaller percentage of THOU (*Sisters*, 26.1%), which slightly lowers the overall percentage of THOU in verse. Since *Sisters* is the last play in our corpus (1783) the late date might affect the figure. I will discuss this point further in 4.4.

One point worth noting is that the percentage of THOU in some of the eighteenth-century tragedies exceeds that in Shakespearean tragedies, despite the fact that the use of THOU in Standard English declined over the intervening centuries. According to Freedman, who studies THOU and YOU in Shakespearean plays, the percentage of THOU to the whole figure of second person pronouns (including plural *you*) is 31% in comedies, 42% in tragedies, and 47% in histories. This difference is even more striking to see that the highest percentage of THOU among all Shakespearean plays is 66% in *Edward III* (in regards to tragedies, the highest is 60% in *Romeo and Juliet*) (2007: 19). Even when we include plural *you* in our data, both the highest and the average percentages of THOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies are higher than those of Shakespeare; the average is 51.7% and the highest percentage is 74.2% in *Penitent*:

Table 12: The percentage of THOU to YOU and *you* (pl.) in the tragedies.

Title	THOU to <i>you</i> (pl. + sg.)
<i>Penitent</i>	74.2%
<i>Jane Shore</i>	53.1%
<i>Busiris</i>	48.0%
<i>Revenge</i>	43.1%
<i>Merchant</i>	10.9%
<i>Curiosity</i>	46.2%
<i>Douglas</i>	70.4%
<i>Agis</i>	71.6%
<i>Grecian</i>	70.2%
<i>Sisters</i>	25.5%

I will discuss the relationship between Shakespeare and the eighteenth-century playwrights further in Chapters 5 and 10.

#### 4.4. Chronological difference or idiolect?

In this section I will discuss whether the time span has affected the use of second person pronouns. Because the use of THOU died out in the course of time in Standard English (Beal 2004 etc.), the percentage of THOU is expected to decline over time if a chronological factor affects my data. Here I treat the tragedies and the comedies separately due to the big gap between the two genres (4.3.1).

Judging from the results shown in Figure 10, we can possibly say that there is a slight decline of THOU over the time in the comedies. The frequency of THOU per 1,000 words in the comedies written before 1750 is 2.2 while it is 0.3 in the comedies after 1750. This might indicate that although THOU was kept in use as a special pronoun in eighteenth-century theatres, the use of THOU became more and more limited in the course of the century. I will look at the individual use of THOU and YOU in the comedies in Chapter 6.

The tragedies do not show a clear decline during the century. The frequency of THOU to YOU in *Grecian* written in 1772 (77.7%) is as high as *Penitent* in 1706 (76.1%). There might be a slight influence of idiolect or authors' taste.<sup>41</sup> For example, Home uses THOU quite often (over 70%) in both of his plays while Young uses THOU around 50% in his plays. However, the percentage of THOU is not similar in two other plays by the same author (e.g. Murphy). Other important factors seem to be influencing the regulation of the use of THOU and YOU in tragedies. I will perform closer analyses of this usage in Chapter 5.

One interesting finding is that in Murphy's *Sisters*, which has comparatively few instances of THOU (26.1%), THOU is used very inconsistently. The pronoun switches from THOU to YOU even within one utterance. Considering that this is the last work of Murphy and it was written eleven years after another tragedy dealing with ancient Greece, *Grecian* (1772), which still has a high percentage of THOU (77.7%), he might have felt the decline

---

<sup>41</sup> An idiolect is 'The linguistic system used by an individual speaker (including features of pronunciation, grammar, lexical items and pragmatics)' (Llamas et al. 2006: 216). Coulthard argues that speakers has their own idiolect, i.e. different sets of vocabulary and preferences;

Every speaker has a very large active vocabulary built up over many years, which will differ from the vocabularies others have similarly built up, not only in terms of actual items but also in preferences for selecting certain items rather than others. Thus, whereas in principle any speaker/writer can use any word at any time, speakers in fact tend to make typical and individuating co-selections of preferred words.'

(2004: 432)

In this study I consider an idiolect as a unique set of preferences as well as vocabulary of individual author. An idiolect can affect the choice of personal pronouns. To take an instance, Evans (2011) studies Queen Elizabeth's idiolect by focussing on several linguistic factors including the replacement of *ye* by *you*.

of THOU even in the language of the theatre and did not feel the need to use THOU consistently to add archaic atmosphere to his play.

#### 4.5. Cases of pronouns

In this section I investigate whether syntactic functions have an influence on the frequency of THOU and YOU. Previous studies employ different categorisation on this subject (e.g. Mitchell (1971) using pronoun forms, Busse (2002) using sentence types).

In this study, I follow Walker (2007) and employ the following four categories:

- (1) subjective (appositive, subject, subject complement, vocative)
- (2) objective (direct, indirect or prepositional object)
- (3) possessive determiner
- (4) possessive pronoun

(adapted from Walker 2007: 260)

I agree with Walker that subdividing objective into indirect object and direct object would be time-consuming and not worth the effort. Considering that the distinction between dative and accusative has been lost by the end of the Middle English period (Lass 1999: 147), categorising objects (i.e. *you* and *thee*) in one category would suffice. As in Walker (2007), I separate possessive determiners (*your*, *thy/thine*) and possessive pronouns (*yours*, *thine*) to see if the differences of positions and forms affect their choices.

There is one proviso about my data classification. Genitive form *thy* becomes *thine* before a vowel (e.g. *thine eyes*) in some works, as in Shakespeare's time (cf. Busse 2002), but not consistently. I will discuss this point later in 4.5.1 below. As in 4.2, ambiguous contracted forms 'ee, d'ye and y' are excluded from the data.

One remarkable point is that the playwrights in my corpus are very precise about the



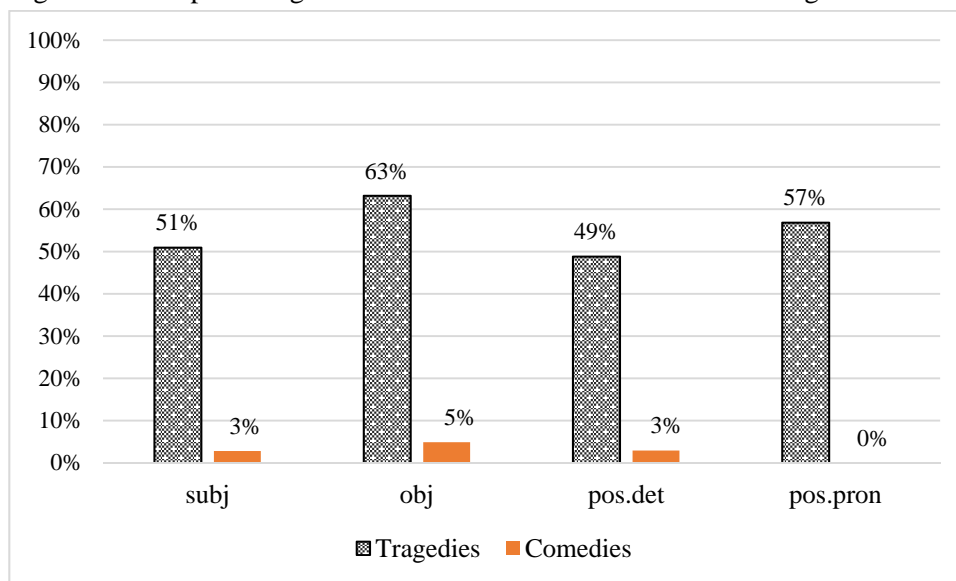
the cases of THOU and YOU. They correctly use the nominative and oblique cases of THOU (i.e. without confusion of *thou* and *thee*) and the number of the subject (i.e. THOU refers to a single person only). Additionally, THOU concords with the verbal ending *-st* most of the time. In the older times there was confusion between *thou* and *thee*, although it occurred much less frequently than confusion between *ye* and *you*. Both Shakespeare and Marlowe used *thee* as a subject, e.g. ‘what hast *thee* done’ (*The Jew of Malta* 1056) (Lass 1999: 154) (see also 2.1). Adding to that, as THOU fell out of use from everybody speech, there was a case of mistake in concord *canst you* is attested in one of Sir Thomas More’s letters (Lass 1999: 151). The eighteenth-century dramatists’ accurate use of THOU might suggest that the case system of THOU has become quite rigid, possibly because of the rise of prescriptivism (2.1). Sundby et al. show that numerous eighteenth-century grammars condemned the wrong concord of THOU and second person plural form of verbs (e.g. *thou shall, thou will*), or YOU and second person singular form of verbs (e.g. *you lovest, you shalt*).<sup>42</sup>

The figure below shows the percentage of THOU to the whole figure of THOU and YOU in each case:

---

<sup>42</sup> 47 grammar books point out the combination of THOU and second person pronouns as wrong (Sundby et al. 1991: 153-154) and 26 grammar books condemn the concord of YOU and second person singular form of verbs (Sundby et al. 1991: 155-156).

Figure 11: The percentage of THOU to YOU and their cases in the tragedies and the comedies.



THOU appears with the objective case slightly more frequently than the others in tragedies (63%) and in comedies (5%) but the reason for this is unclear. There is no conspicuously frequent collocation. There does not seem to be any strong trend in the other cases. The absence of possessive pronoun *thine* in comedies is probably a coincidence, rather than a proof of its non-existence. THOU is very rarely used in comedies, and the possessive pronoun itself is a rare form (taking up only 1% of the entire figure of THOU and YOU in comedies).<sup>43</sup> Walker reached a similar conclusion that the syntactic functions of pronouns do not have an influence on the selection of second person singular pronouns,

<sup>43</sup> The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words is as follows:

	Tragedies		Comedies	
	THOU	YOU	THOU	YOU
Subjective	58.1	56.0	4.7	159.4
Objective	49.1	28.6	4.7	91.2
possessive determiner	62.8	65.0	2.7	88.9
possessive pronoun	2.7	2.0	0.0	3.2

and in her data THOU shows a constant decline over the centuries regardless of its cases (2007: 284).

#### 4.5.1. *Thy vs thine*

*Thine* was used before a noun starting with a vowel even in the eighteenth century as well as sixteenth century, but its appearance was rather unpredictable.<sup>44</sup> Ulrich Busse reveals that *thine* tends to collocate with the following words and it was not a free variation of *thy* in Shakespeare's time: *age, arm, ear, eye, oath* and *uncle* (2002: 233). Walker shows that *own, ear* and *eye* clearly favour *thine* while *uncle* prefers *thy* (2007: 263). It should be noted that *thine* never appears in comedies written between 1680-1760 in her corpus (2007: 264). In my eighteenth-century corpus, *thine* occurs fourteen times, all of which are with a word starting with a vowel. On the other hand, there are 82 occurrences of *thy* with a vowel or a silent *h*. The below is a list of cognates of *thy* and *thine*:

***Thine*** + vowel (11x): *ear/ears* (3x), *eminence, eye/eyes* (6x), *error, exaltation, own* (2x)

***Thy*** + vowel (82x): *absence, absurdity, account, actions, afflictions* (2x), *aged, agonies, aid* (3x), *Altamont, anxious, appointed, arm/arms* (7x), *artifice, arts, assistance* (2x), *avenging, awful, ears, ease, efforts, embrace, employment, end* (2x), *enemies, erring, exalted, excuse, eyes* (11x), *honest, ignoble, indignant, infamy, ingratitude, innocence, insatiate, inspiration, insulting, offence, office, only, onward, oracle, own* (21x), *unconscious, unequaled, unexperienced, ungrateful, unhappy, unmanly, untimely, upbraiding*

The list above clearly shows that *thy* is much more favoured with most of the words starting with a vowel. There is no word which occurs more frequently with *thine*, and

---

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Adair (2016) mentions Swift uses *thine* as both a predicative pronoun and a possessive adjective before words beginning with a vowel (2016: 113).

even *eyes* and *own* occur more frequently with *thy*. *Thine* occurs only in four tragedies: *Agis* (2x), *Douglas* (5x), *Jane Shore* (1x) and *Revenge* (2x). Although *thine* has not died out in our period, its use was more restricted than in Shakespeare's time, and it seems it was becoming less frequent.

#### 4.6. Summary

In this chapter I have looked at the overall trend of the use of THOU and YOU in the entire corpus. Despite the fact that THOU had declined in Standard English over the course of time, the percentage of THOU is still high in the tragedies. In fact, their percentage is higher than that in Shakespearean plays. It seems that the eighteenth-century playwrights tried to imitate Shakespearean style by using a grave archaic style in their tragedies but did not have THOU in their own personal pronoun system, so they ended up overusing THOU. On the other hand, in the comedies the percentage of THOU is quite low.

Although genre seems to play an important role, the more crucial factor affecting the use of second person pronouns is medium. Most of the tragedies were written in verse and all of the comedies were written in prose. There is one tragedy written in prose (*Merchant*), and its percentage of THOU is remarkably low – as low as in comedies.

The chronological difference is not large, but there seems to be a slight decline of THOU over the course of time in each genre. Still, the differences between two genres or two media are much greater.

I focused on the syntactic functions of second person singular pronouns in 4.5. It was proven that they have almost no effect on the frequency of THOU and YOU.

From these findings, one hypothesis can be drawn; playwrights in the eighteenth century learned the use of THOU, possibly from works by Shakespeare and other authors

in an older period, as THOU was not a part of the personal pronoun system in ordinary English in this century. I will explore the difference of the usage of THOU in Shakespearean works and eighteenth-century plays in more detail in the following chapters.

## **5. THOU and YOU in the tragedies**

We have seen in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 that THOU tends to appear much more frequently in the tragedies than in the comedies, although there is a great variation from play to play. Adding to that, previous studies on other genres reveal that THOU is also rare in other genres (Walker (2007) on depositions and trial records). In order to investigate why the tragedies have a peculiarly high frequency of THOU compared to the comedies, I will focus on the use of THOU and YOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies in this chapter. Firstly, I will look at the data quantitatively, paying special attentions to the gender and class of the characters. Secondly, I will discuss some individual cases of the marked use of second person singular pronouns (both YOU and THOU) qualitatively, trying to provide explanations of the usage when possible. Finally, I will do a case study using *Jane Shore*, a drama written under the strong influence of Shakespeare, to see the Bard's influence on the language of the eighteenth-century tragedies.<sup>45</sup>

### **5.1. Quantitative study**

#### **5.1.1. Gender**

Previous studies show that the gender of the speaker and the addressee can affect the use of second person singular pronouns; women tend to use YOU more often than men do (1.2.1). Roger Brown and Gilman list sex as one of the factors inducing power (1960: 255) and solidarity (1960: 258), which determine the use of personal pronouns. Women's power can be weaker than that of men, so women might address men as YOU while receiving THOU from them.

Turning our attention to diachronic studies, Johnson states that women tend to use

---

<sup>45</sup> Some parts of Chapter 5 and 6 will be published as Nonomiya (2014).

YOU more often than men in her drama corpus between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1966: 268-269). Walker points out that women's status was inferior to that of men, being considered as dependents of men (2007: 28) and shows a similar result in the comedies published between 1560 and 1719 in her corpus (2007: 178). However, she points out this difference might be influenced by other factors such as emotion (2007: 232-233). Shiina, who studies comedies in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, shows that the power difference between men and women in Early Modern England makes them take different politeness strategies when talking to the opposite sex:

The gender difference between interlocutors of opposite sexes, in that the ratio of the female use of deferential vocatives to the male addressee is higher than the other way around, can be explained by the hierarchical asymmetry between men and women in patriarchal society, in which the female is situated lower in status than the male.

(2005a: 212)

My pilot study shown in Chapter 3 also indicates that the female characters tend to use YOU more often than the male characters do. In order to see if gender affects the use of THOU and YOU in my data, I firstly look at the gender of speakers, then investigate the gender of both speakers and their addressees.

In order to focus on the interlocutors' genders, some occurrences are excluded from the data; the speeches in which the speaker does not know the hearer's gender/identity are excluded in the data below. To take an example, in the following scene the addressee has not entered the scene when the speaker utters his line, so the hearer's identity is unknown to the speaker (and also to the audience):

*[Philotas is guarding a cave at night. He notices somebody approaching to the cave.]*

PHILOTAS: What daring step

Sounds on the flinty rock? Stand there; what ho!

Speak, ere thou dar'st advance?

[Enter *Euphrasia*, with a Lanthorn in her hand.]

EUPHRASIA: Thou need'st not fear;

It is a friend approaches.

(*Grecian* 2.1)

Philotas cannot see the person who is approaching, so his addressee is categorised as 'unknown' and excluded from the data of gender and class.<sup>46</sup> In contrast, Euphrasia knows who is there (she can probably see him with her lantern), so the addressee of her THOU is known (male, middle class) and included in my data. Another case of exclusion is when the addressee is a supernatural being or non-human object such as a bower or a star. Most of them do not have a specific gender, and even if they have one, it is not likely that they would be treated in the same way as male or female human characters. Addresses to non-human beings will be treated in Chapter 7, under the sections on apostrophe.<sup>47</sup>

The data for THOU and YOU in the tragedies are shown in Table 13 below:

---

<sup>46</sup> Mulholland suggests that in *King Lear* THOU tends to be employed when the social status of the addressee is in doubt (1987: 160). Philotas' use of THOU in this scene might be motivated by the same reason.

<sup>47</sup> N.B. there is a difference in choice of second person plural pronouns when addressing supernatural or non-human addressees. While the unmarked vocative form to address human beings in the plural is *you*, non-human addressees receive *ye* most of the time. See Chapter 7 for further discussions.



Table 13: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by male and female characters in the tragedies.

			Male			Female		
Title	Author	year	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	Rowe	1706	20.7	4.1	84%	7.2	4.9	60%
<i>Shore</i>		1714	10.0	12.4	45%	9.5	4.1	70%
<i>Busiris</i>	Young	1719	10.7	10.5	51%	3.2	3.8	46%
<i>Revenge</i>		1721	13.5	14.3	49%	1.6	6.5	20%
<i>Merchant</i>	Lillo	1731	2.3	13.2	15%	0.6	9.5	6%
<i>Curiosity</i>		1736	10.7	9.3	53%	2.9	5.5	34%
<i>Douglas</i>	Home	1756	7.2	4.4	62%	12.1	3.6	77%
<i>Agis</i>		1758	12.5	4.0	76%	7.4	2.1	78%
<i>Grecian</i>	Murphy	1772	14.1	4.2	77%	5.1	1.8	74%
<i>Sisters</i>		1786	5.7	15.9	26%	3.3	12.3	21%

There is a lot of variation in the data, as in the overall data of the tragedies (Chapter 4). Even plays written by the same author have different pattern. To take one example from Rowe's plays, female characters use THOU more frequently in *Penitent* while male characters employ THOU more often in *Shore*. There is no chronological pattern observed in either gender. *Merchant* and *Sisters* have remarkably low percentage of THOU in the both genders. While the reason why *Merchant* has the lowest percentage is that it is written in prose, which is associated with non-tragic style (4.3.2), the reason for the low frequency of *Sisters* is unknown (4.3).

There seems to be a gender difference in five works: *Penitent*, *Shore*, *Revenge*, *Curiosity*, *Douglas*. The gender difference is especially large in *Penitent*, *Shore* and *Revenge*. The male characters use more THOU than the female characters do in *Penitent* (84%, 60%) and *Revenge* (49%, 20%). One possible explanation is that the main female characters in these two plays have similar traits; a newly-wed upper-class young woman who mainly talks with her father and husband. This might cause the imbalance of the

percentage of THOU in these two plays, for previous studies show women tend to address their fathers and husbands with YOU while receiving THOU from them (e.g. Johnson 1966).<sup>48</sup> However, it should be noted that similarity in characters does not always bring about a similar result. The main female character in *Busiris* also has a similar background but there is little difference between male characters and the female characters (51% and 46%). In *Shore*, on the other hand, the female characters use THOU more frequently than the male characters do. There are two female characters in the play, who are close friends and address each other as THOU. This increases the number of THOU used by the female character in *Shore*. These women use both THOU and YOU to male characters, as shown below (Table 14 and Figure 12), which also contributes to the dominance of THOU in female speeches.

Now let us have a look at the relationship between the choice of second person singular pronouns and the gender of speakers and their addressee:

---

<sup>48</sup> Additionally, their class might affect their choice of second person pronouns; Stein argues upper-class characters in *King Lear* tend to use you to their spouses (2003: 279). I will discuss the relationship between the choice of pronouns and the class of characters in 5.1.2

Table 14: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in female characters' speech.<sup>49</sup>

		THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	F-F	0.80	0.55	59%
1706	F-M	6.44	4.36	60%
<i>Shore</i>	F-F	3.83	0.06	98%
1714	F-M	5.64	4.02	58%
<i>Busiris</i>	F-F	-	-	-
1719	F-M	3.24	3.76	46%
<i>Revenge</i>	F-F	-	-	-
1721	F-M	1.57	6.47	20%
<i>Merchant</i>	F-F	0	1.14	0%
1731	F-M	0.63	8.41	7%
<i>Curiosity</i>	F-F	0.19	3.43	5%
1736	F-M	2.67	2.10	56%
<i>Douglas</i>	F-F	0.83	3.10	21%
1756	F-M	11.24	0.48	96%
<i>Agis</i>	F-F	1.84	0.07	96%
1758	F-M	5.58	1.98	74%
<i>Grecian</i>	F-F	0.13	0.07	67%
1772	F-M	4.92	1.71	74%
<i>Sisters</i>	F-F	0.68	3.38	17%
1786	F-M	2.65	8.90	23%

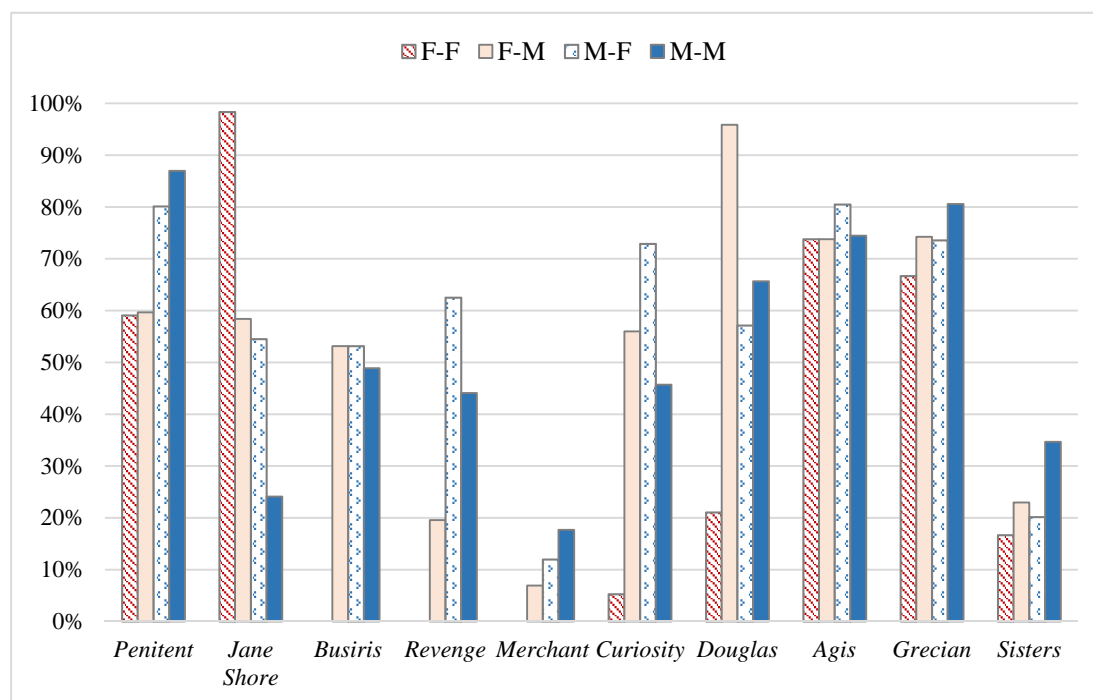
Table 15: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words in male characters' speech.

		THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	M-F	9.64	2.39	80%
1706	M-M	11.95	1.66	87%
<i>Shore</i>	M-F	8.24	6.88	55%
1714	M-M	1.75	5.51	24%
<i>Busiris</i>	M-F	4.39	3.76	53%
1719	M-M	6.36	6.65	49%
<i>Revenge</i>	M-F	4.37	2.62	63%
1721	M-M	9.15	11.60	44%
<i>Merchant</i>	M-F	0.97	7.10	12%
1731	M-M	1.31	6.08	18%
<i>Curiosity</i>	M-F	4.10	1.52	73%
1736	M-M	6.58	7.82	46%
<i>Douglas</i>	M-F	2.76	2.07	57%
1756	M-M	4.48	2.34	66%
<i>Agis</i>	M-F	2.43	0.59	80%
1758	M-M	10.07	3.45	74%
<i>Grecian</i>	M-F	6.76	2.43	74%
1772	M-M	7.35	1.77	81%
<i>Sisters</i>	M-F	3.33	12.28	19%
1786	M-M	5.67	15.87	35%

<sup>49</sup> There are no speeches containing THOU or YOU between female characters in *Busiris*

and *Revenge*.

Figure 12: The percentage of THOU according to the gender of speaker and addressee in the tragedies.



There does not seem to be an overall pattern of the percentage of THOU or the relationship between the use of THOU and the gender of speakers and addressees. The influence of the gender of addressees can be observed in some works, but which gender receives more THOU depends on the play. Also, whether the gender of the speaker and addressee are same or not does not have strong relationship with the usage of THOU. The percentage of THOU from a man to a woman and that from a woman to a man is similar only in *Grecian*, and there are no plays in which the percentage of THOU by a man to a woman and that by a woman to a man are almost the same (Figure 12).

In conclusion, the gender difference in the choice of second person singular pronoun is not evident in my data. The difference among plays seems to be due to the playwrights' preference, rather than due to specific patterns based on gender. There are some characters who choose to use one form more frequently to one gender, but not

all characters follow the same pattern.

## **5.1.2. Class**

### **5.1.2.1. Classification of classes**

The two forms of second person pronouns are thought to reflect the social relationships between interlocutors. Roger Brown and Gilman (1960) argue that ‘power’ (a non-symmetrical relationship between superior and inferior) and ‘solidarity’ (a symmetrical relationship between equals) determine whether a speaker chooses THOU or YOU. Walker shows that power based on higher social rank, especially between the top and bottom sections of the social hierarchy, has an influence on the choice of pronouns in her corpus (2007: 186, 294).

Before starting the discussion, I would like to explain what classifications of ‘class’ I used, which is an important factor in my thesis. My classification of class and status follows Shiina (2005a) and Walker (2007), both of whom include eighteenth-century comedies in their corpora. However, I have simplified their categories into four: upper, upper-middle, middle and lower (Table 16). Some texts under discussion deal with ancient and/or foreign settings, but I have tried to assign the same role system to them to allow comparison of my results with other works (Cf. Byrne 1937: 146-158). It can be hypothesised that playwrights may have assigned some contemporary style of talking according to the characters’ status rather than creating completely new styles and classes for their ancient plays. To take an example from *Agis*, a story of ancient Sparta, the actual relationship between the king and his soldiers would have been different from that in eighteenth-century England, but here, I try to put characters

into a roughly equivalent category, such as Greek emperor as Upper and Greek citizens as Middle.

Table 16: The classification of classes and categories in eighteenth-century dramas.

Category	subcategory	description of subcategory	example
Upper	U1	nobility	royalty, duke, baron, feudal lord
	U2	knights and baronets ( <i>Sir</i> )	knight, baronet
upper-middle	UM	gentry	gentry
Middle	M1	wealthy merchants and those in profession	retailer, clergyman, medical doctor, citizen, military officer
	M2	craftsmen and farmers	weaver, tailor, blacksmith, innkeeper
Lower	L1	servants	servant, labourer, chambermaid
	L2	unemployed and criminals	whore, thief, unemployed

Although aristocrats (Upper) and gentry (Upper-Middle) are similar in the point that they earn income not by manual labour, but by land ownership (Walker 2007: 25), there is a clear difference between gentry and the other groups, such as the use of address terms such as ‘your lordship’ and ‘your highness’ to the former.

Because this analysis of class focusses particularly on interpersonal dynamics, non-human objects such as *God* and addresses to the speaker him/herself are excluded from the data. These will be treated in a future study.

Another thing which needs to be explained is treatment of unknown and assumed identity. As in the gender data, addresses to characters whose identity is unknown to the speaker are excluded from the data. Another case which needs to be

treated with caution is a character with an assumed identity; Norval in *Douglas*. He first appears as a shepherd's son, but in Act 4 his mother reveals his true identity as the son of a feudal lord Douglas, telling him not to reveal it to anybody else.<sup>50</sup> While Norval/Douglas considers himself as a lord from then on, most of the characters treat him as the shepherd's son Norval until the end of the play. I treat Norval/Douglas as two characters, Norval (lower-class, shepherd) and Douglas (upper-class, lord), depending on what the speaker thinks of him.

Table 17: The identity of Norval and Douglas in *Douglas*.

name	occupation	gender	class	characters who know this identity
Norval	shepherd/knight	male	lower	Glenalvon, Lord Randolph
Douglas	lord	male	upper	Anna, Lady Randolph, Old Norval

Since Glenalvon and Lord Randolph never learn of Norval's true origin, their address to him is always considered as an address to Norval. As regards Norval/Douglas as a speaker, he is treated as an upper-class character from the point when he learns his true identity.

---

<sup>50</sup> He is referred as Douglas in the stage directions in the fifth act.

### 5.1.2.2. Data and analysis

Table 18: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the class of the characters.

Title	Class	THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	Lower	0.18	1.04	15%
	Middle	-	-	-
	Upper	27.74	7.92	78%
<i>Shore</i>	Lower	0.00	0.39	0%
	Middle	13.69	8.56	0%
	Upper	5.77	8.17	41%
<i>Busiris</i>	Lower	-	-	-
	Middle	7.11	10.75	0%
	Upper	6.88	3.52	66%
<i>Revenge</i>	Lower	3.73	11.48	25%
	Middle	-	-	-
	Upper	11.36	9.21	55%
<i>Merchant</i>	Lower	0.06	2.16	3%
	Middle	2.84	22.22	11%
	Upper	-	-	-
<i>Curiosity</i>	Lower	0.00	3.30	0%
	Middle	7.84	5.57	58%
	Upper	0.00	0.00	-
<i>Douglas</i>	Lower	1.59	4.34	27%
	Middle	-	-	-
	Upper	17.72	3.66	83%
<i>Agis</i>	Lower	-	-	-
	Middle	15.36	5.22	75%
	Upper	4.56	0.88	84%
<i>Grecian</i>	Lower	-	-	-
	Middle	5.51	1.62	77%
	Upper	15.95	5.07	76%
<i>Sisters</i>	Lower	-	-	-
	Middle	1.35	2.08	39%
	Upper	6.66	18.74	26%



As Table 18 shows, there is a clear tendency for the lower-class characters to use THOU least frequently. There is no play in which the percentage of THOU by the lower class exceeds that by the middle or the upper class.

### 5.1.2.3. Lower class

Table 19: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by the lower class in tragedies.

	Lower → Lower			Lower → Middle			Lower → Upper		
	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.18	1.04	15%
<i>Shore</i>	-	-	-	0	0.39	0%	-	-	-
<i>Busiris</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Revenge</i>	0.41	0.99	29%	-	-	-	3.32	10.49	24%
<i>Merchant</i>	0	0.51	0%	0.06	1.65	3%	-	-	-
<i>Curiosity</i>	-	-	-	0	5.53	0%	-	-	-
<i>Douglas</i>	0.14	0.07	67%	-	-	-	1.45	4.28	25%
<i>Agis</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Grecian</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sisters</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Lower-class characters employ YOU more frequently than THOU in all of the tragedies except *Douglas*. When we look at the data of speaker and addressee closely, however, there are instances when lower-class characters use THOU to their superiors (Table 19). These include servants addressing their master. I will look at the contexts further below. It is also revealed that lower-class characters are more likely to use THOU to their peers (another lower-class character) rather than to an upper class or middle class character.

#### 5.1.2.4. Middle class

Table 20: THOU and YOU spoken by middle-class characters in the tragedies.

	Middle → Lower			Middle → Middle			Middle → Upper		
	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Shore</i>	0	0.13	0%	8.56	4.87	64%	5.13	3.57	59%
<i>Busiris</i>	-	-	-	5.61	5.89	49%	1.50	4.85	24%
<i>Revenge</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Merchant</i>	0	0.85	0%	2.84	21.37	12%	-	-	-
<i>Curiosity</i>	4.10	1.05	80%	9.05	8.29	52%	-	-	-
<i>Douglas</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Agis</i>	0.15	0	100%	12.57	3.82	77%	2.65	1.40	65%
<i>Grecian</i>	-	-	-	1.38	0.26	84%	3.54	1.18	75%
<i>Sisters</i>	-	-	-	0.10	0.10	50%	1.25	1.98	39%

In the case of middle class characters, the class division is less clear. They sometimes use THOU as well as YOU to upper-class and middle-class characters (Table 20). This is probably because class division between the upper-class and the middle-class is vague, especially in the tragedies set outside Britain.<sup>51</sup> For example, soldiers (classified as ‘middle class’) appear as friends of a royal family (‘upper class’) in the Greek tragedies (*Agis*, *Grecian* and *Sisters*). Although they are aware of the royal family’s status and use honorifics such as *prince*, they exchange THOU with their royalty. This might show the difficulty of assigning classes to characters outside British system. It would be worth pointing out, however, that the tragedians in my corpus did use ‘British’ notions

---

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Byrne (1936), who uses the same categories for Shakespearean characters, regardless of their nationality and background age. She points out that ‘citizens’ and ‘senators’ appearing in Shakespeare’s Roman plays were actually depicted as Englishmen and English lords respectively (1936: 148, 154).

of hierarchy, for example using British address terms *my lord* and *sir* (cf. Chapter 8) and we cannot deny the possibility that they borrowed the British class system when writing foreign plays.

In contrast to middle-class characters, lower-class characters are clearly marked as ‘servant’ or ‘slave’. Even when their master calls them ‘friend’, their difference of status cannot be overridden and lower-class characters stick to YOU (e.g. Alonzo and his slave Zanga in *Revenge*).

### 5.1.2.5. Upper-class

Table 21: THOU and YOU spoken by upper class in the tragedies.

	Upper → Lower			Upper → Middle			Upper → Upper		
	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %	THOU	YOU	THOU %
<i>Penitent</i>	0.31	0	100%	-	-	-	27.72	7.92	78%
<i>Shore</i>	-	-	-	5.45	4.74	54%	0.32	3.44	9%
<i>Busiris</i>	-	-	-	4.22	2.43	63%	2.66	1.10	71%
<i>Revenge</i>	3.21	0.23	93%	-	-	-	8.16	8.98	48%
<i>Merchant</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Curiosity</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Douglas</i>	7.31	1.38	84%	-	-	-	10.41	2.28	82%
<i>Agis</i>	-	-	-	2.28	0.37	86%	2.28	0.51	82%
<i>Grecian</i>	-	-	-	63	18	78%	10.11	3.35	75%
<i>Sisters</i>	-	-	-	1.35	5.05	32%	4.32	13.69	23%

Among the three classes, the upper-class characters use THOU more frequently than THOU (Table 21). Both the number of the tokens of THOU and the percentage of THOU in the entire number of second person pronouns are larger than that by lower-class characters. However, even though upper-class characters mainly use THOU to their inferiors, they do not always choose it. This suggests that the pronoun use is not rigidly

determined by class and there was room to change or override the power difference.

## 5.2. Qualitative study

### 5.2.1. YOU as a marked form

The quantitative study shows that THOU is an unmarked form in some eighteenth-century tragedies.<sup>52</sup> This suggests that, unlike in present-day Standard English, speakers can choose to use YOU to show their emotion or special relationships to their addressee. Such use of YOU was not found in my eighteenth-century comedy corpus (cf. Chapter 7), but can be found in Shakespearean works. Byrne lists seven usage of YOU (1936: 86), two of which can be considered as a ‘marked’ use of YOU (in bold) as shown below:

*You* is used:

- a) in courtesy, in well-bred intercourse, in courtly conversation, in formality, in respect;
- b) in businesslike exchange, by upper class equals, by friends ordinarily;
- c) in coldness, in calm comment, in flattery of an inferior, in earnestness;**
- d) to a ruler, to a superior, to a master or mistress, to a senior;
- e) to a servant severely or in anger, to a servant of importance (Steward, special messenger, etc.), with sir or sirrah;**
- f) to a child by parent, if child be of rank, or in command, or severity, by child to parent, by husband and wife ordinarily, by brothers ordinarily, by cousins ordinarily;
- g) for the sake of rime.

(Byrne 1936: 86, emphasis added)

I will look at the usage similar to (c) and (e) above in my corpus, then deal with cases which do not fall into these categories. Because of the scarcity of studies on the marked

---

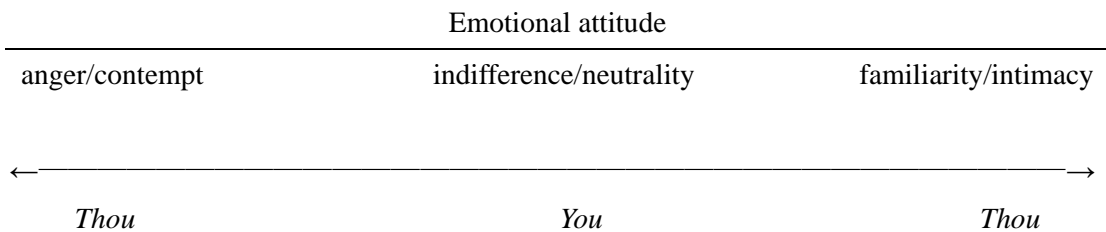
<sup>52</sup> See 2.1.3 for the further discussions on markedness theory.

use of YOU in eighteenth-century English dramas, I refer to studies on Shakespearean works when needed.<sup>53</sup>

### 5.2.1.1. Distancing

Several studies on Shakespeare’s use of YOU reveal that YOU is used to mark distancing and seriousness (Byrne 1936, Barber 1981, Freedman 2007 etc.). Firstly, I will look at distancing YOU. Bruti shows that the axis of emotional attitude, i.e. ‘the locutor’s affective disposition towards his interlocutor’, has an influence on the choice of THOU and YOU (2000: 35).

Figure 13: The axis of emotional attitude. (Bruti 2000: 35)



While YOU is the neutral option (as shown in Figure 13), moving from THOU to YOU can signal ‘distancing’ from the addressee: ‘it [YOU] turns into the marked option on the axis of emotional attitude, where it signals a loss in terms of intimacy’ (2000: 38).

Bruti gives one example from Shakespeare’s *King Henry V* as follows:

KING HENRY: Marry, if you would put me to verses, or to dance for your sake, Kate, why you undid me: for the one, I have neither words nor measure, and for the other, I have strength in measure, yet a reasonable measure in strength. ... If thou

---

<sup>53</sup> It would be more relevant to compare the data on Elizabethan plays not just Shakespearean plays. However, due to the scarcity of relevant studies on the use of THOU and YOU in Elizabethan tragedies (as far as I know, the latest study on this subject is Mitchell (1971)), I mostly look into studies on Shakespearean plays.

canst love a fellow of this temper, Kate, whose face is not worth sunburning, that never looks in his glass for love of any thing he sees there, let thine eye be thy cook I speak to thee plain soldier: if thou canst love me for this take me; if not, to say to thee that I shall die, is true; but for thy love, by the lord no; yet I love thee too. And while thou livest, dear Kate, take a fellow of plain and uncoined constancy, for he perforce must do thee right; ... If thou would have such a one, take me; and take me, take a soldier; take a soldier, take a king. And what sayst thou then to my love? Speak my fair, and fairly, I pray thee.

KATHERINE: Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France?

KING HENRY: No; it is not possible you should love the enemy of France, Kate; but, in loving me, you should love the friend of France, for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it;

*(King Henry V, quoted from Bruti 2000: 37, emphasis added)*

Bruti explains that Henry opens their conversation with unmarked YOU, then switches to emotional THOU while courting her. However, Katherine, the Princess of France whose kingdom was defeated by Henry, treats him coldly (symbolised by ‘enemy of France’) and makes him switch back to YOU. Bruti explains Henry’s switch from THOU to YOU as follows:

The use of *you* may thus serve as a strategy for expressing varying degrees of distance from the interlocutor on the axis of emotional attitude, which is here also a situational prime requirement. This “distancing” *you* is a case of markedness reversal (cf. Shapiro 1983; Merlini Barbaresi 1996): on the axis of social distance *you* would be the most natural option as the form of address used by nobles among themselves, but it turns into the marked option on the axis of emotional attitude, where it signals a loss in terms of intimacy.

(2000: 38)

As shown above, switching (back) from THOU to YOU can represent the speaker’s wish to distance themselves from the addressee. This ‘distancing YOU’ can be found in my corpus too, as shown below:

*[Lavinia and her husband Horatio are telling her brother Altamont about his fiancée's dishonesty. Altamont refuses to believe them and tries to leave the scene.]*

ALTAMONT: Thou art my Sister, and I would not make thee

The lonely Mourner of a widdow'd Bed  
Therefore thy Husband's Life is safe; but warn him,  
No more to know this Hospitable Roof. [...]  
We must not meet; 'tis dangerous; farewell.

[He is going, Lavinia holds him.]

LAVINIA: Stay *Altamont*, my Brother stay, [...]

And speak one gentle Word to your *Horatio*.  
Behold, his Anger melts, he longs to love you,  
To call you Friend, then press you hard, with all  
The tender, speechless Joy of Reconciliation.

ALTAMONT: It cannot, sha'not be! —you must not hold me. [...]

Henceforth to trust my Heart with none but her;  
Then own the Joys, which on her Charms attend,  
Have more than paid me for my faithless Friend.

[Altamont breaks from Lavinia, and Exit.

*(Penitent 3.1)*

Altamont addresses Lavinia as THOU while receiving YOU from her, possibly as the power difference in gender (cf. 5.1.1).<sup>54</sup> They seem to be close, judging from Altamont's saying that he will not kill her husband so that he will not grieve her, despite the extremely rude speech he has just received. When he is detained by Lavinia, however, Altamont switches to YOU to show distancing and coldness to his sister. He determines not to believe his dear sister and friend, and also has to physically break the hold of her, so he needs to distance himself from her to do so.

---

<sup>54</sup> Altamont addresses Lavinia with THOU six times and with YOU once (as shown in the example above) in the entire play. Lavinia addresses him with THOU five times (four times in 3.1 and once in 4.1) while with YOU six times (in 4.1). Her unmarked address to her brother is unclear from the data. One possibility of Lavinia's use of you to her brother is that she is asking a favour in earnest (see 3.3.1 and 5.2.1.2).

### 5.2.1.2. Seriousness

Another use of switching to neutral/indifferent YOU is to add seriousness to a speech.

Ronberg shows that YOU can be used to show the speaker's seriousness of the matter by using a quotation from Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*:

BENEDICK: Surely I do believe your fair cousin is wronged.

BEATRICE: Ah, how much might the man deserve of me that would right her! [...]

BENEDICK: May a man do it?

BEATRICE: It is a man's office, but not yours.

BENEDICK: I do love nothing in the world so well as you. Is not that strange?

BEATRICE: As strange as the thing I know not. It were as possible for me to say I loved nothing so well as you, but believe me not, and yet I lie not. I confess nothing nor I deny nothing. I am sorry for my cousin.

BENEDICK: By my word, Beatrice, thou lovest me.

BEATRICE: Do not swear and eat it.

BENEDICK: I will swear by it that you love me, and I will make him eat it that says I love not you.

BEATRICE: Will you not eat your word?

BENEDICK: With no sauce that can be devised to it. I protest I love thee.

BEATRICE: Why then, God forgive me.

BENEDICK: What offence, sweet Beatrice?

BEATRICE: You have stayed me in a happy hour. I was about to protest I loved you:

BENEDICK: And do it with all thy heart.

BEATRICE: I love you with so much of my heart that none is left to protest.

BENEDICK: Come, bid me do anything for thee.

BEATRICE: Kill Claudio.

BENEDICK: Ha! Not for the wide world.

BEATRICE: You kill me to deny it. Farewell.

BENEDICK: Tarry, good Beatrice. By this hand, I love thee.

BEATRICE: Use it for my love some other way than swearing by it.

BENEDICK: Think you in your soul the Count Claudio hath wronged Hero?

BEATRICE: Yea, as sure as I have a thought or a soul.

BENEDICK: Enough, I am engaged, I will challenge him. I will kiss your hand, and so I leave you.



(*Much Ado About Nothing* 4.1, quoted from Ronberg 1992: 85, emphasis added)

Ronberg explains that Benedick starts the conversation with respectful YOU, then he becomes very emotionally involved and starts using THOU to Beatrice (1992: 85). Ronberg describes Benedick's switch from THOU to YOU at the end as follows:

Benedick switches back to *you* [...] to indicate to Beatrice that he is genuine in his offer of help. His *you* in line 67 shows that not until now does he really believe that there is something in what Beatrice claims Claudio has done to Hero: *Think you in your soul the Count Claudio hath wronged Hero?*. The change to *you* is here equivalent to our "do you honestly think that...?". Convinced, Benedick now means business and reveals his seriousness of purpose by addressing Beatrice with *you* in the last three lines.

(1992: 85-87)

YOU in the above example shows a neutral or serious attitude towards the addressee, but unlike the case of distancing YOU it does not necessarily involve negative feeling towards the addressee. It rather shows that the speaker is thinking logically, rather than making decisions on a whim.

YOU as a seriousness marker can be found in my tragedy corpus. Here I show one example taken from *Agis*. King Agis of Sparta, who is the most powerful in the play, addresses most of the characters as THOU, as shown below (Table 22):

Table 22: Agis's use of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words and percentage of THOU according to the addressees.

Name	Gender	Class	Profession	THOU	YOU	THOU %
Amphares	male	middle	Spartan soldier	1.47	0.44	77%
Lysander	male	middle	Spartan soldier	0.96	0.15	87%
officer	male	middle	Spartan officer	0.22	0.07	75%
Rhesus	male	middle	Thracian officer	0.22	0.07	75%
Euanthe	female	middle	Athenian woman	0.00	0.07	0%

In the following scene, however, he switches to YOU when talking with one of his soldiers:

*[Agis is talking with one of his soldiers named Amphares, who visits him late at night.]*

AGIS: Thou speak'st more boldly than becomes Amphares.

Add that to the offences I forgive. [...]

This day decides your character with me.

Now let your actions prove your words sincere.

(*Agis* 1.1)

Agis addresses Amphares with THOU as an unmarked form when they meet each other. His THOU might also represent his anger, because Agis suspects Amphares might be a traitor. As he talks with Amphares, Agis's anger subsides and he declares he forgives him using YOU. The use of YOU seems to show the seriousness and coolness of Agis's speech. This is the opposite of speakers who use YOU as an unmarked form, who switch to THOU when they lose temper (Hope 1993, Walker 2007. Cf. Chapter 5).

### **5.2.1.3. Mock-politeness**

YOU can also be used for mock-politeness. Mock-politeness is, according to Culpeper's definition, where 'the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realisations' (1996: 356). In the case of personal pronoun choice, using YOU to inappropriate people or without paying genuine respect would be considered as mock-politeness.

YOU used for mock-politeness is evident in Shakespeare. In his study on THOU and YOU in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Barber points out that 'in some cases the use of *You* is mock-polite or ironical, and may then be followed by a switch to a more normal *Thou*' (1981: 281). Such usage can be found in my eighteenth-century tragedy corpus.

The below is a quotation from *Douglas*. Glenalvon is the heir of Lord Randolph, the feudal lord of the land. He is jealous of Norval, a knight from a shepherd's family, who has suddenly become a favourite of Lord and Lady Randolph. In order to ruin Norval, Glenalvon has set up a trap; he tells the lord that Norval has grown too arrogant in the lord's favouritism and asked the lord to observe the shepherd's arrogance from a hidden space. In the following scene, Glenalvon elaborates his speech to stimulate Norval's pride and anger, including deliberate switches from THOU to YOU.<sup>55</sup>

*[Glenalvon criticises Norval's lofty speech, unsuited to his status as a knight from a shepherd family.]*

GLENALVON: Thou talk'st it well; no leader of our host,  
In sounds more lofty, speaks of glorious war.

NORVAL: If I shall e'er acquire a leader's name,  
My speech will be less ardent. [...]

GLENALVON: You wrong yourself, brave Sir; your martial deeds  
Have rank'd you with the great: but mark me Norval;  
[...] if you presume  
To bend on soldiers these disdainful eyes,  
As if you took the measure of their minds,  
And said in secret, you're no match for me;  
What will become of you?

NORVAL: If this were told— [Aside.]  
Hast thou no fears for thy presumptuous self?

GLENALVON: Ha! Dost thou threaten me?

*(Douglas 4.1)*

Soon after seeing each other, Glenalvon deliberately disgraces Norval. Glenalvon

---

<sup>55</sup> Glenalvon addresses Norval 10 times with THOU and 16 times with YOU. All of the addresses occur in 4.1 only. As we will see, he opens a conversation with THOU, switches to YOU then go back to THOU.

seemingly respects Norval by using YOU and *sir*, but he constantly brings up Norval's pride and low birth. Shimonomoto, who studies the language of Chaucer, describes the sarcastic use of YOU to an inferior as follows: 'If the speaker treats the addressee as if he were of higher rank though both know he is not, it often implies that the speaker is sarcastic' (2000: 24). In the above example, both Glenalvon and Norval know each other's class difference, so his use of YOU along with the deferential address term *sir* can be considered as sarcasm.<sup>56</sup> Such an example of YOU as mock politeness can represent the speaker's anger or contempt. Byrne shows YOU is used 'to a servant severely or in anger, to a servant of importance (steward, special messenger, etc.), with sir or sirrah' (1938: 86). Stein points out that in *King Lear* Kent uses marked YOU to Oswald in anger, who behaved in an unruly manner towards King Lear (2002: 282). Although Glenalvon is calm (he controls his speeches with his reason to gain his aim), it is likely that his hatred against Norval is hinted in his speeches. When Glenalvon sees Norval in wrath and fulfils his end (to make Lord Randolph hear Norval's proud speech), he goes back to the normal pronoun THOU. The last THOU might be used to mark his surprise at Norval's strong reaction.

With regard to Norval, he might not perceive Glenalvon's use of YOU to him as unnatural, although he does get offended by the latter's mock-politeness. In fact, Norval is the legitimate successor of the land —Lord Randolph defeated his father Douglas and took over his land— so Norval does not consider Glenalvon's status as above his. Therefore he would not be surprised to receive respectful YOU from

---

<sup>56</sup> *Sir* or *madam* used by a master/mistress to their servant as a marker of anger/contempt is also found in my comedy corpus, e.g. 'Mighty well, Sir! Do you serve your Master in this Manner?' (*Gil Blas* 2.4, a nobleman to his servant). I will discuss the use of address terms fully in Chapter 9.

Glenalvon. For the same reason he addresses Glenalvon as THOU most of the time.<sup>57</sup> There is no way to tell which pronoun Norval as a shepherd would use to Glenalvon due to lack of data, but considering Norval speaks politely to Lord and Lady Randolph, he is likely to use deferential YOU to the heir of Lord Randolph too. Norval/Douglas's use of THOU might be used to remind the audience of his true identity.

Considering the above example, the use of YOU in itself is not necessarily mock-polite. In fact Norval does not think receiving YOU is odd. The content of the conversations containing YOU, which refer to his birth and status in a condescending tone, combined with YOU, create the effect of mock-politeness.

## 5.2.2. Marked use of THOU

### 5.2.2.1. Emotion

When there is a clear power difference, the speaker who has less power uses YOU to their addressee (Brown and Gilman 1960, Bruti 2000). However, when they experience strong emotion such as anger or surprise, they occasionally resort to THOU (Walker 2007, Nakayama 2015). Here is one example of emotive THOU:

*[A shepherd has been arrested for murder by mistake. He is begging the wife of the lord to release him.]*

OLD NORVAL: Heav'n bless that countenance, so sweet and mild!

A judge like thee makes innocence more bold.

O save me, Lady!

*(Douglas 3.1)*

---

<sup>57</sup> Norval addresses Glenalvon with THOU 13 times and with YOU once. The only instance of YOU occurs when they are with Lord Randolph (Glenalvon's kinsman) while Norval uses THOU when he is alone with Glenalvon.

In normal circumstances a shepherd would never be allowed to use THOU to an upper-class character.<sup>58</sup> In this example, however, the shepherd exalts the lady to the position of a divine being, who customarily receives THOU (cf. Chapter 6). Thus, his use of THOU here is equal to the use of THOU to God and supernatural beings and shows extremely reverence to her, rather than being rude.

### **5.2.2.2. Special relationships**

There is one special case of THOU which is heavily dependent on the context; Old Norval the shepherd and his foster son Douglas (who is the son of a feudal lord but was brought up by Old Norval as '(young) Norval') exchange THOU with each other. Their relationship is impossible to explain through one parameter. On the one hand, within the family parameter, parents have stronger power than their children and receive YOU while using THOU (Brown and Gilman 1960). On the other hand, when focussing on their class difference, Old Norval, as a shepherd, should address Douglas/Norval with YOU.<sup>59</sup> Douglas addresses his foster father Old Norval using THOU most of the time, even after he comes to know Old Norval is not his biological father. This can be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation is that Douglas realises that his birth as a nobleman is much higher than his shepherd foster father so he uses THOU according to the difference of their classes. Another possibility is that Douglas normally uses THOU to his father, even before he knows Old Norval is not his birth father. There are no dialogues between them before Douglas knows his birth, but

---

<sup>58</sup> Old Norval constantly addresses Lady Randolph with YOU after the speech quoted below.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Shepherds receive THOU and return YOU to the upper-class in Shakespearean plays (Byrne 1936: 157).

Douglas calls Old Norval 'father' using THOU:

*[Old Norval apologises to his adopted son Douglas, who is actually a son of his former lord, for hiding the truth of his birth from him.]*

OLD NORVAL: Forgive, forgive,

Canst thou forgive the man, the selfish man,  
Who bred Sir Malcolm's heir a shepherd's son.

DOUGLAS: Kneel not to me: thou art my father still:

Thy wish'd-for presence now compleats my joy. [...]

OLD NORVAL: And dost thou call me father? O my son!

*(Douglas 5.1)*

The first THOU by Old Norval is a representation of his fatherly affection as well as strong emotion. Even after learning the truth, Douglas still treats Norval as his father ('thou art my father still'), although retaining the difference of status by using THOU.<sup>60</sup> Then Old Norval calls him with THOU as his son. The last THOU is probably a representation of intimacy within family as well as the power difference between a father and a son.

As the above example shows the use of THOU and YOU cannot be explained through one parameter or through quantitative studies only. Although the use of THOU seems to have been simplified when compared to Shakespeare's usage, the eighteenth-century playwright did pay attention to the use of THOU and YOU and could use them in such a subtle way.

---

<sup>60</sup> It is not unlikely that Norval/Douglas addressed his foster-father with YOU when he lived with him as his son. In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* Guiderius (Polydore) and Arviragus (Cadwal) address their foster-father Belarius with YOU while receiving THOU from him, without knowing he is not their birth father (Byrne 1936: 132).

### 5.2.2.3. Unaccountable use of THOU and rapid switches between THOU and YOU

Although Elizabethan playwrights had a strong influence on eighteenth-century dramatists (see also Chapter 10), there seem to be differences between their use of THOU and that of the eighteenth-century tragedians in this study. The latter employ THOU more frequently than Elizabethan dramatists. A qualitative study on the contexts in which THOU occurs reveals that eighteenth-century playwrights, especially Home, use THOU where Shakespeare would not employ it, such as in conversations between higher-rank couples (cf. Byrne 1936: 157, Stein 2003). Another example of an unaccountable use of THOU is found in a maid-servant switching from YOU to THOU when talking to her mistress:<sup>61</sup>

*[Anna is a chambermaid of Lady Randolph. She chides her mistress for indulging in her sorrow.]*

ANNA:                    Forgive the rashness of your Anna's love:  
                              [...] And warn you of the hours that you neglect,  
                              And lose in sadness.

LADY RANDOLPH:                    So to lose my hours  
                              Is all the use I wish to make of time.

ANNA:                    To blame thee, Lady, suits not with my state:  
                              But sure I am, since death first prey'd on man,  
                              Never did sister thus a brother mourn.  
                              What had your sorrows been if you had lost,  
                              In early youth, the husband of your heart?

*(Douglas 1.1)*

On the one hand, it is possible to consider this THOU as a representation of strong bond and heightened emotion. Culpeper and Archer, who study requests in trials and plays

---

<sup>61</sup> Anna addresses Lady Randolph with YOU throughout the play except in the speech quoted below.



in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, point out that there can be a special, intimate relationship between a mistress and her female-servant, ‘in which the normal power asymmetries were suspended’ (2008: 68). Nakayama points out that in her nineteenth-century novel corpus, people with less power can resort to THOU in a desperate request to the addressee with stronger power, although there might also be some influence from regional dialects (2015: 36).

On the other hand, Anna’s use of THOU is rather irregular when compared with Shakespearean works. A few studies show that it is very rare for maid-servants to use THOU to their mistress in Shakespearean plays. Byrne points out that ‘[i]n Shakespeare, one among these ladies-in-waiting usually stands out in the position of intimate companion and confidante to her mistress, in which case she is addressed by her Lady with the affectionate, confidential *thou*, though she ever returns the respectful *you*’ (1936: 151). To take a few examples from individual works, Emilia in *Othello* never addresses her mistress Desdemona with THOU except when the latter is dead (Mazzon 2003: 234) and Nerissa in *The Merchant of Venice* addresses her mistress Portia with YOU only (Freedman 2007: 75). I checked female servants’ use of THOU to their mistress using Open Source Shakespeare (24 characters in 17 plays; see the appendix for the full list of characters) and found only two occurrences: Charmian in *Antony and Cleopatra* addresses Cleopatra as THOU when the latter’s life is put in danger (5.2.3427, Open Source Shakespeare); the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* uses THOU to Juliet (1.3.451-452, Open Source Shakespeare), as ‘*thou* of intimate privilege for her young charge’ (Byrne 1936: 153). As a whole, maidservants use THOU to their (adult) mistress only on very special occasions in Shakespearean plays. While I cannot deny the possibility that THOU in the above quotation represents the maid-servant’s strong

emotion to her mistress, there is also a possibility that this is a mistake or ‘hypercorrection’ as a result of imitating Shakespeare. As we have seen in 5.2.3, it is not unusual for people who are not familiar with a linguistic feature to make mistakes when they are imitating other people’s styles (Cf. Trudgill 1983).

Another unusual thing found in my tragedy corpus is a very rapid switch between THOU and YOU, even in the middle of the sentence. Rapid switch itself is not unusual in Shakespearean plays, as explained by Adamson (1993) and Hope (1993). Adamson explains the reason for rapid switch as follows:

In many cases, the switches occur within a single utterance or dialogic interchange, thus approximating to that heterogeneity of Variety which, as we have seen, is typical of ordinary language use, but without fragmenting the discourse beyond categorical recognition. Hope (1990, ch4) shows [...] instead of imaging a pre-established fixed relationship, the choice of form is used to imply a character undergoing momentary shifts of feeling.

(1993: 10)

What is unusual with rapid switch in the eighteenth-century tragedy corpus is, it is hard to see why the switch occurs. This trait is especially obvious in *Sisters*. Here is an example of rapid changes, found in a dialogue between Phædra and Archon. Phædra is a princess of Crete and Archon is a subject of king of Naxos. In the following excerpt she uses both THOU and YOU:

*[Phædra is talking with Archon, a soldier of Naxos. The king of Naxos has been detaining her on his land for a while.]*

PHÆDRA: Advis’d by thee! no, let your pliant king,  
    Your king of Naxos, to thy treach’rous counsels  
    Resign himself, his people, and his laws.

Thou hast undone us all; by thee we die;

Yes, Ariadne, Phædra, Theseus, all,

All die by thee!

ARCHON: Princess, your fears are groundless.

Your timorous fancy forms unjust suspicions.

If you but knew me—

PHÆDRA: O! too well I know thee.

This very morn tis fix'd; yes, here your king

Gives audience to th' Ambassador of Crete;

Here in this palace; here, by your persuasion,

He means to yield us to the rage of Minos,

To my vindictive father's stern demand.

Ere that I'll see your king; here wait his coming,

And counteract thy base ungen'rous counsel.

(*Sisters* 1.1)

It is quite hard to find an explanation of these rapid pronoun changes. Phædra's feeling in the above sentences is unchanged— contempt towards Archon. She uses YOU only after this excerpt, so her unmarked form of address to him might be YOU and the use of THOU here is a marked, possibly charged with emotion of anger.<sup>62</sup> One possibility is there are some sort of rules of collocation of THOU and YOU, for example *king* should collocate with *your* only (*thy* never collocates with *king* in the entire play) or oblique forms must be *thee* not *you* (accusative/dative *you* never occurs in the dialogues between Phædra and Archon). Another possibility is that the author does not care much about the differences between THOU and YOU and uses them wherever he feels it right to do so. It might be safer to say the use of THOU and YOU is sometimes random, rather than trying to find a far-fetched or ad hoc explanation for all changes of pronouns. This

---

<sup>62</sup> Phædra addresses Archon with THOU 8 times and with YOU 16 times. All of them occur in 1.1.

does not mean there is no rule or usage of THOU and YOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies. They do have a rule, such as power difference or strong emotion, but their use is less strategic and elaborate compared to Shakespeare's usage.

### 5.2.3. Influence of Elizabethan playwrights

The above data on the use of THOU and YOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies suggests that their usage are more similar to that of plays in the previous period than to that of contemporary comedies. In this section, I pick up one tragedy which was written under the direct influence of the Bard, *Shore* to investigate fully Elizabethan (especially Shakespearean) influence on the use of THOU and YOU. This is a tragedy loosely based on Shakespeare's *Richard III*, especially the plot concerning Gloster and Hastings (Pedicord 1975: xvi). Rowe clearly declares the influence of and admiration for Shakespeare in the prologue, and his contemporaries such as Samuel Johnson judged him as 'an imitator of Shakespeare' (Pedicord 1975: xxiii). Considering that Rowe wrote *Shore* four years after he published his own edition of Shakespeare (Pedicord 1975: xxi), it is likely that Rowe was well acquainted with Shakespeare's style and could imitate him to some extent.

Despite being based on *Richard III*, the main character is Jane Shore (who is only mentioned once in *Richard III*) and more than half of the play consists of Rowe's original scenes (e.g. when Jane Shore meets her friend Alicia). Still, *Shore* has a few scenes corresponding to *Richard III*. Rowe did not copy Shakespeare's text but paraphrased and expanded it, as the quotes below show:

<Shakespeare>

HASTINGS: If they have done this thing, my gracious lord—

GLOUCESTER: If I thou protector of this damned strumpet—  
Tellest thou me of ‘ifs’? Thou art a traitor:  
Off with his head! Now, by Saint Paul I swear,  
I will not dine until I see the same.  
Lovel and Ratcliff, look that it be done:  
The rest, that love me, rise and follow me.  
(William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Richard III*, 3.4)

<Rowe>

HASTINGS: If they have done this Deed—

GLOSTER: If they have done it!

Talk’st thou to me of If’s! audacious Traytor!  
Thou art that Strumpet Witch’s chief Abettor,  
The Patron and Complotter of her Mischiefs,  
And join’d in this Contrivance for my Death,  
Nay start not, Lords, —What hoa a Guard there, Sirs!  
Lord *Hastings* I arrest thee, of High Treason.  
Seize him, and bear him instantly away,  
He sha’ not live an Hour. By Holy Paul!

(*Shore* 4.1, underline mine)

It is apparent that Rowe’s text is based on Shakespeare’s, but Rowe’s text is more explanatory and the structure of the sentences is closer to the Present-day English. It seems Rowe changed the text consciously. Pedicord points out that Rowe tried to regularise his work according to the contemporary standards (1975: xxv). In general, it was not uncommon to alter Shakespeare’s texts, even when presenting Shakespeare’s original plays. Branam explains alteration in the eighteenth century as follows:

in general the changes in language seem to have been intended either to make the plays more understandable to an eighteenth-century audience, or to make them conform to that audience’s taste of tragedy.

(1956: 69)

The changes of words and phrases between *Richard III* and *Shore* seem to be the result of the above-mentioned attitude of eighteenth-century playwrights.

One finding about Shakespearean scenes in *Shore* is that both Shakespeare and Rowe chose the same second person pronouns in the corresponding speeches. To take an example, in the above dialogues between Richard III and Hastings, Richard addresses Hastings as THOU constantly. The above scene is the only instance when Gloucester uses THOU to Hastings in both *Richard III* and *Shore* (cf. Barber 1987: 171 on *Richard III*). It is hard to tell how much attention Rowe pays to the use of personal pronouns in Shakespearean text, in other words, whether he simply copied the second person pronouns from *Richard III* or he chose second person pronouns based on his own standards. To investigate if there is any difference in the usage of THOU and YOU in the parts of *Shore* based on *Richard III* and in the parts created by Rowe, I separate *Shore*'s text into 'Shakespeare-based' (texts based on *Richard III*) and 'Rowe's creation' (scenes which do not have an equivalent in *Richard III*) and study the usage of each character. The full list of characters in *Shore* is as follows:

Shakespeare-based characters:

- Catesby: one of Gloster's councillors
- Derby: Earl of Derby, Gloster's subject
- Gloster: Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester
- Hastings: Gloster's subject
- Ratcliffe: a confidant of Gloster

Characters created by Rowe:

- Alicia: a mistress of Hasting and a friend of Jane
- Bellmour: a friend of Jane
- Dumont: a foreign friend of Bellmour, who turns out to be Shore's disguise<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Although Dumont and Shore are the same person, I treat them as two different characters

Jane Shore: the protagonist

Servant of Alicia:

Shore: Jane's husband

I also investigate the usage of second person pronouns in another of Rowe's play, *Penitent*, to see if Rowe's original text in *Shore* is closer to Shakespearean text or Rowe's other text.

The number of occurrences per character in the three text is shown in the tables below:

Table 23: The number of THOU and YOU per character in the Shakespearean-based text in *Shore*.

Speaker	THOU	YOU
Catesby	0 (0%)	5
Gloster	3 (8%)	35
Hastings	2 (25%)	6
Ratcliffe	0 (0%)	13

Table 24: The number of THOU and YOU per character in the text created by Rowe in *Shore*.

Speaker	THOU	YOU
Alicia	106 (85%)	19
Bellmour	13 (35%)	24
Dumont	8 (23%)	27
Gloster	10 (22%)	36
Hastings	74 (67%)	37
Jane Shore	46 (46%)	54
servant of Alicia	0 (0%)	5
servant of Jane	0 (0%)	1
Shore	44 (96%)	2

---

(cf. 5.1.2). Shore is treated as 'Dumont' until his true identity is revealed in the play and he is referred as 'Shore' in the text; 'Enter *Bellmour* and *Dumont* or *Shore*.' (*Shore* 5.1).

Table 25: The number of THOU and YOU per character in *Penitent*.

Speaker	THOU	YOU
Altamont	1 (100%)	0
Calista	100 (84%)	19
Horatio	108 (72%)	42
Lavinia	29 (43%)	38
Lothario	41 (89%)	5
Lucilla	0 (0%)	16
Rossano	0 (0%)	13
Sciolto	94 (97%)	3
servant of Horatio	0 (0%)	1
servant of Sciolto	3 (100%)	0

There is a clear preference for THOU in Rowe's original texts (both in *Shore* and *Penitent*). One of the reasons for this is the characters whom the speakers address with THOU; while characters in Rowe's original texts use THOU as well as YOU to their friends, characters in Shakespeare-based text mainly use YOU to their equals and inferiors. For example, Gloster in Shakespeare-based text addresses his knights (Catesby, Hastings etc.) with YOU most of the time despite his superior status as royalty.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, the non-Shakespearean character Jane Shore uses THOU to most of the characters she is acquainted with, including royal Gloster. This presumably is responsible for the number of THOU used by Jane Shore, exceeding those by Gloster. There is a possibility that although Rowe tried to copy the use of personal pronouns in the Shakespeare's text, he could not do it perfectly when creating his own scenes. Judging from the fact that the percentage of THOU in non-Shakespearean characters'

---

<sup>64</sup> Since there was no discrepancy between the use of thou and you in the Shakespeare-based text of Shore and their corresponding parts of *Richard III*, Rowe's usage of pronouns in those parts can be considered to be same as that of Shakespeare.



speeches is more similar to the usage in *Penitent*, Rowe's other tragedy (Table 25), it seems that he has established his own usage of THOU and YOU, which is different from that of Shakespeare.

Although their usage of THOU and YOU was not exactly the same as that of Elizabethan playwrights, I hypothesise that the excessive use of THOU by Rowe (and other eighteenth-century writers) is influenced by the previous period. As will be discussed in Chapter 10, eighteenth-century playwrights and audiences read and watched Elizabethan plays. It will be argued that Elizabethan playwrights influenced Home, Lillo, Rowe and Young (Chapter 10). With regards to Rowe, he was an editor of Shakespearean plays as well as a playwright, so it is hard to imagine he was not influenced by Shakespeare (Bevis 1998, Thomson 2006). Despite his editing activity, Rowe could not imitate the usage of Shakespeare perfectly, as shown in the study of his *Shore* above. Considering the percentage of THOU to YOU is much higher in Rowe's original text than in the Shakespeare-based text, he seemed to assume THOU was one of the salient traits (or stereotypes) of Elizabethan plays and overused it.

Such overuse of stereotypes can be seen in other media. Trudgill (1983) shows an example of 'hypercorrection' in British pop singers' pronunciation. Some British singers try to imitate American pronunciation by using some salient features such as postvocalic /r/, but because their knowledge about the rules of pronouncing postvocalic /r/ is partial they tend to 'overuse' it, inserting /r/ where it does not exist (i.e. intrusive r), such as *Americar* (1983: 148). Added to that, not all their American role models are rhotic but their British (non-rhotic) imitators try to pronounce /r/ (for example, Elvis Presley is non-rhotic but his imitator Cliff Richard is rhotic) (1983: 147). Trudgill explains these phenomena using Le Page's the theory of linguistic behaviour, which

seeks to ‘demonstrate a general motive for speakers’ linguistic behaviour in terms of attempts to “resemble as closely as possible those of the group or groups with which from time to time we [speakers] wish to identify” (1983: 144). According to Le Page, the modification of linguistic behaviour is constrained by four riders:

- (i) the extent to which we are able to identify our model group
- (ii) the extent to which we have sufficient access to [the model groups] and sufficient analytical ability to work out the rules of their behaviour
- (iii) the strength of various (possibly conflicting) motivations towards one or another model and towards retaining our own sense of our unique identity
- (iv) our ability to modify our behaviour

(quoted in Trudgill 1983: 145, 148, 149, 154)

Applying this theory to my case of eighteenth-century tragedians, while they had (i) the extent to which they are able to identify their model group (=Elizabethan playwrights), (iii) the strength of motivations and (iv) ability to modify their behaviour, they lacked (ii) the analytical ability to work out the rules of using THOU and YOU. The eighteenth-century tragedians could work out that THOU was one of the salient features of their role model (i.e. Elizabethan plays), but their analysis was insufficient and they ‘hypercorrected’ their YOU to THOU. I will discuss the theory of enregisterment further in Chapter 11.

### **5.3. Summary and conclusion**

The study above showed that THOU was actively used in the eighteenth-century tragedies. While the gender of the speaker and the addressee has little influence on the choice of THOU and YOU, class seems to play an important role: the higher the speaker’s class is, the more likely they are to employ THOU.

When looking at the data qualitatively, it was revealed that the eighteenth-century tragedians try to show subtle changes in the relationships between characters or the strong emotion of the speaker with switches between THOU and YOU. However, there are cases when it is impossible to provide any valid explanations of the choice of THOU or YOU, in other words, cases where the author uses THOU rather randomly. This seems to be because people in the eighteenth century were much less familiar with the rules of using THOU and YOU compared to Elizabethan speakers. It is true that people can learn obsolete usage through reading. For example, Clark mentions archaism in Anthony Trollope's works as such:

usages already obsolete or nearly so, at least in conversation and written prose, in Trollope's time, but intelligible to him and his contemporary readers, as they are to us, from their occurrence in old books still read

(1975: 123)

Possibly thanks to their predecessors' works, the eighteenth-century playwrights were often able to use the personal pronouns correctly and add a dramatic effect by an appropriate switch between THOU and YOU. However, their ability to analyse and learn the older usage was not perfect and they sometimes used them in a wrong way. One of the predominant differences between Elizabethan plays and the eighteenth-century tragedies is the 'overuse' or 'hypercorrection' of THOU. Many of them seemed to attempt to follow the style of their predecessors (Cf. Chapter 10) but lacked sufficient analytical ability to understand the usage of the previous time, so they might overuse a feature which was strongly associated with the Bard without understand the complexity of his usage. I will discuss further the significant influence of Elizabethan plays in the eighteenth-century dramas in Chapter 10 and the theory of enregisterment

in Chapter 11.

## **6. Comedies**

### **6.1. Introduction**

We have seen in Chapter 5 that THOU appears quite frequently and is often used as the unmarked form in the tragedies. In contrast, as the overall data in Chapters 3 and 4 show, THOU is rarely attested in the comedies. In this chapter, I will investigate the reasons for the scarcity of THOU by looking at the two parameters which can affect the use of THOU and YOU: gender and class. Then, I will do micro-analysis to reveal how and why THOU remained in use when it was dying out.

## 6.2. Gender

Table 26: The frequency of THOU and YOU and the gender of characters.

Author	Title	T/Y	F→F	F→M	M→F	M→M
Cibber	<i>Careless</i> (1704)	THOU	0.07 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	0.65 (5.3%)	0.83 (9.1%)
		YOU	5.01	10.02	11.68	8.29
Steele	<i>Tender</i> (1705)	THOU	0.29 (5.3%)	0.99 (10.6%)	0.70 (6.7%)	0.18 (1.1%)
		YOU	5.21	8.37	9.71	15.56
Cibber	<i>Stake</i> (1707)	THOU	0.09 (1.6%)	0 (0%)	0.16 (1.5%)	0.28 (3.7%)
		YOU	5.74	8.48	10.62	7.41
Steele	<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	THOU	0.20 (4.3%)	0.16 (2.6%)	0.16 (3.1%)	0.71 (3.2%)
		YOU	4.33	5.99	4.96	21.23
Moore	<i>Foundling</i> (1748)	THOU	0.06 (1.0%)	0.29 (3.9%)	0.29 (3.7%)	4.04 (26.4%)
		YOU	5.73	7.20	7.61	11.23
Moore	<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)	THOU	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
		YOU	1.34	11.35	6.53	19.85
Colman	<i>Jealous</i> (1761)	THOU	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.22 (1.8%)	0 (0%)
		YOU	3.22	12.65	12.13	12.28
Colman	<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)	THOU	0 (0%)	0.04 (0.6%)	0.11 (1.7%)	0.37 (2.8%)
		YOU	6.40	5.63	6.29	12.76
Goldsmith	<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)	THOU	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.09 (1.1%)	0.09 (0.7%)
		YOU	1.41	6.44	7.98	13.70
Goldsmith	<i>Stoops</i> (1773)	THOU	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0.18 (2.3%)	0.05 (0.3%)
		YOU	2.61	8.74	7.66	15.64

The number of THOU is so scarce that it is hard to see any patterns from the figures.

There does not seem to be a strong relationship between the use of THOU and the gender of characters. There is a lot of variety in each work and there is no similar pattern in the works by the same author. One thing I can say from the above data is the use of THOU declines regardless of the gender of characters over the eighteenth century, especially after 1750. Considering *Foundling* (1748) and *Gil Blas* (1751) were written

by the same author, the difference is outstanding. The difference might be due to the plot and the occupations of main characters. While in *Foundling* many of the main characters belong to the upper or upper-middle class and use THOU to their equals and inferiors (cf. 6.3), the eponymous protagonist of *Gil Blas* is a servant (i.e. belonging to the lower class).

*Foundling* (1748) has an outstanding percentage of THOU in conversations between male characters (26.4%). While this result is greatly influenced by one character who uses THOU quite frequently (about half of the occurrences of THOU between men are by him), there are several male characters who use THOU to other men, as shown below:

Table 27: The gender of the speaker and the addressee of THOU in *Foundling*.

speaker	hearer	relationship	gender	T	Y	T %
Sir Charles	Faddle	acquaintances	M-M	30	10	75.0%
Belmont	Faddle	friends		18	16	52.9%
Sir Roger	Belmont	parent-child		8	2	80.0%
Faddle	Belmont	friends		6	5	54.5%
Belmont	Col. Raymond	friends		4	14	22.2%
Col. Raymond	Belmont	friends		2	16	11.1%
Sir Roger	Fidelia	acquaintances	M-F	3	3	50.0%
Belmont	Rosetta	siblings		2	23	8.0%
Rosetta	Faddle	acquaintances	F-M	5	10	33.3%
Rosetta	Fidelia	friends	F-F	1	53	1.9%

Of the six male characters who use THOU to other male characters, four of them use THOU more often than YOU to their addressee. It seems some relationships encourage the use of THOU. The two pairs who have high percentage of THOU, from Sir Charles to Faddle and from Sir Roger to Belmont, are related to anger and the authority of the

speaker. Rosetta also uses THOU to Faddle when threatening him. I will investigate their use further in 6.4.2 below. The other pairs are related to positive feelings such as friendship. To take an example, Belmont uses THOU often in the light-hearted conversations with his friends Faddle or Colonel Raymond, especially he is half-mocking them. It seems there is a slight gender difference here in terms of positive feelings. While male friends occasionally exchange THOU, female friends rarely do so. Rosetta uses THOU to her close friend Fidelia only once, while Fidelia never uses THOU to Rosetta. In addition, Belmont uses THOU to his sister Rosetta twice but she never uses THOU to him.

Likewise in *Careless*, conversations between male characters contain the highest percentage of THOU. The data in this play also show similar gender differences in the use of THOU: a husband uses THOU to his wife and mistresses but never receives THOU; male friends exchange THOU more often than female friends do (see also 6.4.3).

In *Tender*, the highest percentage is found in dialogues from a female character to a male character. This result is greatly distorted by one female character who uses THOU very frequently in a special relationship; role play. A young lady called Neice uses THOU to her cousin Humphry to play a romance character. I will discuss her use further in 6.3.

All in all, the variations within plays are substantial and it is impossible to see any relationship between gender and the use of THOU in the overall data of the comedies. There might be some tendency for one gender to use THOU more frequently, but there is no universal rule. It should be noted, however, that the number of THOU is too small to draw any patterns.



### 6.3. Class

In this section, I will look at the relationship between the use of THOU and YOU and the class of the characters, as shown below:

Table 28: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words according to the class of the speaker.

		Lower		Middle		Upper-Middle		Upper	
<i>Careless</i> (1704)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	-	-	1.55	4.3%
	Y	1.37						34.55	
<i>Tender</i> (1705)	T	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1.81	5.7%	0.35	4.7%
	Y	0.35		0.35		30.08		7.14	
<i>Stake</i> (1707)	T	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.09	1.2%	0.44	1.8%
	Y	0.47		0.09		7.53		23.76	
<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	T	0.24	2.0%	0.32	2.8%	0	0.0%	0.67	5.5%
	Y	11.66		10.95		2.72		11.19	
<i>Foundling</i> (1748)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0.41	5.7%	4.21	14.6%
	Y	0.42				6.79		24.58	
<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%
	Y	12.17						26.90	
<i>Jealous</i> (1761)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0.22	0.7%	0	0.0%
	Y	1.13				30.33		8.28	
<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)	T	0	0.0%	0.07	0.4%	-	-	0.44	5.3%
	Y	2.39		20.81				7.87	
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0.14	0.6%	0.05	1.8%
	Y	3.77				23.32		2.45	
<i>Stoops</i> (1773)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0.18	0.6%	0.05	1.4%
	Y	1.04				27.35		3.15	

The number of THOU is quite small, but some class differences can be observed to some extent. The upper-class characters use THOU most frequently, as in the tragedies (Chapter 5). Upper-middle characters use THOU occasionally, too. Since THOU was originally used from a superior to an inferior, it is predictable that these higher classes

use THOU more often than their inferiors. In contrast, the lower-class characters rarely use THOU; in nine out of ten comedies in my corpus THOU is never used by a lower-class speaker. The middle class do not use THOU much either, but since middle-class characters rarely play an important role and do not interact much with other characters in my corpus, it is hard to see any pattern in their usage from the data.

### 6.3.1. Lower class

Table 29: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by lower-class characters in the comedies.

		L→L		L→M		L→UM		L→U	
<i>Careless</i> (1704)	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%
	Y	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.37	
<i>Tender</i> (1705)	T	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%	-	
	Y	-	-	-	-	0.35		-	
<i>Stake</i> (1707)	T	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	-	-	-	-	0.22		0.25	
<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	T	0.24	3.4%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	6.62		1.34		0.67		3.03	
<i>Foundling</i> (1748)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%
	Y	0.12		-	-	-	-	0.29	
<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%
	Y	7.27		-	-	-	-	4.90	
<i>Jealous</i> (1761)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	0.04		-	-	0.62		0.47	
<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)	T	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	-	-	0	0.0%
	Y	1.62		0.74		-	-	0.04	
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)	T	0	0.0%	-	-	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	0.14		-	-	3.36		0.27	
<i>Stoops</i> (1773)	T	-	-	-	-	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	-	-	-	-	0.36		0.68	

Table 29 shows that the lower-class characters in my corpus never use THOU to their superiors. As regards dialogues between equals, although Walker shows that the lower-class is most likely to exchange mutual THOU of all ranks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (2007: 185), the lower class in my corpus almost always exchange YOU among themselves. The only occurrences of THOU seen here are in dialogues between servants in *Conscious*. Two of the occurrences are used by a senior servant Humphrey to the servant Tom to show his superiority and authority:

*[Humphrey chides Tom's impertinent behaviour.]*

TOM: Sir, we Servants of Single Gentlemen are another kind of People than you domestick ordinary Drudges that do Business: We are rais'd above you: [...]

HUMPHREY: Thou hast Follies and Vices enough for a Man of Ten thousand a Year, though it is but as t'other day that I sent for you to town to put you into Mr *Sealand's* family, that you might learn a little before I put you to my young master [...].

*(Conscious 1.1)*

Four of them are spoken by a servant-maid Phillis to her boyfriend Tom as a part of their cooing dialogues. Tom uses THOU to her once in the same set of dialogues. It seems that the lower-class characters rarely use THOU and only in special relationships, never as an unmarked pronoun.

### 6.3.2. Middle class

Table 30: The number of THOU and YOU spoken by middle-class characters in the comedies.

		M→L	M→M	M→UM	M→U
<i>Careless</i> (1704)		-	-	-	-
<i>Tender</i> (1705)	T			0	0.0%
	Y	-	-	1.29	-
<i>Stake</i> (1707)	T			0	0.0%
	Y	-	-	0.09	-
<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	T	0	0.0%	0.32	4.2%
	Y	1.30	7.25	0.24	2.17
<i>Foundling</i> (1748)		-	-	-	-
<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)		-	-	-	-
<i>Jealous</i> (1761)			-	-	-
<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)	T	0.04	2.6%	0.04	0.3%
	Y	1.36	13.24	-	6.21
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)		-	-	-	-
<i>Stoops</i> (1773)		-	-	-	-

The middle class is the smallest class group in my comedy corpus (Table 30). There are only twelve middle-class characters in my corpus; *Clandestine* has eight, *Stake* has two, and *Tender* and *Conscious* have one each. They do not play an important role in most of the comedies in my corpus apart from *Clandestine*, which deals with marriages in a well-to-do merchant family. For these reasons the number of second person pronouns used by middle-class characters is relatively small in my corpus.

The use of THOU by the middle class characters is rare in general. There is no occurrence of THOU used to superiors (i.e. the upper and the upper-middle) by middle-class characters. Unlike upper-middle class characters (6.3.3), there are no middle-class characters who have upper-middle- or upper-class relatives, so there is no telling if kinship can override the difference of classes.

The middle-class characters use THOU to other middle-class characters in all of the comedies in which such dialogues happen. However, there are only two plays containing dialogues between middle-class characters and this might be accidental. I will look at the use of THOU in each work below. Each of the examples is a dialogue between family members. Firstly, in *Conscious*, older family members (father and aunt) use THOU to the younger member to demonstrate their strong joy:

*[Mr Sealand has found out that Indiana and Isabella are his long-lost daughter and sister. He instantly approves the marriage between Indiana and her benefactor.]*

ISABELLA: But here's a Claim more tender yet—your Indiana, Sir, your long lost Daughter.

MR. SEALAND: O my Child! my Child!

INDIANA: All-Gracious Heaven! is it Possible! do I embrace my Father!

MR. SEALAND: And do I hold thee—These Passions are too strong for Utterance—Rise, rise, my Child, and give my Tears their Way—O my Sister! [Embracing her *[Isabella]*.]

ISABELLA: Now, dearest Neice, my groundless Fears, my painful Cares no more shall vex thee. If I have wrong'd thy noble Lover with too hard Suspicions; my just Concern for thee, I hope, will plead my Pardon.

MR. SEALAND: O! make him then the full Amends, and be your self the Messenger of Joy: Fly this Instant! [...] [Exit Isabella.] [...]

INDIANA: O! had I Spirits left to tell you of his Actions! [...] the Pride, the Joy of his Alliance, Sir, would warm your Heart, as he has conquer'd mine.

*(Conscious 5.3)*

Their use of THOU is non-reciprocal. Indiana, belonging to the younger generation of the family, never returns THOU to her aunt (Isabella) or father (Mr Sealand). Considering that she uses deferential address terms *madam* and *sir* to them respectively, the difference of status within family prohibit her from using the intimate THOU to older family members (for the use of address terms, see Chapter 8). Additionally,

among the older generations Isabella and Mr Sealand do not address each other with THOU despite the fact that they are, like Indiana, also family members who have met for the first time in decades. This might suggest that this kind of THOU is not acceptable when there is little difference in the power of the interlocutors.

Aside from kinship, the nature of the scene can also be the reason for the use of THOU. The scene is a moving reunion scene, in other words, the climax of the play. As I will show below (6.4), THOU is often used in a highly emotional scene or a climax of the play.

In *Clandestine*, THOU is used by a wife to her husband:

*[Fanny swooned but regained consciousness thanks to her husband Lovewell's address.]*

FANNY: [recovering.] O Lovewell! —even supported by thee, I dare not look my father nor his Lordship in the face.

*(Clandestine 5.2)*

She never exchanges THOU with her husband Lovewell except in this scene. Just before she regains consciousness, Lovewell addresses her with THOU desperately, ‘let me but hear thy voice, open your eyes, and bless me with the smallest sign of life!’ (*Clandestine 5.2*) (for the analysis of addresses to unconscious characters, see Chapter 7). In other words, they use THOU only when one of them is in peril. The cause of Fanny’s swooning, the strong stress from hiding her clandestine marriage to her family, has not yet been solved. She is aware that she has to go through an ordeal to tell her assembled family about her clandestine marriage right now. For this reason, she is still in (emotional) peril and addresses her husband with emotional THOU.

There is only one example of THOU used from a middle-class character to their

inferior, as shown below:

*[Lovewell is showing gratitude to Betty, his wife's servant-maid, for assisting him and his wife.]*

LOVEWELL: Thou art the first in the world for both; and I will reward you soon, Betty, for one and the other.

*(Clandestine 5.1)*

Although she is not his own servant, Betty works for Lovewell in order to support her mistress, who is secretly married to Lovewell. His feelings of intimacy and gratitude are shown in the entire scene, with half-joking compliments, while Betty keeps her distance as a servant. THOU used here is close to the one used from a master to his intimate servant (cf. 6.3.3 and 6.3.4); the feeling of intimacy as a conspirator with a patronising tone. It should be noted that he uses THOU only once and switches to YOU in the middle of the sentence. It seems to represent his ephemeral strong emotion rather than the change of their intimacy or relationship.

From the above data, it seems that middle-class characters use THOU within the same household (including servants), but they use it only when they experience strong feelings.

### 6.3.3. Upper-middle class

Upper-middle class characters occasionally use THOU to their superiors, i.e. the upper class, as shown below:

Table 31: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by upper-middle-class characters in comedies.

		UM→L		UM→M		UM→UM		UM→U	
<i>Careless</i> (1704)		-		-		-		-	
<i>Tender</i> (1705)	T	0.47	47.1%	0.12	3.4%	0.29	1.4%	0.94	13.6%
	Y	0.53		3.34		20.25		5.97	
<i>Stake</i> (1707)	T	0	0.0%	-		0.09	4.5%	0	0.0%
	Y	0.38		-		1.89		5.26	
<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	T	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	-		0	0.0%
	Y	0.12		0.28		-		2.32	
<i>Foundling</i> (1748)	T	-		-		0	0.0%	0.41	6.0%
	Y	-		-		0.47		6.32	
<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)		-		-		-		-	
<i>Jealous</i> (1761)	T	0	0.0%	-		0.22	0.8%	0	0.0%
	Y	1.68		-		25.98		2.66	
<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)		-		-		-		-	
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)	T	0	0.0%	-		0.14	0.7%	0	0.0%
	Y	2.72		-		19.69		0.91	
<i>Stoops</i> (1773)	T	0	0.0%	-		0.18	1.0%	0	0.0%
	Y	2.25		-		17.40		7.71	

Upper-middle characters who address an upper-class character with THOU are found in two comedies, *Tender* and *Foundling*. Walker points out that the gentry (the upper-middle class) can address nobles with THOU as a mark of intimacy (2007: 186). What is the relationship of upper-middle class characters and their upper-class addressees in my corpus? In the case of *Foundling*, the upper-middle class speaker and the upper-class addressee are friends. They exchange THOU as a representation of their intimacy:



*[Sir Charles Belmont asks Mr Faddle to assist him in getting married to Fidelia.]*

BELMONT: I'll tell thee then—This sweet Girl, this Angel, this stubborn Fidelia, sticks so at my Heart, that I must either get the better of her, or run mad.

FADDLE: And so thou woud'st have me aiding and abetting, hah, Charles?

*(Foundling 2.6)*

Their relationship is close enough to share secrets. Despite Faddle's inferior social status, they exchange THOU a few times in the play. Belmont also exchanges THOU with his upper-class friend Colonel Raymond, and their use of THOU does not look dissimilar to that between Belmont and Faddle.

In the case of *Tender*, the upper-middle-class character is a girl named Bridget (referred as 'Neice' in the dramatis personae and stage directions) and the upper-class addressee is Humphry, who is her cousin and fiancé. At first sight, this seems to represent the closeness of the two ranks. However, when examined closely, it is revealed that Bridget is performing a role-play. She treats her country-booby cousin as a savage out of hatred;

*[Humphrey is trying to have a conversation with his cousin Bridget, but she does not treat him seriously, treating him as a savage.]*

BRIDGET: If thou hast yet learn'd the use of Language, Speak Monster.

HUMPHREY: How long have you been thus?

BRIDGET: Thus? What wouldst thou say.

HUMPHREY: What's the cause of it.

*(Tender 3.2)*<sup>65</sup>

In the above quotations, Bridget identifies herself as the heroine of a romance (*Valentine and Orson*) and Humphry as the savage man in the story. Humphry's responses suggest that this is not her usual way of talking. As she sticks to her acting,

---

<sup>65</sup> I have changed *Neice* in the stage directions to her first name *Bridget* for clarity.

Humphrey starts copying her language:

[Bridget still treats Humphrey as a savage and he calls her mad.]

BRIDGET: Thou'rt a Monster I tell thee.

HUMPHREY: Indeed, Cousin, tho' 'tis a folly to tell thee so—I am afraid thou art a Mad-Woman.

BRIDGET: I'll have thee carried into some Forrest.

HUMPHREY: I'll take thee into a Dark Room.

BRIDGET: I hate thee.

HUMPHREY: I wish you did—There's no Hate lost I assure you, Cousin *Bridget*.

(*Tender* 3.2)

Neither Bridget nor Humphrey uses THOU to show their emotion or class difference. The use of THOU here is the result of role-playing a medieval romance. A similar use of THOU in the role-playing of a romance character is also seen in John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), as I have shown in Chapter 3.

Upper-middle-class characters use THOU to their equals very sparingly. The use of THOU rarely represents solidarity or intimacy between equals (the only example is in *Good-Natur'd*), and THOU is used in various ways from contempt to love. A father addressing his daughter with THOU in *Stoops* might represent the power inequality within a family, as within a middle-class family.

The upper-middle class never uses THOU to their inferiors except in *Tender*. In *Tender*, all of the occurrences of THOU from an upper-class character to a lower-class character are from a master/mistress (Mr and Mrs Clerimont) to their servant (Jenny). Mr Clerimont addresses Jenny with THOU when revealing his love to her:

MR. CLERIMONT: Well, *Jenny*, you topp'd your part, indeed—Come to my Arms thou ready willing fair one—Thou hast no Vanities, no Niceties; but art thankful for every Instant of Love that I bestow on thee—

(*Tender* 5.1)

Mrs Clerimont uses THOU when she shows a patronising behaviour to her maid, complimenting her in spite of her ‘Englishness’:

JENNY: I am beholden to your Ladship, for believing so well of the Maid Servants in *England*.

MRS CLERIMONT: Indeed, *Jenny*, I could wish thou wer’t really *French*; for thou art plain *English* in spite of Example—

(*Tender* 3.1)

Walker points out that in comedies from the period 1720-1760, servants are sometimes addressed with THOU by their masters and mistresses, prompted by an element of positive emotion or negative feeling (2007: 229).<sup>66</sup> This seems to be applicable to the use of THOU in *Tender*, and the usage seen here is patronising and affectionate.

In sum, although the number of tokens is quite small, the upper-class characters use THOU to a wide range of characters, including their equals. Some of the uses represent intimacy and friendship, but this is not always the case.

---

<sup>66</sup> Walker could not gain enough data to draw conclusions about lower-class characters addressed with THOU in the period 1680-1719, when *Tender* was written (1705) (2007: 226). In her data the most common personal pronoun used in such a relationship is YOU.

### 6.3.4. Upper class

Table 32: The frequency of THOU and YOU per 1,000 words spoken by upper-class characters in the comedies.

		U→L	U→M	U→UM	U→U
<i>Careless</i> (1704)	T	0.07 3.3%	-	-	1.48 4.4%
	Y	2.09	-	-	32.46
<i>Tender</i> (1705)	T	-	0 0.0%	0.35 7.5%	0 0.0%
	Y	-	0.82	4.33	1.99
<i>Stake</i> (1707)	T	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0.16 2.6%	0.28 1.5%
	Y	0.54	0.03	5.70	17.49
<i>Conscious</i> (1723)	T	0.47 17.4%	0.04 0.8%	0.16 6.0%	0 0.0%
	Y	2.17	4.65	2.48	1.89
<i>Foundling</i> (1748)	T	0 0.0%	-	3.28 28.3%	0.94 5.8%
	Y	1.29	-	8.31	14.98
<i>Gil Blas</i> (1751)	T	0 0.0%	-	-	0 0.0%
	Y	8.01	-	-	18.88
<i>Jealous</i> (1761)	T	0 0.0%	-	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
	Y	1.06	-	4.85	2.37
<i>Clandestine</i> (1766)	T	0 0.0%	0.44 6.0%	-	0 0.0%
	Y	0.07	6.91	-	0.88
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (1767)	T	0 0.0%	-	0.05 2.0%	-
	Y	0.27	-	2.18	-
<i>Stoops</i> (1773)	T	0 0.0%	-	0 0.0%	0.05 25.0%
	Y	0.14	-	2.88	0.14

As predicted in 6.3, upper-class characters have the largest freedom to address other classes with THOU (Table 32). They use THOU to each class at least once in my corpus, and THOU appears in most of the cells in the table above (i.e. it appears most frequently in the upper class among the four classes). This is quite noticeable especially when compared with the data of lower-class speakers. However, which class is addressed by THOU varies from play to play. It seems that upper-class characters have freedom of

speech, but whether they use THOU or not is up to their choice, rather than being mandatory.

Upper-class characters occasionally use THOU to their equals. The speaker and the hearer are either friends (in *Careless*, *Stake* and *Foundling*) or family members (in *Foundling* and *Stoops*).

When thinking about the relationship between the upper class and their inferiors, the upper-middle should be separated from other inferiors (i.e. middle and lower class). This is because the status of the upper-middle class is close to the upper class and they are never under the rule of the upper class. Looking at the use of THOU to the upper-middle class reveals that it is not used to represent the speaker's superiority in status. It is used between friends, cousins or lovers and seems to represent emotions rather than status.

When addressing middle- or lower-class characters, it often represents intimacy to their lovers or servants. In the case of the latter, THOU sometimes has a patronising tone, as in the example below:

*[Lord Ogleby is talking to his Swiss follower Canton.]*

LORD OGLEBY: He, he, he. —Thou art incorrigible, but thy absurdities amuse one—  
Thou art like my rappee here, a most ridiculous superfluity, but a pinch of thee  
now and then is a most delicious treat.

*(Clandestine 4.2)*

Lord Ogleby clearly enjoys Canton's company, and the use of THOU represents his fondness to his follower. At the same time, their relationship is unequal and Lord Ogleby exhibits patronisation and superiority by comparing Canton to luxuries. This kind of non-reciprocal use of THOU is often seen when a master/mistress treats their

servant as their close friend or confidant, for example, ‘Humphrey, I know thou art a Friend to both; and in that Confidence, I dare tell thee—’ (*Conscious* 1.2). Byrne points out that a master uses THOU to servants whom he favours and approves in Shakespearean plays (1936: 168). In these examples, although they call their servant ‘friend’, servants never address their master/mistress with THOU.

Unlike in tragedies (Chapter 5), upper-class characters in comedies do not often use THOU to their inferiors. Even when the class difference is greatest, the superior uses YOU most of the time in comedies. This seems to be one reason why the percentage of THOU in an entire play is so different in comedies and tragedies.

In sum, although upper-class characters have the freedom to use THOU to any class, the unmarked form of address to any class (even inferiors) is YOU. They use THOU when they have some reason to do so, such as to represent strong emotions.

#### **6.4. Emotions**

THOU is apparently a marked form in the comedies in my corpus. The main use of THOU in comedy seems to be a signal of strong emotion, either positive or negative. The appearance of THOU is ephemeral; in other words, characters switch from THOU to YOU very rapidly, even in the middle of their sentence. Hope presumes that such rapid shift of pronouns is due to micro-pragmatic factors: ‘[p]resumably conversations tend to begin with socially pragmatic usages, and move on into non-socially pragmatic usages once a context has been established’ (1994: 147). Here is an example of quick change from THOU to YOU, taken from *Jealous*:

*[Oakly is talking to his wife Mrs Oakly, who is in a violent fit after reading a letter and mistakenly believing he is having an extramarital relationship. He tries to soothe*

*her and clarify her misunderstanding.]*

OAKLY: Nay, never make Thyself so uneasy, my Dear—Come, come, you know I love You. Nay, nay, You shall be convinced.

MRS OAKLY: I know You hate Me; and that your Unkindness and Barbarity will be the Death of Me.

OAKLY: Do not vex Yourself at this Rate—I love You most passionately—Indeed I do—This must be some Mistake.

MRS OAKLY: O, I am an unhappy Woman!

OAKLY: Dry up thy Tears, my Love, and be comforted! —You will find that I am not to blame in this Matter—Come, let Me see this Letter, —Nay, you shall not deny Me. [...] 'Tis a Clerk-like Hand, indeed! A good round Text! And was certainly never penned by a fair Lady.

MRS OAKLY: Ay, laugh at Me, do!

OAKLY: Forgive Me, my Love, I did not mean to laugh at Thee—

*(Jealous 1.1)*

At the opening of his speech, Oakly resorts to the emotional and affectionate pronoun THOU to comfort his wife, combining it with an address of endearment 'my Dear'.<sup>67</sup> Such use of THOU to show earnest affection is also seen in literary texts written in other centuries. Nakayama, who studies personal pronouns in nineteenth-century novels, shows that when Mr Hattersley tries to persuade his wife Milicent that he loves her only, he resorts to THOU:

'You said you adored her.'

'True, but adoration isn't love. I adore Annabella, but I don't love her; and I love *thee*, Milicent, but I don't adore *thee*.'

(Anne Brönte, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, p. 276, quoted in Nakayama 2015: 27)

She goes on to point out that a similar instance is seen in Shakespeare's *The Merchant*

---

<sup>67</sup> Ulrich Busse argues that terms of endearment such as *love* tend to appear more often with THOU than with YOU in Shakespearean plays (2003: 211) and are typically 'given as an affectionate address from a suitor, lover or spouse to his beloved' (2002: 166).

*of Venice*, when Bassanio apologises to Portia that he has given her ring to another woman (2015: 27):

Pardon this fault, and by my soul I swear I never more will break an oath with *thee*.  
(*The Merchant of Venice*, 5.1.247-49, quoted in Nakayama 2015: 27)

Freedman explains that Bassanio's use of THOU in the above scene reflect 'the greater seriousness – even desperation – of his protestations' (2007: 76). Going back to my own example from *Jealous*, Mr Oakley's use of THOU to his wife shows similar seriousness and affection to his wife.

Soon after finishing the first sentence he switches to YOU, his unmarked pronoun to his wife. He resorts to THOU with endearment two more times when seeing his wife in a violent passion, represented by an exclamation mark. The use of THOU does not seem to be an everyday option in eighteenth-century comedies by this time.

I will look at some emotions which are often highlighted by the use of THOU.

#### **6.4.1. Positive emotions**

##### **6.4.1.1. Love**

Love is one of the emotions most commonly combined with THOU. Byrne holds that the shift from YOU to THOU represents ardent love in Shakespearean plays (1937: 153). Freedman also points out that THOU is a pronoun of lovers (2007: 24). There are 24 instances of THOU which seems to represent the speaker's love to the addressee.

One of the characters who resorts to the power of the 'pronoun of lovers' is Sir Charles Easy in *Careless*. He is a dishonest womaniser who has several mistresses while cheating on his wife. He uses THOU to the women who have relationships with



him. There are two types of use: (a) firstly, to take control over his interlocutor by either threatening or appeasing them; (b) secondly, when he appreciates his wife's virtue and repents his adultery.

(1) [*Edging is a maid-servant and trying to end her adulterous relationship with her master Sir Charles Easy. Sir Charles is trying to appease her and holds her.*]

SIR CHARLES: Has any thing put thee out of Humour, Love?

EDGING: No, Sir, 'tis not worth my being out of Humour at—tho' if ever you have any thing to do with me again I'll be Burn'd.

SIR CHARLES: Some body has bely'd me to thee.

(*Careless 1.1*)

(2) [*Sir Charles repents and swears his love to his wife Lady Easy.*]

SIR CHARLES: Give then to my new-born Love, what Name you Please, it cannot, shall not be too Kind: [...]

LADY EASY: [...] Now I am Blest indeed to see you Kind without th' Expence of Pain in being so, to make you mine with Easiness Thus! [...] But 'twas a Pain Intolerable to give you a Confusion.

SIR CHARLES: O thou Engaging Virtue! But I'm too slow in doing Justice to thy Love: I know thy softness will refuse me; but remember I insist upon it—let thy Woman be Discharg'd this Minute.

(*Careless 5.5*)

In (1), Sir Charles is trying to create the scene of sweet love, by resorting to THOU as a lovers' pronoun and a term of endearment 'love', as well as his action 'holding her'. The speaker probably knows and calculates the influence of the choice of his words. In (2), in contrast, Sir Charles starts showing affection to his wife Lady Easy using YOU, but when his emotion is heightened strongly, he switches to THOU. This kind of THOU might be more spontaneous or 'natural' than the usage seen in (1) on the level of stage characters, although the author must have used both of them deliberately.

### 6.4.1.2. Friendship

Another positive emotion which is represented by THOU is friendship or intimacy between a master/mistress and their servants. Byrne points out that in Shakespearean plays the unmarked form between friends is YOU, but they use THOU in affectionate intimacy (1936: 152). Such usage is seen in my comedy corpus too. Here is one example of THOU as a representation of friendship:

*[Lord Morelove has been treated coldly by his lover and is disheartened. His friend Sir Charles cheers him up.]*

LORD MORELOVE: I see my Folly now, *Charles*; but what shall I do with the Remains of Life that she has left me?

SIR CHARLES: O throw it at her Feet by all means, [...] and in point Blank Verse desire her, one way or other, to make an End of the Business.

LORD MORELOVE: What a Fool dost thou make me? [Smiling.]

SIR CHARLES: I only shew you, as you come out of her Hands, my Lord.

LORD MORELOVE: How Contemptibly have I behav'd my self?

SIR CHARLES: That's according as you Bear her Behaviour.

LORD MORELOVE: Bear it, no—I thank thee, *Charles*, thou hast wak'd me now—

*(Careless 3.1)*

This scene is light-hearted with Lord Morelove's excessive moaning and Sir Charles' light banter. Lord Morelove's first THOU, 'What a Fool dost thou make me?' can sound like an angry reply, but the stage direction 'smiling' shows he actually enjoys the conversation. THOU used here seems to show that the speaker is willing to be engaged in his friend's light-hearted conversation by using a pronoun of closeness rather than distancing himself. It also represents their close friendship—they're close enough to use THOU. The second occurrence of THOU, 'I thank thee, *Charles*, thou hast wak'd me now—' is also in line with this jocular scene, Lord Morelove showing effusive gratitude.

Since using THOU in gratitude sounds quite dramatic – over-dramatic – it can be used in a sarcastic way. Using THOU in an inappropriate situation makes the speaker sound silly, as in the example below:

*[Honeywood is thanking his friend Lofty, who pretends he has paid Honeywood's bail.]*

HONEYWOOD: My friend, my benefactor, it is, it must be here, that I am indebted for freedom, for honour. Yes, thou worthiest of men, from the beginning I suspected it, but was afraid to return thanks; which, if undeserved, might seem reproaches.

LOFTY: I protest I don't understand all this, Mr. Honeywood. [...] —Blood, Sir, can't a man be permitted to enjoy the luxury of his own feelings without all this parade?

HONEYWOOD: Nay, do not attempt to conceal an action that adds to your honour. Your looks, your air, your manner, all confess it.

LOFTY: Confess it! Sir. Torture itself, Sir, shall never bring me to confess it. [...] Come, come, Honeywood, you know I always lov'd to be a friend, and not a patron. I beg this may make no kind of distance between us. Come, come, you and I must be more familiar—Indeed we must.

HONEYWOOD: Heavens! Can I ever repay such friendship! Is there any way! Thou best of men, can I ever return the obligation?

*(Good-Natur'd 3.1)*

This scene looks like a moving scene superficially, but it is meant to be ironic and funny. The addressee is deceiving the speaker – he pretends he to have paid the bail to release Honeywood, but in fact a lady in love with Honeywood has done so anonymously. Honeywood, a wealthy but naïve 'good-natur'd man', believes whatever he is told while people around him are only interested in exploiting his money. The speaker's overdramatic expressions of gratitude towards a liar serve to highlight his foolishness and good nature, since the fact is already described to the audience before this scene. THOU in these examples serves to show the absurd intensity and

naïveté of the speaker as well as strong emotion.

### 6.4.1.3. Patronisation

When used from a superior to inferior, THOU can have an intimate but patronising tone. To take one instance, a young gentleman named Belmont in *Foundling* uses THOU to his friend Faddle when he wants to ask something of Faddle and take control over him. In this case, THOU has a slight patronising tone and is used as an in-group marker.<sup>68</sup> Another instance of such patronising THOU can be seen in dialogues between Lord Ogleby and his Swiss follower Canton in *Clandestine*, or Sir John and his son Bevis to their servant Humphrey in *Conscious*. In these cases, THOU is never reciprocal.

## 6.4.2. Negative emotions

### 6.4.2.1. Anger

THOU can be used to show the speaker's strong anger and scorn towards the addressee, for example when a woman is accusing her lover, 'Oh, Tom! Tom! thou art as false and as base, as the best Gentleman of them all:' (*Conscious* 1.1). THOU of anger can also be used to represent a serious threat. In the quotation below, the speaker is physically threatening the addressee with THOU:

[*Sir Charles catches Faddle eavesdropping.*]

SIR CHARLES: Why what does the Wretch tremble at? —Broken Bones are to be set again, and thou may'st yet die in thy Bed. [*takes hold of him*] —You have been a Listener, Sir. [...] No denial, Sir. [*Shakes him*] [...] Take Care! —For every Lie thou tell'st me, shall be scor'd ten-fold upon thy Flesh—Answer me—How came

---

<sup>68</sup> THOU as an in-group marker with patronising tone is also seen in Fielding's *The Author's Farce* (3.3.4).

Mr. Belmont's Sister by that anonymous Letter?

(*Foundling* 4.3)

Although the speaker never loses his control, the intensity of his anger can be seen in his physical attitude and the threats he uses. THOU used here also shows the speaker's superiority over the addressee; the speaker tries to show the addressee that the latter is under the control of the speaker and has no choice but to obey him. This representation of superiority continues to appear in the sentences soon after the above example, when Sir Charles starts lecturing Mr Faddle:

SIR CHARLES: If thou art open to any Sense of Shame, hear me. [...] Thy Life is a Disgrace to Humanity—A foolish Prodigality makes thee needy—Need makes thee vicious, and both make thee contemptible. Thy Wit is prostituted to Slander and Buffoonery—and thy Judgment, if thou hast any, to Meanness and Villainy. [...] If thou can'st be wise, think of me, and be honest.

(*Foundling* 4.3)

Sir Charles authoritatively condemns Mr Faddle's way of living. There is a strong sense of superiority not in terms of their class, but in their mental maturity. In other words, Sir Charles treats Mr Faddle as his inferior not because his class is inferior but because he is a base man. THOU here represents the speaker's scorn for the addressee and that he does not want to treat the addressee as his equal, mentally.

In the same play another character uses THOU to threaten Faddle, but in this case the speaker uses it to lure him to work for her with reward:

*[Rosetta suspects that Faddle is involved in a defamatory letter about her friend.]*

ROSETTA: If thou art link'd with any Wretch, base enough to contrive this Paper, or art thy self the Contriver, —may Poverty and a bad Heart, be thy Companions— But if thou art privy to any Thing, that concerns the Honour of this Family, give it Breath—and I'll insure thee both Protection and Reward.

(*Foundling* 3.2)

Rosetta is emotionally closer to Mr Faddle compared to Sir Charles. While Sir Charles is a stranger to Mr Faddle, Rosetta is an acquaintance of Mr Faddle – her brother is Mr Faddle’s friend and Mr Faddle shows slight love interest in her. In the above scene she uses THOU as a strong threat, but at the same time she shows a patronising tone, saying she will give him a reward if he takes her side. Another difference is that Rosetta is not threatening him with violence. Although she is depicted as a proud and strong woman who enjoys quarrelling with male characters, she does not seem to have physical power to beat him down. Instead of using violence, she uses her charm to force him to obey her, in which she fails.

When used with anger, THOU can show that the speaker is losing control. Walker shows that using THOU when inappropriate represents that the speaker is losing control (2007: 85). Hope argues that participants of trials might have reported that their opponents used THOU when they actually used YOU in order to make them sound more hot-blooded and rude (1993: 90-91). Such usage of THOU as a representation of losing control can be seen in the following example, where two women are quarrelling. They are rivals in love and trying to beat their opponent down flat:

*[Mrs Conquest and Miss Notable are each claiming that Sir George loves her, not her opponent.]*

MRS. CONQUEST: [Aside.] So! She’s stirr’d—I must have the rest on’t.

His Passion to thee, Love, that were impossible—Have a Passion for any thing so incapable to conceive it—Why Love’s a thing you won’t be fit to think of these two Years. [...] I say, all your late sobbing, [...] and all that Stuff, my Honey, I am now confirm’d was all, from first to last, the pretty Fiction of thy own little Pride and Jealousie, only to have the Ease of giving me Pain from his suppos’d

forsaking me.

MISS NOTABLE: Hah! ha! ha! I am glad to see your Vanity so swell'd, Madam, but since I find 'tis your Disease, I'll be your Friend for once, and work your Cure by bursting it: [...] not Her, nor You, but Me, and Me alone he loves—

(*Stake* 4.1)

Mrs Conquest is much agitated, but tries to maintain her superiority, both in terms of her age and the genuine love interest of Sir Charles, by pretending to be calm and using patronising address terms such as *love* and *my pretty one*. However, she cannot keep control and slips into angry or emotional THOU occasionally. The above example shows her earnestness to conquer her opponent as well as her strong contempt. She cannot win the argument and Miss Notable leaves the room triumphantly, leaving Mrs Conquest in great dismay. In contrast, Miss Notable is always calm and never uses THOU to Mrs Conquest. In fact, Miss Notable is not serious about this argument – as revealed later, she is merely pretending to be a rival in love so that Mrs Conquest will throw away her pride and accept Sir George's love more willingly. The audience do not know this fact this point in the play, but they might be able to feel the difference in attitudes by the way they talk.

### 6.4.3. Characterisation

There are some characters who use THOU more often than others. THOU might be used to represent some character traits, in other words, used as a means of characterisation.<sup>69</sup>

One character who uses THOU comparatively frequently is Lord Foppington in

---

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Previous studies argue that some dramatists exploited second person pronouns as a means of characterisation, e.g. Byrne (1936) and Freedman (2007) on Shakespeare and Bock (1938) on Etherege.

*Careless*; 15.2% of his second person singular pronouns is THOU (Table 33):

Table 33: The number of THOU and YOU spoken by the characters in *Careless*.

Speaker	Gender	Class	THOU	YOU
<b>Lord Foppington</b>	<b>male</b>	<b>upper</b>	<b>15 (26.3%)</b>	<b>42</b>
Lord Morelove	male	upper	8 (6.4%)	117
Sir Charles	male	upper	17 (4.6%)	350
Lady Easy	female	upper	2 (1.3%)	152
Lady Betty	female	upper	0 (0%)	149
Lady Graveairs	female	upper	0 (0%)	80
servant of Sir Charles	male	lower	0 (0%)	2
Edging	female	lower	0 (0%)	36

Lord Foppington, as his name suggests, is a fop, i.e. ‘One who is foolishly attentive to and vain of his appearance, dress, or manners’ (OED, fop, *n.*). He has a distinctive way of speech, such as excessive use of French or affected pronunciation, for example: ‘Pshah! prithee Pax! *Charles, thou know*’st I am a Fellow *sans Consequence*, be where I will.’ (*Careless* 2.2). His THOU is quite notable when talking with his friend Sir Charles; the percentage of THOU to YOU increases drastically to 78.9% (15x out of 19x). McIntosh (1986) argues that Lovelace and Belford in Richardson’s *Clarissa* (1748) employ THOU as an affectation in their correspondences:

Lovelace affects “the Roman style” (I, 144; Richardson’s note) in his letters to Belford; that is, he addresses his close friends in the second person singular, *thee* and *thou*. This usage would appear to be an archaism, probably associated with conscious imitation of the gallantries of chivalric romance (S. Baker, 1964).

(1986: 129)

Considering that Lord Foppington and Sir Charles are rakes who pursue love affairs with other women than their wife, Lord Foppington’s use of THOU to Sir Charles might



represent similar affectation.<sup>70</sup>

Another character who uses THOU often is Sir Charles in *Foundling*. He uses THOU many times when he admonishes Faddle (6.4.2) and when he addresses a young woman to show his praise of her. His use of THOU might represent the graveness of his character/personality. There is one similar characterisation in Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*. There is an elderly moral man named Mr Albany, who speaks in a grave style with *thou* and *ye* (Cf. Chapter 4). His way of speaking is surely distinguishably different from other characters, for another character takes him as an actor because of his way of talking. In the similar token, the author put a lot of THOU in the speech of Sir Charles to show he is a moral and mature man.

## 6.5. Conclusion

As we have seen above, there is a lot of variety in the use of THOU. The overall frequency of THOU is so few that it is impossible to see any firm conclusions, but one thing that is clear is that THOU was a marked form which was rarely used even to inferiors in the eighteenth-century comedies. Inferiors do not use THOU to their superiors, except in dialogues between upper-middle class and upper-class characters.

It seems that speakers choose to use THOU not because of extralinguistic factors (gender or class) but because of pragmatic factors, such as emotion or style. They never maintain their use of THOU even in one entire scene, and they switch to YOU very quickly. It is often used in climax or very 'dramatic' scenes to represent the importance

---

<sup>70</sup> Baker (1964) argues the influence of French romance on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Lord Foppington's frequent use of French, along with the use of THOU, might suggest he is influenced by French romance.

of the scene. It seems, as if, THOU were used as a signal to represent the important scenes. In other words, THOU was enregistered as theatrical language. I will discuss this point – enregisterment and stylisation – in more detail in Chapter 11.

## 7. Aside and apostrophe

### 7.1. Introduction

As I have shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the use of THOU varies significantly in the tragedies and the comedies; THOU is used quite often in most of the tragedies while it rarely appears in the comedies. However, there is one special usage which is often seen in both of the genres, based on dramatic conventions. From the Elizabethan era, THOU had been used quite often in aside and apostrophe (Mulholland 1987, Busse 2002). Characters who normally use YOU can switch to THOU in such scenes. I have presented one case in point in Chapter 3:

*[Emilia is in love with Gaywit. She hides it from him, believing he is in love with another woman.]*

SCENE III

Emilia alone.

EMILIA: Oh! Gaywit! too much I sympathize with thy Uneasiness. Didst thou know the Pangs I feel on thy Account, thy generous Heart would suffer more on mine.

[Enter Gaywit.]<sup>71</sup> Ha! my Words have rais'd a Spirit.

SCENE IV

Emilia, Mr. Gaywit.

MR GAYWIT: I hope, Madam, you will excuse a Visit at so unseasonable an Hour.

EMILIA: Had you come a little earlier, you had met a Mistress here.

*(Modern 4.3-4.4)*

The speaker (Emilia) addresses Mr Gaywit as THOU in apostrophe in Act 4 Scene 3, but as soon as he enters the scene (Act 4 Scene 4) she switches to YOU, which is the normal pronoun to address him.

In this chapter I will discuss this special usage of THOU in aside and apostrophe.

---

<sup>71</sup> I follow Wood's (2007) addition of stage direction to make the context clearer.

I will also study other situations addressing ‘*in absentia*’ (Mazzon 2000), or situations in which the addressees cannot hear what the speaker say, i.e. when the addressee is unconscious or dead.

Before starting the discussions, let me introduce some definitions:

**Aside:** a few words or a short passage spoken in an undertone or to the audience. It is a theatrical convention and by convention the words are presumed inaudible to other characters on stage.

(Cuddon and Preston 1998: 58)

**Apostrophe:** A figure of speech in which a thing, a place, an abstract quality, an idea, a dead or absent person, is addressed as if present and capable of understanding.

(Cuddon and Preston 1998: 51)

Their common feature is the speakers’ addressees are not expected to be heard by the addressee(s). For this reason, speakers of aside and apostrophe might not follow the standard rules of using pronouns such as power difference. One of the main differences between aside and apostrophe is whether the addressee is on the stage or not. With the case of aside, the addressee is on stage with the speaker but they (as well as the other characters present) cannot hear what the speaker says.<sup>72</sup>

*[Lucinda is talking with her fiancé Cimberton and her mother Mrs Sealand.]*

CIMBERTON: They proceed to the Propagation of the Species, as openly, as to the Preservation of the Individual.

LUCINDA: [aside.] She that willingly goes to Bed to thee, must have no Shame, I’m sure.

MRS. SEALAND: Oh Cousin *Cimberton!* Cousin *Cimberton!* how abstracted, how refin’d, is your Sense of Things!

---

<sup>72</sup> There are cases when aside is heard by another character, such as ‘aside to X’ or ‘aside between X and Y’. I treat these cases as dialogues rather than aside.

(*Conscious* 3.1)

In the above scene, all three characters (Lucinda, Cimberton and Mrs Sealand) are on stage. While they are conversing with each other, Lucinda's aside is not heard by the other characters, or, they show no reaction to what she has said.

In contrast, there might be other characters hearing apostrophe, as shown below:

[*Randal tells his master Old Wilmot about Sir Walter Raleigh's hostage.*]

RANDAL: The brave Sir Walter Raleigh,

[...] 'tis reported, he must lose his head,  
To satisfy the Spaniards.

OLD WILMOT: Not unlikely;

His martial genius does not suit the times.

[...] —Gallant man!

Posterity perhaps may do thee justice,

And praise thy courage, learning and integrity,

When thou'rt past hearing:

[...] Such events

Must, questionless, excite all thinking men,

To love and practise virtue!

RANDAL: Nay; 'tis certain,

That virtue ne'er appears so like itself,

So truly bright and great, as when opprest.

(*Curiosity* 1.1)

In the above scene, Old Wilmot starts addressing to Sir Walter Raleigh, who is not present in the scene, in the middle of the conversation with his servant Randal. This is different from aside, for his interlocutor is listening to him and responds to what he says (cf. in the above example of aside from *Conscious*, neither the addressee Cimberton nor the other interlocutor Mrs Sealand can hear Lucinda's aside).

There are cases when aside and apostrophe occur at the same time. To take one

example, the speech below includes apostrophe in aside:

*[Gil Blas has just realised that his mistress Aurora is not talking about him.]*

AURORA: You look as if the Thing did not please you.

GIL BLAS: O, mightily, Madam! mightily indeed!

[Aside.] —Philosophy I thank thee! I am coming to myself again.

I like it—There's Spirit in't—and I'll assist you with my Life.

AURORA: Thank you, *Gil Blas*—

*(Gil Blas 1.1)*

The addressee is 'philosophy' (an abstract notion), who/which is not on stage.

Therefore, this particular case is classified as apostrophe rather than aside.

There are two more similar situations in which the addressee cannot hear the speaker's address; when the hearer is dead or unconscious. Stage directions clearly mention it, i.e. 'dies' or 'swoons/faints'. The 'dead' or 'unconscious' character is still on the stage. Other characters often talk about the character's death or swooning, probably in order to make audience aware of it, for example:

**<Dead>**

*[Calista has stabbed herself, repenting her unfaithfulness to her husband Altamont.]*

CALISTA: Now 'tis too late,

And yet my Eyes take Pleasure to behold thee,

Thou art their last dear Object. —Mercy, Heav'n! [She dies.

ALTAMONT: Cold! dead and cold! and yet thou art not chang'd,

But lovely still!

*(Penitent 5.1)*

**<Unconscious>**

(1) *[Young Wilmot's fiancée Charlot and his friend Eustace have just seen him die.]*

CHARLOT: O! take me, take me hence, e're I relapse;

And in distraction, with unhallow'd tongue,

Again arraign your mercy— [Faints.]

EUSTACE: Unhappy maid! This strange event my strength  
Can scarce support; no wonder thine should fail.

(2) [*Leonora swoon while quarrelling with her husband Alonzo.*]

LEONORA: And are you perjur'd then for Virtue's sake?

How often have you sworn? but go for ever! [Swoons.]

ALONZO: Heart of my Heart! and Essence of my Joy!

Where art Thou? —O I'm thine, and thine for ever! [...]

LEONORA: Hold, *Alonzo*,

And hear a Maid, whom doubly thou hast conquer'd.

(*Revenge* 1.1)

In both cases the hearer is still on the stage and the speaker and other characters are aware of the condition of the hearer. In the case of dead characters, speakers do not expect their hearer to reply. In the case of unconscious characters, sometimes speakers do not expect their hearer to hear them (as in the first example) while in other cases the speaker wants the hearer to hear them (in the second example). I will compare the data of these two situations, i.e. dead and unconscious, with those of aside and apostrophe to see if there is any difference.

I do not include addresses to characters who are killed outside the scene or in previous scenes, i.e. the actors of the killed characters are not on the same scene as the speaker. I treat such occurrences as apostrophe.

## 7.2. Previous studies

Several previous studies discuss whether authors tend to choose THOU over YOU in aside, soliloquy and apostrophe.<sup>73</sup> Ulrich Busse states that THOU in aside and

---

<sup>73</sup> Soliloquy is 'a speech, often of some length, in which a character, alone on the stage, expresses his thoughts and feelings' (Cuddon and Preston 1998: 838). I include soliloquy

apostrophe in Shakespearean dramas is formulaic:

Aside, soliloquy and apostrophe have to be regarded as special formulaic cases of pronoun use in EModE drama, because none of these is directed to an addressee who is present on stage. These instances are governed by the use of invariant THOU.

(2002: 34)

Walker (2007) shows that Ulrich Busse's comment cited above is not confirmed by her data taken from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comedies. She claims that the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe is not formulaic:

[M]y data reveals that both THOU and YOU are used in aside and/or apostrophe in all five 40-year periods of my corpus, although THOU is the more common pronoun. In apostrophe THOU is found in 73 per cent of the examples, and in aside THOU is also preferred (63%). Thus the pronoun usage is clearly not formulaic in aside or apostrophe in my data.

(Walker 2007: 192)

In short, although THOU tends to appear more often, using THOU in aside and apostrophe is not mandatory. Walker attributes the high frequency of THOU in them to emotion: 'THOU is encouraged when the address is an aside or apostrophe, as this is when characters are especially likely to express their true feelings' (2007: 231) and:

[T]he examples of apostrophe in my data involve feelings of love, anger, or other emotions, and examples in aside often express contempt. Thus the prevalence of THOU is unsurprising, although – as the examples of YOU indicate – not formulaic.

(2007: 192)

She goes on to state that occurrences of THOU are 'governed by similar contextual

---

in apostrophe because the addressee is always absent from the stage due to the aforementioned nature of soliloquy.



constraints as in face-to-face dialogue: strong emotion may trigger the use of THOU, but rarely in conflict with, especially, the rank parameter' (2007: 196).

In the section below I will look at the percentage of THOU in aside and apostrophe to see if it is formulaic or a preference.

### **7.3. Data and analysis**

#### **7.3.1. Overall figures**

To see whether aside and apostrophe encourage the use of THOU, I will investigate the data in two ways: which pronoun was used more frequently in aside and apostrophes; whether THOU appears more frequently in aside and apostrophes than in other parts of the text. If using THOU in aside and apostrophe is formulaic, it should appear much more frequently in them and it might affect the entire percentage of THOU to YOU, especially in texts with fewer occurrences of THOU.

Firstly, I look at the number of THOU and YOU appearing in aside and apostrophe, as shown in Table 34:

Table 34: The number of THOU and YOU in aside, apostrophe and dialogues.<sup>74</sup>

Title	Aside		Apostrophe		Dialogue	
	THOU	YOU	THOU	YOU	THOU	YOU
<i>Penitent</i> (T)	-	-	11 (100%)	0	c	148
<i>Shore</i> (T)	-	-	4 (80%)	1	330 (55.2%)	282
<i>Busiris</i> (T)	-	-	15 (83%)	3	254 (50.7%)	247
<i>Revenge</i> (T)	3 (100%)	0	10 (100%)	0	282 (44.2%)	356
<i>Merchant</i> (T)	-	-	1 (100%)	0	56 (11.4%)	435
<i>Curiosity</i> (T)	-	-	16 (94%)	1	153 (48.3%)	164
<i>Douglas</i> (T)	-	-	15 (100%)	0	298 (71.6%)	118
<i>Agis</i> (T)	-	-	20 (100%)	0	288 (77.4%)	84
<i>Grecian</i> (T)	-	-	-	-	327 (77.7%)	94
<i>Sisters</i> (T)	-	-	7 (50%)	7	193 (26.1%)	546
<i>Careless</i> (C)	1 (20%)	4	0 (0%)	4	44 (4.0%)	1090
<i>Tender</i> (C)	-	-	-	-	36 (5.2%)	675
<i>Stake</i> (C)	-	-	-	-	34 (3.1%)	1169
<i>Conscious</i> (C)	1 (100%)	0	2 (50%)	2	37 (4.2%)	881
<i>Foundling</i> (C)	0 (0%)	1	1 (50%)	1	80 (12.1%)	595
<i>Gil Blas</i> (C)	0 (0%)	-	1 (25%)	3	1 (0.1%)	1121
<i>Jealous</i> (C)	-	-	0 (0%)	3	6 (0.5%)	1187
<i>Clandestine</i> (C)	0 (0%)	1	-	-	14 (1.5%)	950
<i>Good-Natur'd</i> (C)	0 (0%)	1	5 (100%)	0	9 (1.3%)	693
<i>Stoops</i> (C)	-	-	0 (0%)	1	4 (0.5%)	806

The above data show the percentage of THOU to YOU shows variations in the two genres, as in dialogues (Chapter 4). Aside appears almost exclusively in the comedies, except in *Revenge* (3x THOU and 10x YOU). Of the six comedies which contain second person pronouns in aside, the percentage of THOU to YOU in aside is 0% in four (*Foundling*, *Gil Blas*, *Clandestine* and *Good-Natur'd*), 20% in *Careless* and 100% in *Conscious*. I will look at the comedies in which THOU appears more frequently in aside than in

<sup>74</sup> - means there is no second person singular pronouns found in the category.

dialogues later below.

With regard to apostrophe, personal pronouns appear both in the tragedies and comedies. While tragedies tend to have high percentage (80% or higher) of THOU to YOU in apostrophe (except *Sisters*, in which the percentage of THOU to YOU is 50%), there is a wider variation of the percentage in the comedies, between 0% and 100%. In sum, there is a lot of variation in the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe, especially in the comedies. It should also be noted that the number of personal pronouns is too small to draw any conclusion.

Mitchell argues that the frequent use of aside and apostrophe in tragedies boosts the percentage of THOU in them:

A partial explanation for the higher percentage of *th* forms in tragedy concerns the use of second person pronouns in apostrophe. The statistical evidence in the study shows that 71% of the total occurrences [of second person pronouns] in apostrophe appear in tragedy. Furthermore, 81% of these occurrences [in apostrophe] are *th* forms. In tragedy the use of apostrophe is more common than in comedy because characters are more likely to speak to the gods, to spirits, to the fates, to celestial bodies, to corpses, and to themselves. Such emotional speeches require *th* rather than *y* forms.

(1971: 101)

If her statement is true, the number of THOU used in aside and apostrophe will take up the large portion in the entire number of THOU used in an entire play. However, this is not true in my data, as Table 35 shows:

Table 35: The frequency of THOU in aside and apostrophe in the entire corpus.

Genre	Author	Year	Title	THOU in dialogues	THOU in aside & apostrophe <sup>75</sup>
Tragedy	Rowe	1706	<i>Penitent</i>	472	11 (2.3%)
	Rowe	1714	<i>Shore</i>	330	4 (1.2%)
	Young	1719	<i>Busiris</i>	254	15 (5.6%)
	Young	1721	<i>Revenge</i>	282	13 (4.4%)
	Lillo	1731	<i>Merchant</i>	56	1 (1.7%)
	Lillo	1736	<i>Curiosity</i>	153	16 (9.5%)
	Home	1756	<i>Douglas</i>	298	15 (4.8%)
	Home	1758	<i>Agis</i>	288	20 (6.5%)
	Murphy	1772	<i>Grecian</i>	327	5 (0%)
	Murphy	1783	<i>Sisters</i>	193	7 (3.5%)
Comedy	Cibber	1704	<i>Careless</i>	44	1 (2.2%)
	Steele	1705	<i>Tender</i>	36	0 (0%)
	Cibber	1707	<i>Stake</i>	34	0 (0%)
	Steele	1723	<i>Conscious</i>	37	3 (5.9%)
	Moore	1748	<i>Foundling</i>	80	1 (0.8%)
	Moore	1751	<i>Gil Blas</i>	1	1 (100%)
	Colman	1761	<i>Jealous</i>	6	0 (0%)
	Colman	1766	<i>Clandestine</i>	14	0 (0%)
	Goldsmith	1767	<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	9	5 (36.2%)
	Goldsmith	1773	<i>Stoops</i>	4	0 (0%)

Contrary to Mitchell's hypothesis, the number of THOU appearing in aside and apostrophe does not have a significant presence in the entire figure of THOU in the tragedies as well as in the comedies (except in *Gil Blas*, in which the only instance of THOU appears in apostrophe). Although THOU appears more frequently than YOU than it does in dialogue, the fact that there is so much more dialogue than aside and

<sup>75</sup> The number in the parentheses indicates the percentage of THOU in aside and apostrophe to the entire number of thou appearing in each play (i.e. in dialogues, aside and apostrophe).

apostrophe means that it has little impact on the total number of THOU. Therefore, although aside and apostrophe are two of the features which encourage the use of THOU, the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe itself cannot explain why some plays have higher frequency of THOU than others.

### 7.3.2. Speakers of aside and apostrophe

Are there any characteristics of characters who use or receive THOU or YOU in aside and apostrophe? Walker points out that marital status, rank and perhaps age as well as strong emotions are relevant in her data of period 3 (2007: 194). Previous studies suggest that THOU is often used when the subject is God or supernatural beings, possibly under the influence of the Bible (Byrne 1936, Johnson 1966, Brook 1968, Wales 1996 etc.). I will look at the relationships of speakers and addressees of aside and apostrophe below.

#### 7.3.2.1. Aside

Firstly, I look at second person singular pronouns in aside. There are seven THOU and eleven YOU in aside (Table 36):

Table 36: Second person singular pronouns in aside.

Genre	Author	Year	Title	THOU	YOU	THOU %
Tragedy	Young	1721	<i>Revenge</i>	3	0	100%
Comedy	Cibber	1704	<i>Careless</i>	1	4	20%
	Steele	1723	<i>Conscious</i>	1	0	100%
	Moore	1748	<i>Foundling</i>	0	1	0%
	Moore	1751	<i>Gil Blas</i>	0	4	20%
	Colman	1766	<i>Clandestine</i>	0	1	0%
	Goldsmith	1767	<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	0	1	0%

All of the addressees are another character on the stage (six of THOU and all of YOU). This is because aside is often used to show speaker's hidden feelings towards other characters (7.1). I will analyse the relationship to the speaker of the addressee addressed as THOU and YOU separately to see if there is any difference between their usage.

All of the occurrences of THOU in aside (3x) are spoken by the black slave Zanga to his Spanish master Alonzo in *Revenge*.<sup>76</sup> Zanga pretends to be a faithful slave and uses polite YOU to Alonzo, but he reveals his true feeling using THOU in aside— enmity against Alonzo and Spain, which has conquered his kingdom):

ZANGA: We hear, my Lord, that in that Action too,  
Your interposing Arm preserv'd his Life.

ALONZO: It did—with more than the Expence of Mine;  
For oh! this Day is mention'd for their Nuptials.  
But see, she comes! I'll take my leave, and die.

ZANGA: [Aside.] Hadst thou a thousand Lives, thy Death would please me.  
Unhappy Fate! My Country overcome!

(*Revenge* 1.1)

So to speak, Zanga disguises himself as a faithful slave with his speeches including YOU but he takes off that mask and speaks as his true self when speaking in aside.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> For further discussions on Zanga's use of THOU and YOU, see Chapter 5.

<sup>77</sup> Barber (1981) argues a similar switch from YOU to THOU in aside:

A switch may occur when a character is being hypocritical, and then reveals his true feelings in an aside or a soliloquy. In the opening scene of the play Richard uses *You* to Clarence. As soon as Clarence goes off, however, Richard switches in soliloquy to a sardonic and contemptuous *Thou* [...]. Buckingham, similarly, converses politely with Hastings, using *You*, but changes to *Thou* in an aside:

When he is revealing to Alonzo how he has taken revenge, he addresses Alonzo as THOU as a prince of his native country, not as Alonzo's slave.<sup>78</sup>

The other two occurrences of THOU in aside (found in *Careless* and *Conscious* respectively) are found when the speaker addresses another character of equal class: an aristocrat Sir Foppington uses THOU to Lady Betty (*Careless* 3.1); a middle-class woman Lucinda uses THOU to her mother's cousin (*Conscious* 3.1):

*[Lady Betty is trying to take advantage of Lord Foppington while he takes her attitude as affection.]*

LADY BETTY: O what a surfeiting Couple has he put together— [Throwing her hand carelessly upon his.]

LORD FOPPINGTON: Fond of me, by all that's tender—Poor Fool, I'll give thee Ease immediately. [Aside.]

—But, Madam, you were pleas'd just now to offer me my Revenge at Picquet— Now here's no Body within, and I think we can't make use of a better Opportunity.

(*Careless* 3.1)

*[While Cimberton and Mrs Sealand are talking, Lucinda makes sarcastic comments on what he says.]*

CIMBERTON: And in Truth, Madam, I have consider'd it, as a most brutal Custom, that Persons, of the first Character in the World, should go as ordinarily, and with as little Shame, to Bed, as to Dinner with one another. [...]

LUCINDA: [Aside.] She that willingly goes to Bed to thee, must have no Shame, I'm

---

*Buck.* I shall returne before your Lordship, thence.

*Hast.* Nay like enough, for I stay Dinner there.

*Buck.* And Supper too, although thou know'st it not.

Come, will you goe?

(III.2.120-23)

(1981:280-281)

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Characterisation of two different identities in one character using THOU and YOU is seen in Norval/Douglas in *Douglas*, as discussed in 5.2.1.3.

sure.

MRS. SEALAND: Oh Cousin *Cimberton!* Cousin *Cimberton!* how abstracted, how refin'd, is your Sense of Things!

(*Conscious* 3.1)

In both of the examples above, aside is used to reveal the true feeling of the speaker, so using THOU to represent their true feeling towards the addressee is suitable. However, the effect of using aside is different. In the first example, aside is used to distance the speaker from the audience. The speaker, Lord Foppington, is happily surprised to discover Lady Betty loves him, which, as the audience know, is a mistake. Lord Foppington is presented as a foolish character in the entire play, and his strong surprised represented by THOU based utterly on his misunderstanding reinforces the audience's image of this stupid character.

In the second example, in contrast, aside is used to create empathy to the speaker, Lucinda. She detests the addressee, Cimberton, for his foolishness. He is clearly specified as 'a coxcomb' in the *dramatis personae* and the audience are expected to perceive him as such. However, her mother, Mrs Sealand, is very fond of him and trying to marry Lucinda to him. For this reason, Lucinda has to hide her hatred towards him in front of her mother. Her use of THOU of scorn in aside reveals her true feeling to the audience, showing that her opinion on Cimberton is closer to that of the audience (who think him as a fool), not her mother's. This creates empathy towards the speaker.

With regards to YOU in aside, all of the examples appear in comedies. The speakers use YOU to their addressee, both in dialogues and aside. All of the speakers use YOU exclusively both in aside and dialogues (except Sir Charles in *Careless*, who uses THOU very sparingly in dialogues). There seems to be no difference in the use of YOU in aside and dialogues in these comedies.



### 7.3.2.2. Apostrophe

There are 7.54 occurrences of THOU and 1.24 occurrences of YOU per 1,000 words in apostrophe, as shown in Table 37:

Table 37: Second person singular pronouns in apostrophe.

genre	Author	Year	Title	THOU	YOU	THOU %
Tragedy	Rowe	1706	<i>Penitent</i>	11	0	100%
	Rowe	1714	<i>Shore</i>	4	1	80%
	Young	1719	<i>Busiris</i>	15	3	83%
	Young	1721	<i>Revenge</i>	10	0	100%
	Lillo	1731	<i>Merchant</i>	1	0	100%
	Lillo	1736	<i>Curiosity</i>	160	1	94%
	Home	1756	<i>Douglas</i>	15	0	100%
	Home	1758	<i>Agis</i>	20	0	100%
	Murphy	1772	<i>Grecian</i>	5	0	100%
Murphy	1783	<i>Sisters</i>	7	7	50%	
Comedy	Cibber	1704	<i>Careless</i>	0	4	0%
	Steele	1723	<i>Conscious</i>	2	2	44%
	Moore	1748	<i>Foundling</i>	1	1	40%
	Moore	1751	<i>Gil Blas</i>	1	3	34%
	Colman	1761	<i>Jealous</i>	0	3	0%
	Goldsmith	1767	<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	5	0	100%
	Goldsmith	1773	<i>Stoops</i>	0	1	0%

The percentage of THOU is quite high (50% or higher) in all of the tragedies. Although the percentage of THOU in the comedies is not as high as in the tragedies, these figures are noticeably higher than the percentage in the dialogues (less than 10% in average).

To investigate if there is any relationship between the addressee and the choice of second person pronouns, I categorise the addressees according to their nature

(animate/inanimate etc.), as follows:

**supernatural/personification:** supernatural beings (e.g. god), abstract concept (e.g. jealousy), nation or world (e.g. Earth, Spain), object (e.g. bower)

**character:** a character of the play who is not in the scene

**oneself/body part:** address to oneself or a part of their body (e.g. my heart, my soul)

**deceased:** a person who is already dead in the time of the play and never appears in the play itself, including historical figures (e.g. father of Memnon, Sir Walter Raleigh)

**generic/imagination:** addressing an abstract figure in imagination (e.g. Man, youth)

Table 38: Addressees of THOU and YOU in apostrophe in the corpus.

category	THOU	YOU	THOU %
supernatural/personification	155	7	96%
character	88	24	79%
oneself/body part	33	2	94%
deceased	26	0	100%
generic/imagination	8	0	100%

Table 38 shows that THOU appears most frequently numerically when addressing supernatural entities/ personifications. Several previous studies suggest that address to supernatural beings in apostrophe is associated with THOU (e.g. Busse 2002). With regards to addresses to God and other Christian beings, there might also be the influence of the King James Bible (1611), in which THOU was always used to address God (Brook 1968) (I will discuss the influence of King James Bible on the use of THOU further in 11.9).<sup>79</sup> However, it should be noted that not every apostrophe to the

---

<sup>79</sup> Using THOU to God can be found even in twentieth-century fictions, for example: ‘God— thank thee— poor Blanche— thank thee that I am not like that— great mercies—all my blessings— and especially not like poor Blanche— poor Blanche— really dreadful.’ (Agatha Christie, 1944, *Absent in the Spring*, p. 22)

supernatural uses THOU. There are five occurrences of YOU; to heaven (3x), God (1x) and power (1x). One interesting finding here is, the same character uses THOU and YOU to heaven in different scenes:

EVANDER: Indulgent Heav'n!

Pour down your blessings on this best of daughters;

(*Grecian* 2.2)

EVANDER: These are thy wonders Heaven! —Abroad thy spirit

Moves o'er the deep, and mighty fleets are vanish'd.

(*Grecian* 3.2)

It seems quite hard to find a convincing reason to explain why he chooses THOU or YOU in the above scenes. The meanings of each address to heaven is different — the first one wishes for blessings while the second one shows gratitude to heaven — but it does not seem to be a sufficient reason to change pronouns. One possibility is one of them is a mistake, or the author did not care which pronoun he used in apostrophe. One characteristic of the use of THOU and YOU in *Grecian* is that speakers change their pronouns often, even in the same sentence. Since *Grecian* was written in the late eighteenth century (1772), the conventions surrounding THOU might have been less firm than in earlier tragedies (cf. Chapter 5).

The category of the addressee, 'other characters in the play' receives a lot of apostrophe, while the use of THOU is not as prevalent as in other categories. This might be because the use of second personal pronouns is constrained by the relationships between the speaker and the addressee. Most of the characters seem to stick to their normal usage even in apostrophe. However, there are three exceptions, in which while they address the addressee with YOU when the hearer is present, they address them

with THOU in apostrophe. The first example is from Jane Shore to Hastings in *Shore*.

She praises him in his absence, addressing him as THOU:

*[Jane Shore is talking with Duke of Gloster and his subjects. She hears about the opposition of Hastings (who is not present in the scene), and praises him.]*

GLOSTER: This, tho' of great Importance to the Publick,  
Hastings, for very Peevishness and Spleen,  
Does stubbornly oppose.

JANE SHORE: [...] O gallant generous *Hastings*,  
Go on, pursue! Assert the sacred Cause:  
Stand forth, thou Proxy of all-ruling Providence,  
And save the friendless Infants from Oppression.  
Saints shall assist thee with prevailing Prayers,  
And warring Angels combat on thy Side.

GLOSTER: You're passing rich in this same heavenly Speech,  
And spend it at your Pleasure. Nay, but mark me!  
My Favour is not bought with Words like these.  
Go too—you'll teach your Tongue another Tale.

(*Shore* 4.1)

Jane Shore always addresses Hastings as YOU. In this scene, however, the status of Hastings in her mind seems to be exalted to that of a celestial being; her prayer to Hastings is very similar to that to God shown in her first speech in the above quotation. So to speak, she is addressing Hastings as a supernatural guardian of the young princes. Judging from Gloster's response, her speech is too flowery for him ('You're passing rich in this same heavenly Speech') and it displeases him. In sum, Jane Shore employs THOU to Hastings in much the style of prayers to supernatural beings in this scene.

The second example of switching to THOU in apostrophe is in *Curiosity*. Old Wilmot greets 'a stranger' with polite YOU, but when he decides to kill him to rob his money, he addresses to him with THOU:

*[Old Wilmot is planning to kill the stranger while the latter is sleeping.]*

OLD WILMOT: Gen'rous, unhappy man! O! what cou'd move thee

To put thy life and fortune in the hands

Of wretches mad with anguish!

*(Curiosity 4.1)*

Since the speaker has met the stranger for the first time only a few hours ago, he does not have any emotional attachment to or solidarity with him. He envies the stranger's money but this is not strong enough to induce THOU of contempt or hatred (cf. Chapters 5 and 6). The use of THOU here is presumably induced by the speaker's strong anguish and moral affliction.

The last example of special use of THOU in apostrophe is from a servant to his master in *Good-Natur'd*. He addresses to Sir William with THOU after the latter leaves the scene:

*[Jarvis and his master Sir William are planning to reform Sir William's nephew. After Sir William leaves, Jarvis addresses him with THOU.]*

JARVIS I'm sure there is no part of it more dear to him than you are, tho' he has not seen you since he was a child. [...] Faith, begging your honour's pardon, I'm sorry they taught him any philosophy at all; it has only serv'd to spoil him. [...]

SIR WILLIAM: Don't let us ascribe his faults to his philosophy, I entreat you. Now, my intention is to involve him in fictitious distress, before he has plunged himself into real calamity. [...]

[Exit.

JARVIS: Well, go thy ways, Sir William Honeywood. It is not without reason that the world allows thee to be the best of men.

*(Good-Natur'd 1.1)*

Even though he has served Sir William for a long time and Sir William trusts him enough to confide his secret plan, Jarvis never uses (and possibly is not allowed to use) THOU to his master in person. He speaks deferentially to his master, as shown in his

first speech in the above (e.g. the use of *your honour*). His close relationship is shown in the use of THOU in his apostrophe, which must not be heard by the addressee.

Apostrophe to oneself or one's own body part (*my soul* and *my heart*) is another highly THOU-oriented category. All but one of the addresses to oneself are THOU in one comedy (*Stake*) as well as in the tragedies. The characters' own body parts are also addressed with THOU all the time except once in *Grecian*; 'Well, my heart, / Well do your vital drops forget to flow.' (*Grecian* 1.1). The use of THOU to them seems formulaic at least in my corpus.<sup>80</sup> This might be because oneself is the closest addressee possible to the speaker (as God is addressed as THOU as a being closest to Christians). It might also be because talking to oneself aloud might sound unnatural and 'theatrical', and THOU is associated with the language of drama (cf. Chapter 10).

Deceased people (i.e. people who have been dead before the scene) are occasionally mentioned in apostrophe. They are usually a family member of one of the characters in the play. Therefore the relationship between the speaker and the addressee is fairly close and they use THOU. It seems dead people are often addressed with THOU, even if they are addressed with YOU when they are alive. To take an example, in *Hamlet* Laertes and Gertrude address Ophelia with THOU at her burial to show their grief or pity, but they use YOU when talking with her (Byrne 1936: 103-104).

The 'generic/ (people in) imagination' category receives THOU exclusively. Although the addressee is a person, they are abstract and might have similar traits as supernatural beings and concepts. In the case of address to 'villain', it might be used

---

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Burnley points out that the courtly man uses THOU when addressing apostrophes to himself in Chaucer's works (1983: 18-19).

to show contempt, as shown below:

*[Lord Hastings is enraged to hear Gloster's story of national turmoil.]*

LORD HASTINGS: Curse on the innovating Hand attempts it!

Remember him, the Villain, righteous Heaven

In thy great Day of Vengeance! [...]

GLOSTER: You go too far my Lord.

*(Shore 3.1)*

*Shore* is based on Shakespeare's *Richard III*, and this is the scene where Gloster (Richard) tries to see if Hasting will join his conspiracy. Hastings shows too much anger and loyalty to Edward IV and loses Gloster's trust, and eventually his own head. His strong anger might be shown in his choice of THOU as well as other strong speeches with exclamation marks, and we can also see that Gloster perceives his rage as 'too far' and 'so hot' in his responses.

#### **7.4. Dead and unconscious characters**

##### **7.4.1. Dead characters**

In this section, I will investigate if a character's death affects the choice of second person pronouns. Byrne's study on Shakespearean dramas suggests dead characters (i.e. their dead body) are likely to receive THOU: Emilia in *Othello* and Charmian in *Anthony and Cleopatra* address their dead mistresses with THOU (Byrne 1936: 108, 124). Antony addresses Caesar's body with THOU in reverence and so does Lucilius to the dead Brutus in *Julius Caesar* (Byrne 1936: 83, 85). I will see if this is applicable to my data by comparing the pronouns they receive from the same addressees when they are alive and dead.

There are 17 occurrences of second person singular pronouns used to characters

who have died on the stage. All of the occurrences are THOU and appear in the tragedies.

There are seven characters who receive THOU while they are dead (Table 39):

Table 39: The number of THOU and YOU when the characters are alive and dead.<sup>81</sup>

Title	Speaker	Addressee	Dead		Alive	
			THOU	YOU	THOU	YOU
<i>Penitent</i>	Altamont	Calista	3 (100%)	0	26 (100%)	0
	Sciolto	Lothario	1 (100%)	0	4 (100%)	0
<i>Shore</i>	Shore	Jane Shore	3 (100%)	0	35 (100%)	0
<i>Revenge</i>	Zanga	Alonzo	6 (100%)	0	38 (21%)	142
<i>Agis</i>	Lysander	Amphares	2 (100%)	0	22 (100%)	0
<i>Sisters</i>	Pirithous	Ariadne	1 (100%)	0	9 (13%)	61

The data on Zanga to Alonzo (*Revenge*) and Pirithous to Ariadne (*Sisters*) show a clear difference when the addressee is dead. Zanga, a black slave, addresses his master Alonzo most of the time, but when he reveals his true identity as a conquered prince, he switches to THOU (5.1.2.3 and 7.3.2.1). In contrast, Pirithous's address to Ariadne does not change throughout the play. Ariadne is a princess of Crete and Pirithous is a king of Lapiths, so their power is equal. Pirithous addresses Ariadne with YOU most of the time (87%), possibly because of gender difference. When she dies, Pirithous addresses her as thou: 'Thou injur'd innocence!' (*Sisters* 5.1). This THOU might be induced by her death, but it is impossible to draw a pattern with only one occurrence. In sum, dead characters tend to receive THOU, but clear changes of patterns before and after the character dies are not found.

---

<sup>81</sup> As defined in 7.1, 'dead' here means that the character is dead and on the stage.

Characters who are dead and not present on the stage have been dealt in 7.3.2.2.



#### 7.4.2. Unconscious characters

There are five occurrences of THOU and one occurrence of YOU addressed to an unconscious person. There are three characters who receive second person pronouns while in a swoon: Leonora in *Revenge* receives THOU from her fiancé Alonzo in dialogues as well as when unconscious; Fanny in *Clandestine* receives THOU from her husband Lovewell only when she swoons; Charlot in *Curiosity* receives THOU from her fiancé's friend Eustace, and it's the only instance he addresses to her.

The only occurrence of YOU appears together with THOU in *Clandestine*:

*[Fanny swoons due to great distress. Her husband Lovewell has been hiding in another room but he rushes in to save her.]*

LOVEWELL: speak, speak, to me, my dearest Fanny! —let me but hear thy voice, open your eyes, and bless me with the smallest sign of life! [...]

*(Clandestine 5.2)*

They never use THOU to anybody except in this scene. THOU seems to be used to emphasise the climax of the play. Using THOU in emergency, such as the heroine's swoon, is one of the typical uses in this period. There is a similar scene in Fanny Burney's *Cecilia* (1782), where the heroine's boyfriend finds her unconscious and addresses her with THOU as well as YOU:

*[Mortimer finds his girlfriend Cecilia, who has lost consciousness out of great distress and fever.]*

Then, casting himself upon the ground by her side, 'Oh my Cecilia,' he cried, 'where hast thou been thus long? how have I lost thee? what dreadful calamity has befallen thee?—answer me, my love! raise your sweet head and answer me!'

*(Cecilia, Chapter viii, emphasis added)*

The common trait seen in the both emergency scenes is the speaker switches from

THOU to YOU rather quickly. It seems as if THOU is used to emphasise or stylise the emergency, rather than being chosen to show strong love relationship between lovers. This kind of ephemeral use of THOU is frequently seen in dialogues in comedies too (cf. Chapter 6).

### **7.5. Conclusion**

In this chapter I have looked at the use of second person singular pronouns in aside and apostrophe. On the one hand, THOU seems favoured in these text types. On the other hand, the use of THOU in aside and apostrophe is not formulaic, for there are plays in which THOU appears in dialogues only. It would be better to assume that using THOU in aside and apostrophe was highly conventionalised in the eighteenth century, however the rule was not mandatory and there was a lot of variation according to plays and authors.

Characters who either become unconscious or die on the stage and cannot respond to their speakers also tend to receive THOU. This, however, might be because the characters are addressed with THOU even when they are alive, or because of strong emotions in an emergency.

## 8. Second person pronoun *ye*

### 8.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will turn our attention to second person pronoun *ye*. As we have seen in 2.1, *you* was increasingly replacing *ye* as a nominative pronoun in the course of the sixteenth century (Barber 1976: 149). Although *ye* has almost petered out in Present-day English, it was still used very sparingly in the nineteenth century, especially in special contexts/registers (Nakayama 2014). For these reasons, *ye* can be expected to be found in eighteenth-century texts in very limited circumstances. I will investigate the use of *ye* in my corpus to get a more full picture of the second person singular system in eighteenth-century plays. Since this thesis focuses on the choice of second person singular pronouns, I will focus on singular *ye* only in this chapter.

### 8.2. Distribution of *ye* in the whole corpus

#### 8.2.1. The grammatical cases of *ye*

The following table shows the distribution of *ye* in my corpus. Data in prologues, epilogues and songs are excluded because my study is focussed on dialogues (1.3.1). Additionally, discourse markers *hark ye* and *look ye* and set phrases *what-d'ye-call-them* and *what-d'ye-call-it* are excluded. *'ee* forms (e.g. *look'ee*) are not included in the data either because it might be the contraction of *thee* as well as *ye* (Wells 1996: 89). Several works, however, treat *'ee* as *ye*, e.g. *OED* (*hark*, *v.*), Walker (2007), and Nakayama (2014).

Table 40: The distribution of *ye* in the tragedies and the comedies.

	Nominative	Objective
Tragedies	3	0
Comedies	36	2

Table 40 shows that *ye* appears most frequently as nominative in both of the genres. *Ye* used as the objective case is quite rare (used only twice, in the comedies only). This suggests that the eighteenth-century playwrights still retained the distinction between *ye* and *you*, although they used *you* as nominative as well as objective most of the time.

The total number of *ye* is quite small compared with other second person pronouns in both tragedies and comedies (cf. Chapters 3 and 4):

Table 41: The frequency of second person pronouns per 1,000 words in nominative and objective.<sup>82</sup>

	Tragedies		Comedies	
	Nominative	Objective	Nominative	Objective
<i>ye</i>	0.019	-	0.147	0.008
THOU	5.669	4.898	0.417	0.417
YOU	6.020	2.965	16.821	10.065

One of the main reasons why there are so few occurrences of *ye* is that it was already an obsolete form in the eighteenth century. However, this reason alone cannot explain why *ye* appears less often THOU, another obsolete form. To find the explanation for this, I will study the circumstances where *ye* occurs. Since the comedies have many more occurrences of *ye*, I will discuss *ye* in the two genres separately.

### 8.3. *Ye* in the tragedies

#### 8.3.1. Nominative

As we have seen in Table 40, *ye* occurs three times and only as nominative in the

---

<sup>82</sup> The frequency of the possessive form is not included in this table since the purpose of this table is to compare the frequency of *ye* with that of THOU and YOU and *ye* does not occur as possessive in my corpus.

tragedies. I present all of the occurrences of *ye* below:

(1) [*A prostitute Millwood hears a knock while talking to her servant-maid.*]

MILLWOOD: Some Body knocks, —*d'ye* hear; I am at Home to no Body to  
Day, but him.

(*Merchant* 1.3)

(2) [*Horatio is addressing 'fair' in apostrophe, thinking about his friend's beautiful but unfaithful fiancée.*]

HORATIO: What if I urg'd her with the Crime and Danger? [...]

Were *you, ye* Fair, but cautious whom *ye* trust,  
Did *you* but think how seldom Fools are just,  
So many of *your* Sex wou'd not in vain,  
Of broken Vows and faithless Men complain.  
Of all the various Wretches Love has made,  
How few have been by Men of Sense betray'd?  
Convinc'd by Reason, they *your* Pow'r confess,  
Pleas'd to be happy, as *you*'re pleas'd to bless,  
And conscious of *your* Worth, can never love *you* less.

(*Penitent* 2.2)

Example (1) contains a contracted form *d'ye* for *do ye* Barber holds that this form represents unstressed form of *you* [jə] (1976: 205). Nakayama discusses that characters in her nineteenth-century novel corpus can employ this shortened form when they are in a hurry or in agitation (2014: 99). In our Example (1), the speaker (Millwood) is in an urgent need to order her servant not to let visitors in, so the author probably uses the form *d'ye* to indicate that she is speaking quickly. Another reason why *d'ye* is used only in *Merchant* might be the style of language. Nakayama discusses the fact that *ye* as an unstressed variant of *you* (or 'recent *ye*' in her definition) tended to appear in casual dialogue (2014: 112-113). *Merchant* is the most 'casual' or colloquial tragedy in my corpus, as evidenced by the fact that it is mostly written in prose. Additionally,

since *Merchant* deals with ordinary people such as merchants in seventeenth-century England, it might not sound unnatural that they employ modern colloquial usage.<sup>83</sup> Judging from the percentage of THOU, *Merchant* is closer to contemporary comedies with a more colloquial style than contemporary tragedies (Chapter 5). In fact, the form *d'ye* is quite frequent in the comedies, as we will see in 8.4 below.

Example (2), which contains two occurrences of *ye*, is a generic reference to a beautiful woman ('fair') in apostrophe. *Ye* and YOU in (2) is ambiguous in terms of forms; it can be singular or plural. I treat 'fair' as singular because the speaker is thinking about a specific person, i.e. his friend's beautiful fiancée, as he says 'What if I urg'd her ...' in the first sentence.<sup>84</sup> Considering that the passage starting with 'Were you, ye Fair,' is written in rhymed verse (while most of the play text are written in blank verse), *ye* seems to be chosen as a part of solemn speech.<sup>85</sup> Adding to that, *you* is used in unstressed positions elsewhere, so it is likely the author chose to use *ye* in the above passage for some reason.<sup>86</sup> However, there is also a possibility that *ye* is

---

<sup>83</sup> N.B. Barber presents an example of *ye* representing the unstressed form of *you* in the seventeenth century, from Wycherley's *Country Wife* (1675) (1976: 149).

<sup>84</sup> Of course, there is a possibility that the 'fair' in Example (2) is plural. 'Men' in the last line can suggest that the speaker is thinking of men and women in general and both 'men' and 'ye fair' are plural as antitheses. Additionally, every other *ye* used as vocative is plural in the tragedy corpus. I did not include the data of plural *ye* in this thesis because my focus is on second person singular pronouns. I hope to publish my analysis of plural *ye* and *you* in the near future.

<sup>85</sup> Nakayama points out that nominative plural *ye* is often uttered solemnly in poetic or religious atmospheres in her nineteenth-century novel corpus (2014: 112). She did not find any singular *ye* used as such.

<sup>86</sup> Here are a few examples of unstressed *you* in speeches from Horatio (the speaker of (2)) to Calista:

used to represent the shortened pronunciation of *you*; *you* is used in a stressed position while *ye* appears in an unstressed position:

Were <sup>x</sup>/<sub>you</sub>, <sup>x</sup>/<sub>ye</sub> Fair, but cautious whom <sup>x</sup>/<sub>ye</sub> trust,

On the one hand, all of the occurrences of *ye* are unstressed in my tragedy corpus. On the other hand, *ye* is rarely used even in unstressed position; *you* is used most of the time. It is impossible to draw any firm conclusions with such small data, but considering these, *ye* seems likely to occur in unstressed positions but only under special circumstances.

#### 8.4. *Ye* in the comedies

##### 8.4.1. Nominative

The most frequent case of *ye* in the comedies is nominative (36x out of 38x; see Table 40 in 8.2.1). In order to find their characteristics, I look at the elements co-occurring with nominative singular *ye*, as shown below:

Table 42: Elements co-occurring with nominative singular *ye* in the comedies.

<i>d'ye</i> Verb	<i>ye</i> Noun	<i>do ye</i> Verb
34	1	1

The most common combination is *d'ye*, the contract form for *do ye*. Nakayama points out that this contracted form was used by people from various ranks, including educated gentlemen, in her 19<sup>th</sup>-century novel corpus (2014: 108). In my comedy corpus, the class of speakers of *d'ye* ranges from middle class to upper class. Gender

---

<sup>x</sup>/<sub>By</sub> <sup>x</sup>/<sub>Honour</sub> and fair Truth, <sup>x</sup>/<sub>you</sub> wrong me much, (*Penitent* 3.1)  
<sup>x</sup>/<sub>Unless</sub> <sup>x</sup>/<sub>you</sub> mean to be despis'd, be shunn'd, (*Penitent* 3.1)

seems to have a moderate influence; men seem to use and receive more *d'ye* than women do, as shown in the table below:

Table 43: The gender of the speakers and the addressees of *d'ye* in the comedies.

		Addressee	
		Male	Female
Speaker	Male	18	7
	Female	5	6

25 instances (64% of the occurrences of *d'ye*) are spoken by a man and 23 instances (67%) of the occurrences are directed to a man. Wakimoto points out that female characters are less colloquial in Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1996: 127). This might be applicable to my data, in which female characters use *d'ye* less frequently than male characters. It must be noted, however, that the number of male characters is double the number of female characters (84 and 44 respectively). In other words, *d'ye* may appear more frequently in men's speech just because there are more men.

Some verbs might tend to co-occur with *d'ye*. It is followed by *think* nine times and by *hear* eight times respectively.<sup>87</sup> However, 'do you think' is attested more frequently than 'd'ye think' in my corpus. For example, in *Clandestine*, which has the largest number of 'd'ye think', there are five occurrences of 'd'ye think' while seven occurrences of 'do you think'. It might be true that *d'ye* has tendency to co-occur with some verbs, but the verb by itself does not necessarily encourage the use of *ye*.

With regards to the speakers of *d'ye think* in *Clandestine*, most characters use either *do you think* or *d'ye think* only. Sir John is the only character who use both of

---

<sup>87</sup> The full list of verbs following *d'ye* in my corpus is as follows: think (9x), hear (8x), like (4x), mean (4x), call (2x), say (2x), laugh (1x), see (1x), take (1x), want (1x).



them, but his addressees receive either *do you think* or *d'ye think* only. It seems the identity of the speaker and the hearer plays an important role of the use of *d'ye*. Nakayama says that 'even the educated unintentionally choose shorter and easier terms either in familiar or emotional talk' (Nakayama 2014: 99). In my data the receivers of *d'ye think* are close to the speaker: family, friends or subordinates in the business. Nakayama's statement seems to be applicable to my data too.

The occurrence of *ye* in the pattern '*ye* + N' is as follows:

(3) [A servant-maid Phillis is trying to fend off her boyfriend who is trying to kiss her.]

PHILLIS: O here's my young Mistress!

[Tom taps her Neck behind, and kisses his Fingers.]

Go, ye liquorish Fool.

(*Conscious* 3.1)

There is a possibility that *ye* in the above example is used to represent the shortened *you* for two reasons. Firstly, the speaker and the hearer are in a close relationship, in which *ye* as a shortened form of *you* (rather than *ye* as an old-fashioned nominative) is often used (Nakayama 2014). Secondly, the speaker, Phillis the maid-servant, uses *ye* to the same addressee (Tom the servant) in the same scene: 'What made ye, you Oaf, ready to fall down into the Street?' (*Conscious* 3.1) (the *ye* used in this utterance will be discussed further in 8.4.2). Since the *ye* in this sentence represents the shortened *you*, it is likely that she utters the *ye* in (3) in the same way. Considering that *you* not *ye* is used in the position before an address term in the other characters' speeches (whether *you* is unstressed or not), *ye* might be employed to represent Phillis's way of speaking.<sup>88</sup> However, there is also a possibility that *ye* is stressed and represents the

---

<sup>88</sup> Ulrich Busse suggests that *ye* might be employed for characterisation in his Shakespeare

old-fashioned *ye*.<sup>89</sup> If so, the *ye* is possibly used to add (mock-)graveness to the utterance.

The only example of *ye* occurring in the pattern ‘*do ye V*’ is as follows:

(4) [*Sir Harry is furious to find out that his son Humphry has got married secretly.*]

SIR HARRY: Are you so, Sirrah, then Sirrah this is your Wedding-dinner,  
Sirrah—Do ye see, Sirrah, Here’s Roast-Meat.

HUMPHRY: Oh ho! What beat a marry’d Man! Hold him Mr. *Clerimont*, Brother  
*Pounce*, Mr. Wife, No body stand by a young marry’d Man!

(*Tender 5.2*)

In the above example, the speaker is apparently angry with the hearer, using an address term of abuse *sirrah* repeatedly (see Chapter 7 for address terms of abuse) and attacking his hearer while (or after) saying the line. He also seems to pronounce the above line hastily, with the use of contracted form *here’s*. Nakayama shows that emotions such as agitation cause even educated speakers to choose a shortened form (2014: 99). Considering these, *ye* in the above example is probably used to represent short pronunciation of *you*, i.e. *ye* [jə].

#### 8.4.2. Objective

There are two occurrences of *ye* as objective singular, as shown below:

(5) [*The servant-maid Phillis runs into her boyfriend Tom on a street.*]

PHILLIS: What made ye, you Oaf, ready to fall down into the Street?

(*Conscious 3.1*)

---

corpus, although it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions due to the scarcity of the data (2002: 274).

<sup>89</sup> Walker does not rule out the possibility that *ye* in the above example is stressed (2007: 266).

(6) [*Marlow is talking with his friend.*]

MARLOW: Thank ye, George! I ask no more. Ha! ha! ha!

(*Stoops* 4.1)

In both examples, *ye* are considered to be used to represent the shortened *you*. Nakayama lists five characteristics of *ye* as a shortened *you*. Of all five, the following three characteristics fit into the above examples: (1) *ye* comes out as objective; (2) *ye* appears in the post-verbal position; (3) *ye* is in casual dialogues (2014: 112-113). Since all of the occurrences of *ye* as nominative are also the representation of the shortened *you*, there is no occurrence of *ye* representing the old-fashioned second person pronoun in the comedies in my corpus.

### 8.5. Summary

As we have seen in the above section, the use of *ye* as singular is very rare in my corpus. Ulrich Busse, introducing Bock's (1938) data, shows that *ye* decreased dramatically in the middle of the sixteenth century and never played a significant role as nominative plural after that except in Sheridan's *Rivals* (1775) (2002: 262). In other words, the decrease of *ye* became significant earlier than that of THOU. This might account for the fact that *ye* is so rare while THOU is still dominant in some eighteenth-century tragedies. As we have seen in Chapter 4, writers of tragedies imitated playwrights from previous periods and used archaic THOU. *Ye*, however, was scarce even during these earlier times. The eighteenth-century playwrights did not need to use *ye* as an archaic form because *thou/thee*, which was more conspicuous in older texts, was available to them as an archaic pronoun. The fact that *ye* was originally a plural pronoun might be another reason why the eighteenth-century tragedians avoided using it as singular. Meanwhile,

they generally avoided *ye* as the representation of shortened *you* because it was too colloquial to be used in the grave style of tragedies.

Writers of comedies, on the other hand, dealt with contemporary casual settings and did not need to follow this older style. For this reason they more or less reflected the contemporary use of *ye*, i.e. representation of shortened *you*.

Considering most of the occurrences of *ye* are in an unstressed position (i.e. possibly used as a representation of shortened *you*) in my corpus, the use of *ye* as archaic second person singular pronoun is almost extinct in the eighteenth-century plays. It seems that *ye* could not survive because it had two rivals, not only *you* but also *thou/thee*. *Ye* might have survived as an archaic pronoun, but that role was taken by *thou/thee*. Since THOU was becoming an ‘archaic, grave’ pronoun (2.1), people might not need to keep the original ‘formal’ second person pronoun *ye*. In contrast, *ye* was too archaic or special to be used as a normal (unmarked) second person singular pronoun instead of *you*. These seem to be the reasons why *ye* was very rarely used in my eighteenth-century play corpus.

## 9. Address terms in the eighteenth-century plays

### 9.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will deal with address terms in relation to second person pronouns. The term ‘address terms’ used in this thesis refers to nominal vocatives (including adjectives such as *dear*).<sup>90</sup> The vocative forms of second person pronouns are discussed in the previous chapters: vocatives to an interlocutor present, (e.g. *you stupid Creature*), are discussed in Chapter 5 and 6; the addresses of supernatural creatures (e.g. *thou radiant God*) are in Chapter 7; vocative *ye* (e.g. *ye fair*) is in Chapter 8.

Along with second person pronouns, address terms are used to show the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Shimonomoto, who studies the language of Chaucer, discusses how studying address terms can reveal why the speaker chooses to use THOU or YOU:

If the speaker shifts from an ‘unmarked’ from to a ‘marked’ one [=second person pronoun], it signals that some change in the situation, or in the speaker, is taking place, but does not specify what kind of change it is. In interpreting the affective meaning of the pronoun, the presence of other categories of politeness markers would be a help. In the case of the terms of address [...] there are more options and varieties available to the speaker, and, therefore, the choice of the form could bear more specific information as to what the speaker intended to say.

(2000: 79)

Previous studies suggest that there is a correlation between personal pronouns and address terms, in that both the choice of personal pronouns and that of address terms

---

<sup>90</sup> For the discussions of what is counted as vocatives / address terms, see Leech 1999 and Shiina 2005a.

are affected by the same extralinguistic factors. Ulrich Busse, who studies second person pronouns and address terms in Shakespearean works, hypothesises that both personal pronouns and address terms are regulated by the social distances between interlocutors:

the second person pronouns used together with nominal forms of address to a certain extent mirror the social or relational position expressed by the vocative. Thus, the more reverential and deferential vocatives, e.g. the titles of courtesy, should attract a Y pronoun, and the more intimate vocatives and the terms of abuse should show a preponderance of T forms, with an area of overlap in-between.

(2002: 99)

The above quotation suggests that both the choice of second person pronouns and that of address terms is affected by similar factors, such as power and distance. Considering these, address terms can be assumed to serve to show the relationships between characters and the changes of the speaker's attitude towards their interlocutor, combined with the choice of THOU. It may therefore be asked if there were any change in the use of address terms, when THOU fell out of use. One hypothesis is that playwrights came to show the changes in interpersonal relationships through characters' changing their use of address terms, instead of shift of second person pronouns. It is also hypothesised that many address terms which used to co-occur with THOU came to co-occur only with YOU, as THOU disappeared from Standard English. A final hypothesis is that the use of address terms might be different in the tragedies and the comedies. Because THOU was still prevalent in the tragedies but not in the comedies, it is expected that some address terms co-occur with THOU in the tragedies while they co-occur with YOU in the comedies. To investigate these hypotheses, I will categorise address terms and see if there is any pattern related to the use of THOU and

YOU.

Before investigating these questions, I present some functions of address terms from previous studies to clarify what address terms do. Firstly, Leech presents the function of vocatives (including personal pronouns) as follows:

The first is that of summoning attention (i.e. alerting somebody to the fact that he or she is being addressed, e.g. A: *Mum!* B: What *darling?*).

The second is that of addressee identification; i.e. distinguishing the intended recipient of your remarks from others who might otherwise consider themselves addressees [...].

A third function is to establish or maintain a social relationship between the speaker and the addressee(s), as in this answer to a question: Oh yeah *dude* totally. (AmE)

(1999: 108, emphasis added)

In addition, Shiina, who studies address terms (vocatives) in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gentry comedies, shows other pragmatic functions of vocatives as follows:

It may be justifiable to say that vocatives help construct the meaning of the utterance by conveying the interpersonal and contextual meanings of the dialogue in question. Although they are only short noun phrases, vocatives can vividly illustrate the delicate emotions and attitudes which arise between the speaker and the addressee as well as their status and social roles, not to mention their primary discursive function to attract the attention of the addressee to the speaker and/or to the utterance.

(2005a: 3)

These functions of (nominal) address terms are similar to those of second person pronouns (Chapter 2), in that the choice and switch of personal pronouns can show the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. The question is, what is not expressed by personal pronouns but can be conveyed by address terms?

To find answers to these questions, firstly I will perform a quantitative study on the relationship between second person pronouns and address terms, as well as the occurrences of address terms in each play. Secondly, I will analyse address terms according to their category (see below). Thirdly, I will investigate the relationship between the choice of second person pronoun and the category of address terms which co-occur with them. Lastly, I will choose one tragedy and one comedy and compare their use of address terms. Considering the big difference in the usage of THOU and YOU in the two genres, their use of address terms might also be different.

## 9.2. Previous studies

### 9.2.1. Studies including eighteenth-century dramas

Studies on address terms in eighteenth-century are very scarce. I could not find any studies dealing with address terms in eighteenth-century tragedies. With regards to comedies, there are only two studies dealing with eighteenth-century comedies. Kerridge (2014) studies address terms along with the shift of THOU and YOU in CED, including the 200-year comedy corpus. She collected the data of ‘epithets used either in collocation with THOU or YOU within single utterances in either direct address or reported usage’ (2014: 77).<sup>91</sup> The categories included in her analysis are as follows:

---

<sup>91</sup> ‘Epithet’ often refers to ‘An adjective or adjectival phrase used to define a characteristic quality or attribute of some person or thing’ (Baldick 2008, *epithet*). Kerridge, however, defines the term *epithet* as ‘the evaluative categories of endearments and insults’ (2014: 77) and separate epithets from address terms. In her classification, modified address terms such as *dearest madam* are epithets because ‘it is an evaluation specific to that speaker and that utterance’ (2014: 77). There are some other studies which include nouns in the category ‘epithet’, e.g. Jucker and Taavitsainen (2000), Busse (2006) Chapman (2008). Chapman considers epithets as ‘names that one speaker was calling another’ (2008: 3).



Address terms:

**Social status:** connotes the speaker's perception of his specific social relationship with the addressee. e.g. *brother, cousin*

**Occupation/description:** describes the addressee which is either given in the introduction to the text or which may be deduced from the content of the text. e.g. *landlord, nurse,*

**Name:** includes given names and given names plus family name.

**Title + Name:** includes titles such as *Master, Mistress, Sir* followed by a name.

**Title + Occupation:** e.g. *sirra Bailie*

(Kerridge 2014: 324-330)

Epithet:

**Negative epithet:** Abusive vocatives featuring with negative affect, e.g. *fool, slave*

**Positive epithet:** e.g. *good woman, your lordship*<sup>92</sup>

(summarised from Kerridge 2014: 332, 373-426)

She shows that the shift of second person pronoun occurs more often with 'epithets', i.e. evaluative address terms than with (neutral) address terms (2014: 337). With regards to address terms in comedies, she found out that THOU co-occur with positive epithets more often than in the other genres (2014: 338).

Shiina (2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b) conducted large-scale corpus-based studies on address terms in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comedies. In her 2005 study, she identifies eleven types of vocatives:

honorific, Title + surname (hereafter T + SN), familiarisers, surname (hereafter SN), first name (hereafter FN), shortened FN, kinship terms, vocatives of endearment, generic, occupational, vocative of abuse, miscellaneous noun

---

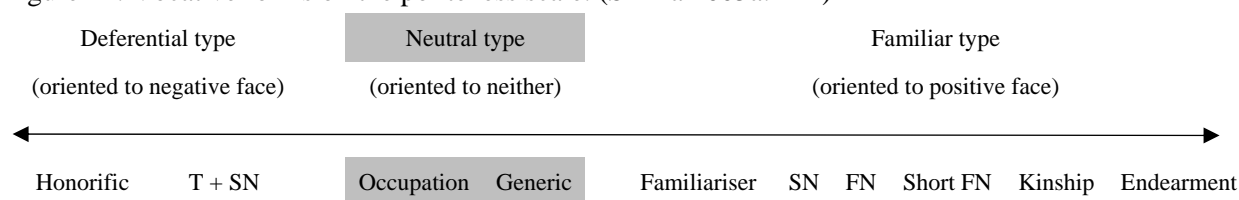
Busse (2006)'s definition of 'epithet' will be shown in 9.2.2 below.

<sup>92</sup> I could not find any definitions of 'positive epithet', but it seems to be identical with 'terms of positive affect' (Kerridge 2014: 107, etc.).

(summarised from Shiina 2005a: 114-115, 123-124)

These vocatives are classified into three groups according to their orientation to positive or negative face, as shown in Figure 14:

Figure 14: Vocative forms on the politeness scale. (Shiina 2005a: 124)



She claims that playwrights in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could choose address terms effectively:

In the Early Modern English period, class, status, and social roles can be more clearly recognised in vocative use. The playwrights of the 17th and 18th centuries are aware of this, and exploit a variety of vocatives as a linguistic and literary device to construct the character relationships in their dramatic worlds, and also manipulate them as the plot unfolds.

(2005b: 222)

Apart from these two large-scale studies, there are occasional references to the usage of individual playwrights. For example, Wakimoto (2004) studies speaking names and terms of abuse and endearment in *She Stoops to Conquer*. She holds that address terms in *Stoops* are in general more formal than those in Present-day English (for example, a daughter addresses her father with *sir*) and female characters tend to use more formal address terms to male characters than the other way round, although there is a lot of variation in the address terms employed by each character. She also shows that Goldsmith uses various abusive terms, which are often applied to servants, to reflect one aspect of the real society in his time, i.e. low and vulgar elements (2004:

142).

### **9.2.2. Studies on Shakespeare's use of address terms**

When expanding the scope of the period and genre, there are several studies on written texts in earlier centuries. Shakespeare has drawn by far the most scholarly attentions. Beatrix Busse's two studies (2006, 2010) are a thorough study of his usage, especially focussing on the interpersonal relationships represented by them. In Busse (2006), she categorises vocatives into the following eight categories by combining sense and contextual features of each vocative head, as summarised below:<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> She uses 'vocatives' rather than 'address terms' in her study. Vocatives are 'direct attitudinal adjunct-like forms of address. Realised as a nominal group or head alone, vocatives are optional in form, they may be introduced in Shakespeare by the morphological marker *O*, and their position may be either initial, middle or final in the clause.' (2006:29)

Table 44: Beatrix Busse's categorisation of vocatives (summarised from 2006: 12-13 and 450).

Criteria		Category	Description
Names	-	<b>Personal names</b>	the personal and proper names used as vocatives
Non-names	Terms that redirect attention to human features	<b>Conventional terms</b>	covers those fields that label Early Modern hierarchical society (e.g. <i>gallants,thane</i> )
		<b>Emotion / Mind, Thought</b>	terms referring to an emotion or thought (e.g. <i>love, fury</i> )
		<b>Generic terms</b>	terms that overly belong to genus, male or female (e.g. <i>boy, wench</i> )
		<b>Kinship</b>	kinship terms such as <i>son</i> and <i>niece</i>
	Terms that redirect attention to non-human features	<b>Specialised fields</b>	terms that describe the learned fields, such as arts and leisure, legal, medical, metaphysical, military
		<b>Natural phenomena</b>	terms referring to nature, and, more specifically, refer to the faculty of perception, to covering and dress, nourishments, furnishings, natural products and occurrences as well as to parts of the body (e.g. <i>dog, knees</i> )
	EPITHETS	<b>EPITHETS</b>	describes a kind of quality already inherent in the semantics of the lexeme used (e.g. <i>friend, sirrah</i> )

She shows that vocatives in Shakespeare's plays have interpersonal as well as textual and experiential meanings (2006: 451). They work as 'a lexical and experiential metaphor' (2006: 449) and are 'an ostentatious deictic device for construing plot, experiential, interpersonal, and textual meanings' (2006: 454).

Ulrich Busse (2002, 2003) studies both pronominal and nominal address terms in Shakespeare. He identifies six categories of address terms and studies representative address terms of each category:

**Titles of courtesy:** e.g. *dame, goodman*

**Terms of address indicating occupation:** e.g. *doctor, esquire*

**Terms of family relationship:** e.g. *brother, cousin*

**Generic terms of address:** e.g. *boy, friend*

**Terms of endearment:** e.g. *joy, love*

**Terms of abuse:** e.g. *hag, knave*

(summarised from Busse 2003: 196)

He shows that there is a correlation between the nominal forms of address and the choice of second person pronouns: address terms which are oriented to negative politeness or deference tend to occur with YOU, while terms of abuse and terms which are oriented to positive politeness tend to occur with THOU (2003: 214).

Mazon (2000) shows the correlation between personal pronouns and address terms in *The Canterbury Tales* in terms of discourse strategies. She identifies categories of address terms as follows: family relationships (e.g. *f(a)ader* and *mo(o)der*), from inferiors to superiors (e.g. *madame* and *sire*), first names, category names (e.g. *Cook* and *Preest*), insults (e.g. *false traitour* and *false theef*) and the courting/love relations (e.g. *sweete* and *tendre creature*) (2000: 150-151). She does not show any quantitative data but shows which category tends to appear with either THOU or YOU.

Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1995) study address terms in letters between 1420 and 1680. They divide their data into four categories based on the relationship between the writer and the addressee: nuclear family, friends, extended family and no kinship (1995: 563). They show that power difference overrides intimacy most of the time.

Nevala produces a series of diachronic studies on Early and Late Modern English English correspondence (2002, 2004a, 2004b), using politeness theories and Bell's

audience design. Her categorisation of address terms uses a scale of politeness (based on Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1995), but she elaborates the scale by taking into account the positive and negative modifiers which are used with address terms:

Figure 15: The placing of the address formulae on the scale (Nevala 2002: 154).

Positive end		“Neutral”	
→		→	
terms of endearment, nickname	(intensifier +) modifier (expr. positive qualities) + FN	(intensifier ( <i>right</i> )) + modifier (expr. positive qualities) + kinship term	(possessive pronoun +) kinship term
<i>my own, sweetheart, Thomken</i>	<i>FN</i> <i>my dear John</i>	<i>right welbeloved son, my very good father</i>	<i>(my) father, mother</i>
FN	(intensifier +) modifier (expr. positive qualities) + kinship term	kinship term (+ FN/LN)	
<i>John</i>	<i>my dearest sister</i>	<i>brother Edmond, father Stoner</i>	
		Negative end	
←		←	
(poss. pr./intensifier <i>right</i> +) modifier (expr. neg. pol.) + modifier (expr. pos. qual.) + kinship term		intensifier <i>right</i> + modifier (expr. negative politeness) + kinship term	status term (+ last name)
<i>right reverend and my most tender and kind mother</i>		<i>right worshipful husband, right reverend and worshipful father</i>	<i>good Madam, Mr Thynne</i>
		(modifier expressing positive qualities +) status term + kinship term	(intensifier/ modifier +) honorific term
		<i>mine own good lady and sister</i>	<i>right worshipful sir, your lordship</i>

She also takes into account the social distance between the writer and the addressee,

such as husband to wife and daughter to father (2002: 153). Her studies show that the politeness strategies which are represented by address terms have changed over time from negative politeness to positive politeness.

Because of the scarcity of previous studies dealing with eighteenth-century dramas, I compare my findings with studies on other materials as well as the ones on eighteenth-century dramas when needed.

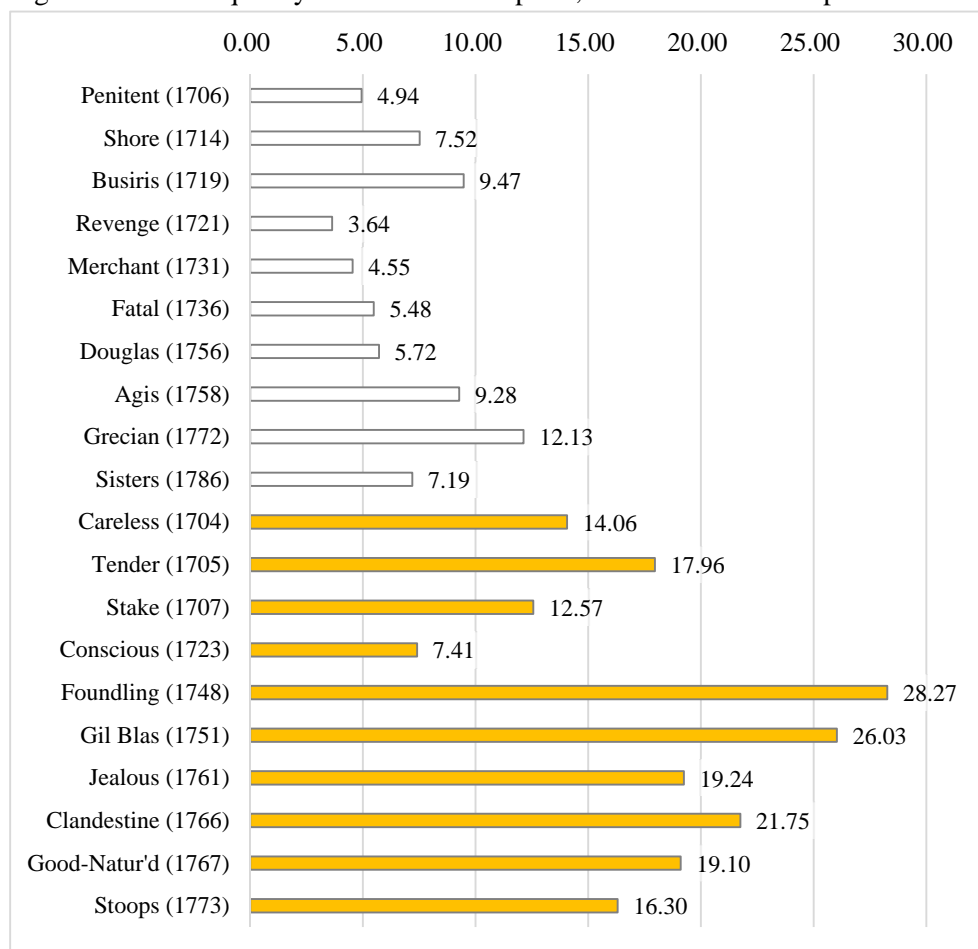
### **9.3. Data**

Firstly, I look at the total number of address terms in each work. Address terms which refer to more than one person are excluded from the data because this thesis aims to study the second person singular pronouns. Since tragedies are shorter than comedies in general, I consider the frequency of address terms per 1,000 words, rather than comparing the raw numbers.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> The average length is 16,235 words in the tragedies and 26,006 words in the comedies in my corpus.

Figure 16: The frequency of address terms per 1,000 words in the corpus.



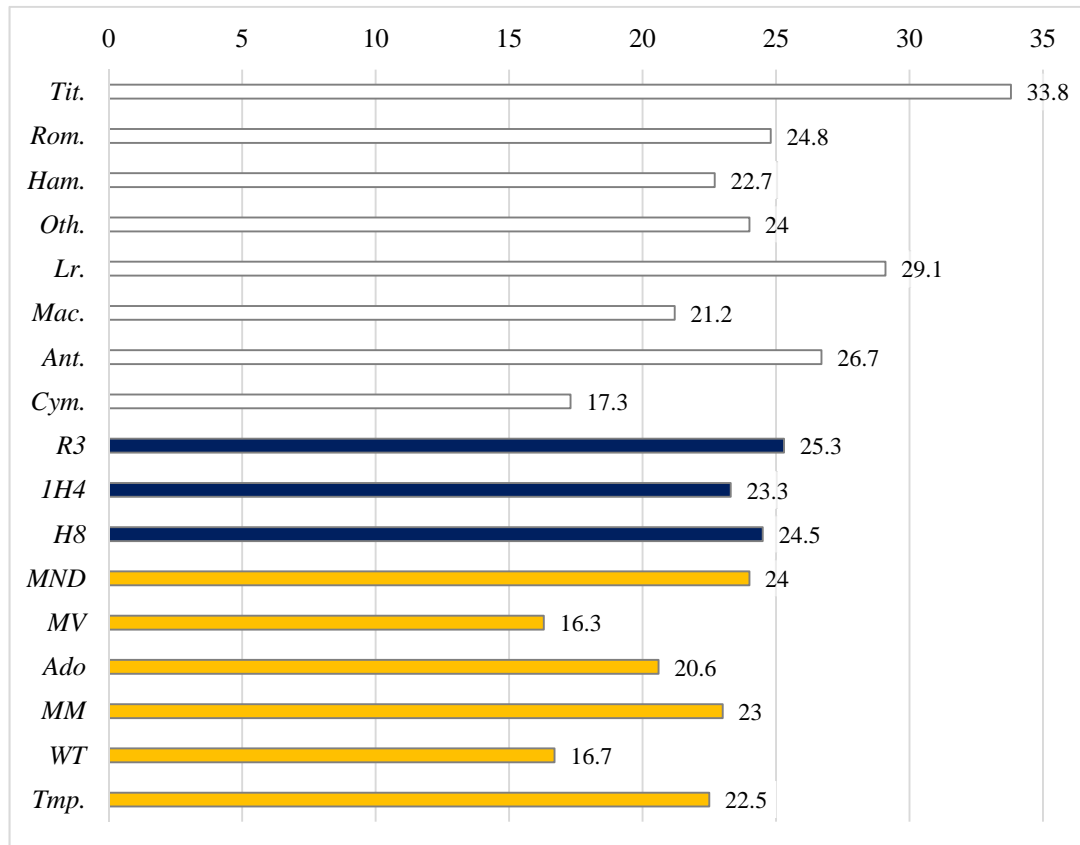
One noticeable difference in Figure 16 is that tragedies (shown with white bars) contain far fewer tokens of address terms than comedies, although there is a lot of variation between individual works; the average is 7.0 per 1,000 words in the tragedies and 20.4 in the comedies – in other words, address terms appear 2.9 times more often in the comedies than in the tragedies.<sup>95</sup> This result is quite different from Beatrix

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Shiina (2014), who studies address terms in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century trial records and comedies in *Sociopragmatic Corpus*, shows that the average frequency of address terms per 1,000 words is 5.0 in the trial records and 17.1 in the comedies (2014: 82). I cannot make an exact comparison since she does not show data of each trial record, but it seems that the frequency of address terms in the eighteenth-century might be closer to that in the contemporary trial records than that in comedies.



Busse's (2006) finding, that vocatives appear more often in the tragedies than in the histories or the comedies in her Shakespearean corpus (2006: 151):

Figure 17: The frequency of vocatives per 1,000 words in Shakespeare (based on Busse 2006: 148).<sup>96</sup>



When compared to the frequency of address terms in Shakespearean plays, it is observable that while the frequency of address terms in comedies are relatively close in Shakespearean works and the eighteenth-century plays (except in *Conscious*, in which the frequency is remarkably low), the frequency tends to be much lower in the

<sup>96</sup> Her original data use 'relative frequency', i.e. 'computed by multiplying the actual figures by 100 and by dividing this result through the number of words used in the play' (2006: 146). I changed the figures to frequency per 1,000 words by multiplying the figures by 10 for the sake of comparisons.

eighteenth-century tragedies (almost half in average). One possible reason why the frequency of address terms is much higher in her data is the difference of methods or the definition of vocatives/address terms. One of her categories of address terms, EPITHET, includes first and second person pronouns and the relative/interrogative pronoun *what* (1x).<sup>97</sup> She also includes plural vocatives (e.g. *gentlemen* and *fellows*) in her data, which are excluded from my data.

However, these differences in methodology might not fully account for the reason why the frequency is much smaller in the eighteenth-century tragedies. Another possible reason might be the differences in the style of tragedies. Beatrix Busse states that the changes in Shakespeare's writing are related to the frequency of address terms:

if these results are more work-immanently considered, [...] one discerns that the figures seem to be reduced within the Elizabethan period (although the figure for *Tit.* is far above average) only to increase again after the year 1600 [...]. This observation corresponds to the generally held view that the year 1600 constitutes a change in Shakespeare's writing. Furthermore, it may be constructive of the fact that the end of the 1590s also marks a change not only of the playhouse where many of Shakespeare's plays were performed (Bruster 2003: 112f.), but also of audience tastes. The move from the Theatre to the Globe occurs during 1599 (Bruster 2003: 113f.), and from that time onwards the audience, with a delight in verbal excesses, also changes into spectators who enjoy the verbal and the visual alike [...]. It may therefore be that the rise of vocative usage is constructive and gives evidence of a response to and a creation of alterations in audience tastes and the tastes of acting

---

<sup>97</sup> First person pronouns in EPITHET (20x): *I* (9x), *I that am curtail'd of this fair proportion, cheated of feature by dissembling nature* (1x), *I that am no shap'd for sportive tricks nor made to court an amorous looking glass* (1x), *I that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty to strut before a wanton ambling nymph* (1x), *I that kill'd her husband and her father* (1x), *me* (5x), *we* (2x).

Second person pronouns in EPITHET (81x): *thou* (16x), *ye* (4x), *you* (61x). (Busse 2006: 460-461).

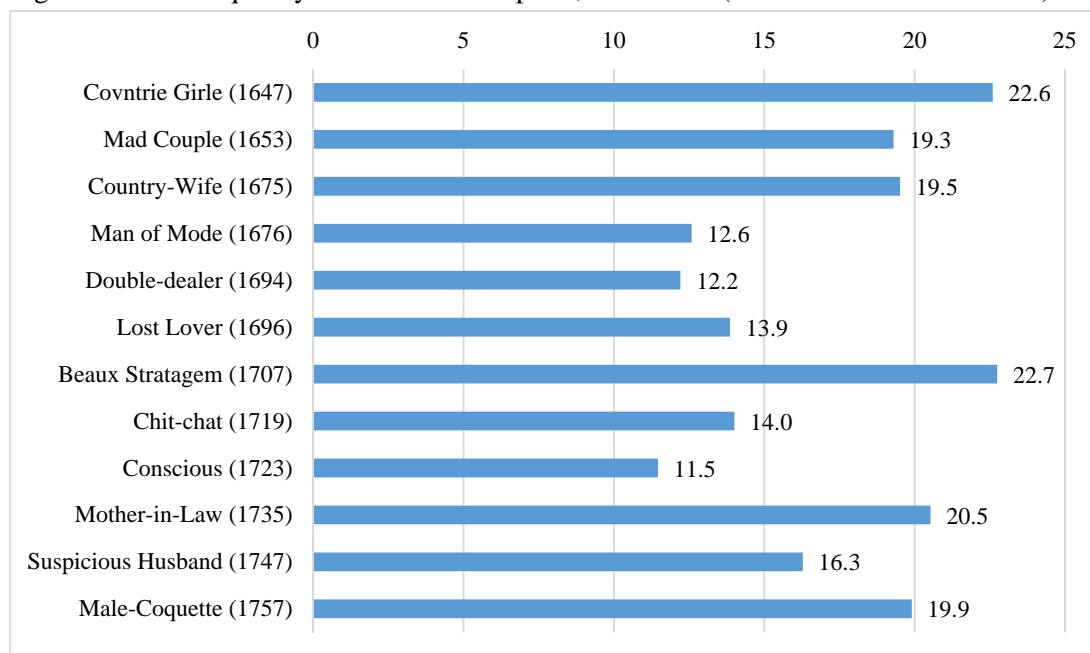
companies.

(Busse 2006: 151-152)

If her finding is also true with other playwrights, it might be possible to attribute the decrease in the frequency of address terms to the numerous changes of the style caused by internal and external reasons. Firstly, there was an increase of the middle class (especially merchants) in the audience and there is evidence that some playwrights tried to adjust themselves to that (e.g. Lillo's *The London Merchant*) (Thomson 2006: 77). Secondly, the Licencing Act took force in 1737. Thirdly, playwrights' commitment to neoclassicism (which was rather un-Shakespearean) in the latter half of the century (Thomson 2006: 135). Fourthly, the physical circumstance of theatres had changed. Drury Lane's fore-stage was reduced to make the pit bigger, and playwrights had to fit their plays into the stage (cf. Child 1966: 335 on the alteration of Shakespeare performed there). These factors might have influenced the frequency of address terms in the eighteenth-century tragedies, although there does not seem to be any conspicuous diachronic changes in my data. As with the comedies, I will investigate the categories of address terms in the eighteenth-century tragedies in 9.4 to see how the use of address terms had changed since the time of Shakespeare.

With regards to comedies, Shiina's (2005) study on address terms shows that the frequency of address terms kept declining towards the end of the seventeenth century, then it keeps changing in the eighteenth century, as shown below (Figure 18):

Figure 18: The frequency of address terms per 1,000 words. (based on Shiina 2005: 134)<sup>98</sup>



It is unclear why the frequency of address terms in the eighteenth-century comedies is more similar to that in Shakespearean comedies. I will investigate the types of address terms to see if there was any change in the pattern of frequency of each category in 9.4.

So far we have seen the tokens of the address terms in the tragedies and in the comedies. Is there any difference in the number of the types they have? Do the comedies have higher ratio of address terms because they tend to repeat the same

---

<sup>98</sup> The full title and the author of the comedies in the table are as follows: *The Covntrie Girle* by Thomas Brewer (1647); *A Mad Couple Well Match'd* by Richard Brome (1653); *The Country-Wife* by William Wycherley (1675); *The Man of Mode* by George Etherege (1676); *The Double-Dealer* by William Congreve (1694); *The Lost Lover; or, the Jealous Husband* by Mrs. Manley (1696); *The Beaux Stratagem* by George Farquhar (1707); *Chit-Chat* by Thomas Killigrew (1719); *The Conscious Lovers* by Richard Steele (1723); *The Mother-in-Law* by James Miller (1735); *The Suspicious Husband* by Benjamin Hoadly (1747); David Garrick *The Male-Coquette* (1757).

address terms again and again, or do they have a wider variety of address terms to employ while the token per type is similar to the tragedies? To investigate this, I compare Type/Token Ratio (TTR) of address terms in each play, as shown below:

Table 45: Type/Token Ratio (TTR) of address terms in each play.

	Types	Tokens	TTR
<i>Penitent</i>	21	92	22.8%
<i>Shore</i>	35	133	26.3%
<i>Busiris</i>	37	193	19.2%
<i>Revenge</i>	33	65	50.8%
<i>Merchant</i>	20	86	23.3%
<i>Curiosity</i>	16	59	27.1%
<i>Douglas</i>	20	86	23.3%
<i>Agis</i>	32	138	23.1%
<i>Grecian</i>	36	227	15.9%
<i>Sisters</i>	20	126	15.9%
<i>Careless</i>	31	422	7.3%
<i>Tender</i>	50	344	14.5%
<i>Stake</i>	38	427	8.9%
<i>Conscious</i>	27	196	13.8%
<i>Foundling</i>	36	566	6.4%
<i>Gil Blas</i>	37	735	5.0%
<i>Jealous</i>	43	557	7.7%
<i>Clandestine</i>	60	643	9.3%
<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	40	442	9.0%
<i>Stoops</i>	59	412	14.3%

Table 45 shows that TTR tends to be larger in the tragedies (shown with white bars) than in the comedies (shown with orange bars), although there is a variation from play to play. This suggests that some address terms are used repeatedly in the comedies and this may be one of the reasons why address terms appear more frequently in the comedies.

Another factor to consider is the number of characters (addressees) in each play. In general, the comedies have a larger number of characters in one play on average; 9.6 characters per play in the tragedies and 15.9 characters per play in the comedies in average. To investigate the relationship between the number of characters and the types and the tokens of address terms, I calculate the number of address terms (tokens) per character, as shown below:

Table 46: The number of addressees, types and tokens of address terms in each play.

	Addressees	Tokens per 1,000 words	Token per 1,000 words / addressees	Types	Types / addressees
<i>Penitent</i>	8	5.6	0.7	27	3.4
<i>Shore</i>	9	6.7	0.7	35	3.9
<i>Busiris</i>	11	10.1	0.9	37	3.4
<i>Revenge</i>	6	6.3	1.0	33	5.5
<i>Merchant</i>	7	4.0	0.6	20	2.9
<i>Curiosity</i>	8	5.6	0.7	16	2.0
<i>Douglas</i>	10	5.9	0.6	20	2.0
<i>Agis</i>	12	9.3	0.8	32	2.7
<i>Grecian</i>	12	12.8	1.1	36	3.0
<i>Sisters</i>	13	4.1	0.3	20	1.5
<i>Careless</i>	7	17.0	2.4	31	4.4
<i>Tender</i>	15	20.1	1.3	50	3.3
<i>Stake</i>	17	13.9	0.8	39	2.3
<i>Conscious</i>	15	7.7	0.5	31	2.1
<i>Foundling</i>	10	33.1	3.3	36	3.6
<i>Gil Blas</i>	17	27.3	1.6	37	2.2
<i>Jealous</i>	18	20.8	1.2	49	2.7
<i>Clandestine</i>	22	29.2	1.3	55	2.5
<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	19	19.9	1.0	41	2.2
<i>Stoops</i>	19	15.2	0.8	59	3.1

The mean number of types which one character receives (figures gained by dividing

the number of types by the number of characters) is almost the same in the two genres. Shiina shows that most categories of address terms except abuse have a limited number of lexical items (2005a: 138, 151, 163) in her seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gentry comedy corpus (for the categories of address terms, see 9.2.1). To take one example, two honorific address terms *sir* and *madam* comprise 46% of the entire figure of address terms in the comedies.<sup>99</sup> Her finding is also true with some of my data in both genres:

---

<sup>99</sup> The total tokens of address terms in the comedies are 4749, *sir* occurs 1265x and *madam* occurs 942x in her corpus (Shiina 2005: 138).

Figure 19: The percentage of the two most frequent address terms to the entire figures of address terms in each play.

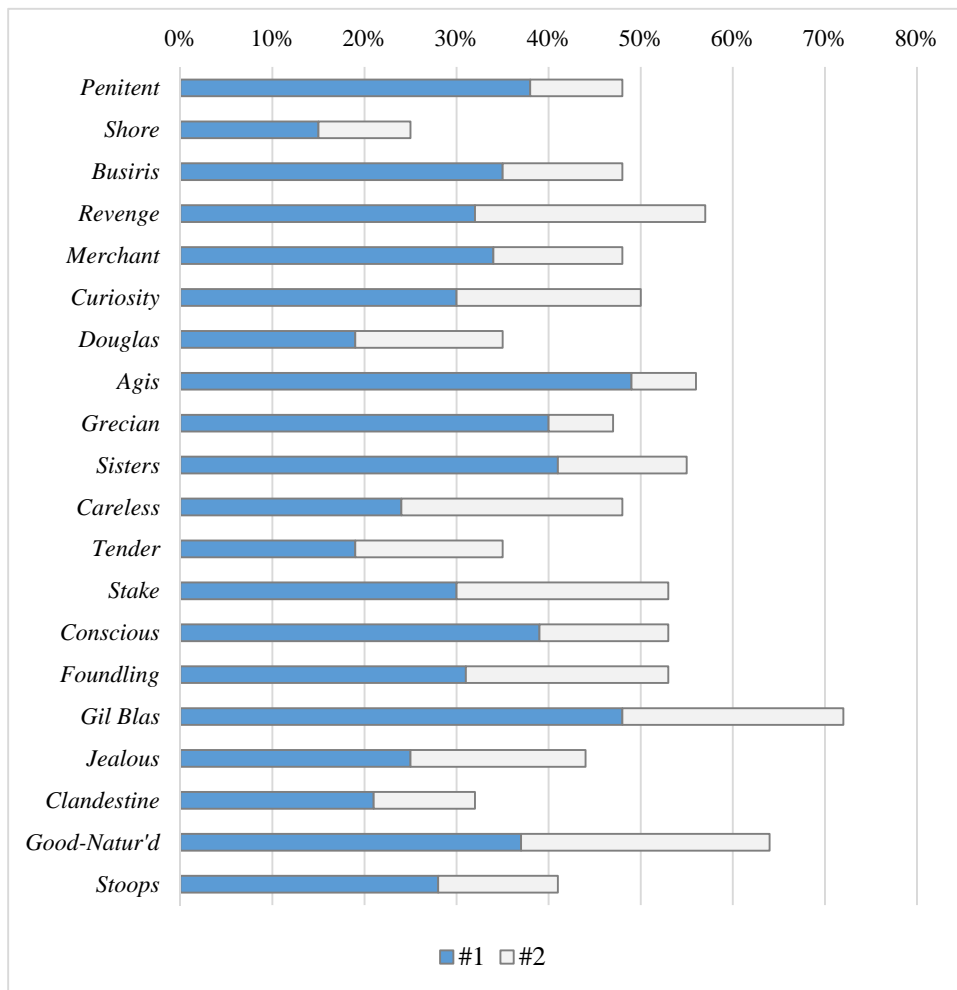


Figure 19 shows that the two most frequent address take up more than 40% of the entire figure of address terms in sixteen plays (except *Shore*, *Douglas*, *Tender* and *Clandestine*). The smallest percentage is 25% in *Shore*, which is still not a tiny proportion of the entire figure. Moreover, the two most frequent address terms are quite similar in each play, as shown in Table 47:



Table 47: The two most frequent address terms in each play.<sup>100</sup>

	#1		#2	
	Terms	Tokens	Terms	Tokens
<i>Penitent</i>	FN	26 (38%)	love	7 (10%)
<i>Shore</i>	SN	10 (15%)	lord	7 (10%)
<i>Busiris</i>	FN	62 (35%)	lord	24 (13%)
<i>Revenge</i>	lord	35 (32%)	FN	27 (25%)
<i>Merchant</i>	sir	24 (34%)	SN	10 (14%)
<i>Curiosity</i>	FN	14 (30%)	sir	9 (20%)
<i>Douglas</i>	SN	14 (19%)	lord	12 (16%)
<i>Agis</i>	FN	63 (49%)	lord	9 (7%)
<i>Grecian</i>	FN	42 (40%)	man	7 (7%)
<i>Sisters</i>	FN	32 (41%)	sir	11 (14%)
<i>Careless</i>	lord	117 (24%)	madam	115 (24%)
<i>Tender</i>	madam	63 (19%)	sir	55 (16%)
<i>Stake</i>	madam	132 (30%)	lord	103 (23%)
<i>Conscious</i>	sir	89 (39%)	madam	33 (14%)
<i>Foundling</i>	sir	173 (31%)	FN	121 (22%)
<i>Gil Blas</i>	sir	351 (48%)	madam	180 (24%)
<i>Jealous</i>	sir	143 (25%)	madam	108 (19%)
<i>Clandestine</i>	lord	132 (21%)	madam	72 (11%)
<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	sir	160 (37%)	madam	119 (27%)
<i>Stoops</i>	sir	116 (28%)	madam	54 (13%)

In the comedies, the two most frequent address terms are either *sir*, *madam* or *lord* (except in *Foundling*, in which the second most frequent address term is FN).<sup>101</sup> In the tragedies, *lord* is ranked within the two most frequent words in five tragedies (*Shore*, *Busiris*, *Revenge*, *Douglas* and *Agis*) and *sir* in three tragedies (*Merchant*,

<sup>100</sup> The percentage in the table shows the proportion of each address term to the entire number of the address terms in the play.

<sup>101</sup> The third most frequent address term in *Foundling* is *madam* (65x, 12% of the entire figure of the address terms).

*Curiosity* and *Sisters*). These suggest that the number of characters does not necessarily increase the types of address terms used in one play. In other words, the difference in the average number of characters in the two genres does not seem to be the reason why there are much more address terms in the comedies. To further investigate what causes the difference, I will look at the types of address terms in each genre and see if there is any different pattern in them.

#### **9.4. Address term types**

##### **9.4.1. Overall data**

In this section, I will look at the types of address terms in each genre. The types of address terms are based on Shiina (2005a), who studies vocatives in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comedies (9.2.1). I added ‘Greek name’ as a new category, for Greek characters typically have only one name (e.g. ‘Theseus’ or ‘Ariadne’) and these names are different from first names or surnames.<sup>102</sup> I also added a new category ‘supernatural’ due to their high frequency of appearance.

---

<sup>102</sup> This category is applied to plays based on Greek mythology, i.e. *Agis*, *Busiris*, *Grecian* and *Sisters*.

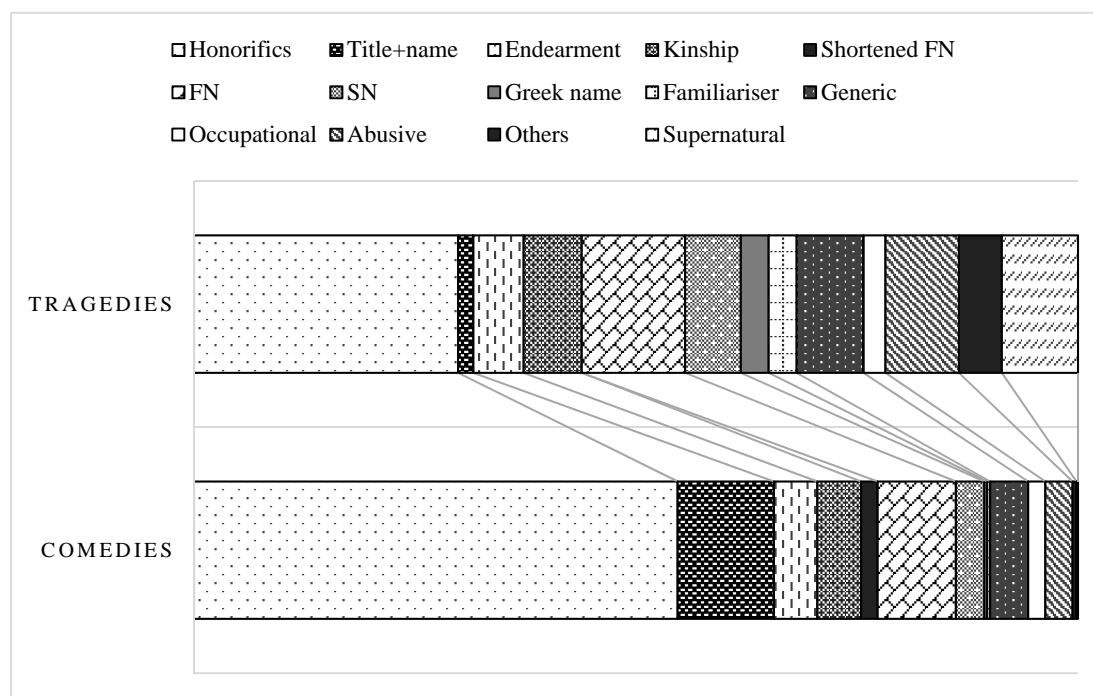
Table 48: The types and the frequency of address terms per 1,000 words in the tragedies and comedies. The percentage in the parenthesis shows the percentage of the category to the entire figure in one genre.<sup>103</sup>

	Tragedies		Comedies	
Honorifics	14.4	(29.0%)	111.4	(55.3%)
Title+SN/FN/full name	0.8	(1.7%)	22.2	(11.0%)
Endearment	2.7	(5.5%)	10.0	(5.0%)
Kinship	3.2	(6.4%)	10.0	(5.0%)
Shortened FN	-		3.8	(1.9%)
FN	5.6	(11.4%)	18.0	(11.4%)
SN	3.0	(6.1%)	6.6	(3.3%)
Greek name	9.2	(18.5%)	-	
Familiariser	1.5	(3.1%)	0.7	(0.3%)
Generic	3.6	(7.3%)	8.8	(4.3%)
Occupational	1.2	(2.4%)	4.0	(2.0%)
Abusive	4.0	(8.1%)	6.3	(3.1%)
Others	2.3	(4.7%)	0.9	(0.4%)
Supernatural	4.0	(8.0%)	0.4	(0.2%)
TOTAL	55.8		202.9	

---

<sup>103</sup> FN stands for 'first name and SN stands for 'surname'. 'Shortened FN' includes nicknames and 'FN + -y' and SN includes full names.

Figure 20: The percentage of each type of address terms appearing in the tragedies and the comedies.



The data above show that the tragedies and the comedies have a different pattern. While honorifics are very common in both of the genres, they occupy a far larger proportion of the data in the comedies (59% in the comedies and 29% in the tragedies). This is because characters, especially upper-class and upper-middle-class characters, very frequently receive address terms in their conversations. Wakimoto states that modes of address were much more formal in the eighteenth-century genteel society, even among family members or couples (2004: 141). There are many occasions when husbands and fathers are addressed with deferential address terms (*sir* or Title + SN) in my corpus. Servants seem to need to use honorifics such as *sir* and *ma'am* when replying to their master/mistress. Shiina points out that servants often used these terms before starting talking to their master/mistress because starting a conversation abruptly was considered rude, especially when the speaker is a servant (2005a: 268). Tragedies

contain fewer interactions with servants and their master/mistress, which might be another reason why tragedies contain fewer address terms.

Another finding regarding honorifics is that the term *sir* is used in all of the plays regardless of the setting. Replogle points out that Shakespeare's attempts at localisation were superficial and he often used English address terms even in Italian and Roman plays:

In the Italianate comedies "signior" often replaces "sir" or "master"; in the Roman plays Roman salutations such as "reverend tribune" or "noble patricians" jostle comfortably with the typically Elizabethan "my gracious lord," "dread queen," or "your grace." The attempt at topicality here is superficial.

Still, Shakespeare assumed that a sensitivity to propriety in appellative etiquette felt by his contemporaries would also be appropriate for characters in a play set in Rome or Illyria.

(1987: 113-114)

Such patchy localisation is also seen in the plays set outside Britain in my corpus. *Penitent*, set in Italy, has English honorifics only: *my lord* (9x), *sir* (5x) and *mistress* (1x). The Egyptian play *Busiris* and the three Greek plays (*Agis*, *Grecian* and *Sisters*) have no regional address terms either, as shown in Table 49:<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> There are no 'Title + FN/SN' type of address terms attested in *Penitent*, *Agis*, *Busiris*, *Grecian* and *Sisters*.

Table 49: Honorific address terms used in the Italian, Egyptian and Greek plays.

location	Italy	Greece			Egypt
term↓ / title→	<i>Penitent</i>	<i>Agis</i>	<i>Grecian</i>	<i>Sisters</i>	<i>Busiris</i>
king	-	3	1	-	-
liege	-	-	5	-	-
lady	-	2	-	-	-
lord	9	9	1	-	24
madam	-	-	-	-	4
master	-	-	1	-	1
mistress	1	-	-	2	-
prince	-	5	-	-	5
princess	-	-	4	13	-
queen	-	5	-	-	2
sir	5	1	9	13	12
sovereign	-	-	1	-	-

Two Spanish plays, i.e. *Revenge* and *Gil Blas*, have a mixture of Spanish and English address terms, as shown in Table 50:

Table 50: The English and Spanish address terms used in *Revenge* and *Gil Blas*.

language	term	<i>Revenge</i>	<i>Gil Blas</i>
Spanish	signor		4
	signora		17
	Don + FN	1	38
	Signor + full name		3
	Signora + FN		2
Spanish total		1	64
English	gentleman	-	2
	my lord	21	-
	madam	1	180
	sir	1	351
	Lord + Don + SN	1	
	Lord + FN	1	
English terms total		25	531

Although they have both Spanish and English terms, both of the playwrights employ English ones more often. This seems to suggest that the playwrights had an English class system in mind even when writing about a story in a foreign country.

The second most frequent category in the tragedies is Greek name. Names in this category look like a first name and would be used as such in the twenty-first century, but they do not seem to carry the ‘casual’ style which FN has. While royal families and nobilities are paid respect with honorifics such as *sir* and *prince*, they are still addressed with their name only instead of more deferential forms such as ‘Lord + SN’. To take an example, Princess Ariadne in *Sisters* is addressed by one of her followers (virgins) as follows: ‘Now, Ariadne, now, my royal mistress,’ (*Sisters* 2.1). The difference of class is apparent from the address term ‘my royal mistress’, but the follower still addresses her mistress with her name only, ‘Ariadne’. As a general rule, servants would use a title with their mistress’s name or avoid addressing them with names in comedies or tragedies set in medieval or early modern Europe, for example, ‘Ma’am! Miss Fanny! Ma’am!’ (*Clandestine* 1.1, from a maid-servant to her mistress). In fact, there is no use of FN or SN only from a servant to their master/mistress in my corpus.<sup>105</sup> This kind of unnatural usage might be intentional. Replogle points out that Shakespeare employed unusual usage for address terms, such as noblemen addressing each other with their first name only, in plays without an English setting, such as *Love’s Labour’s Lost* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ‘to emphasise the unworldly quality of the context’ (1987: 115). Therefore, it would be safer to treat Greek names and first/surnames separately, as they are clearly used differently.

---

<sup>105</sup> This also holds true for Shiina’s data (2005a: 192). Considering this, it is unlikely that the absence of FN used from a servant to their master/mistress is accidental.

As regards the words used in address terms, there are 295 different words or phrases used as an address term in the entire corpus. Some of them appear very frequently in several works (e.g. *madam* appears 962 times in 15 works), while some of them appear only once in the entire corpus. It seems the categories ‘abusive’ and ‘endearment’, which strongly represent the speaker’s emotion, tend to have a variety of address terms. There are 68 different abusive address terms, and most of them are used only once or twice. On the other hand, the category ‘honorifics’ has a closed set of terms and the class of the addressee strictly determines address terms used to them. While ‘sir’ is a rather neutral word which can be used to almost all classes, ‘my lord’ is by and large limited to the upper class.

#### **9.4.2. Types of address terms in each play**

In this section, I will look at the types and tokens of address terms per play to find out if they have changed since the time of Shakespeare (based on Beatrice Busse’s data (2006)). Since the frequency of address terms is quite different in the tragedies and the comedies, I look at the data in the two genres separately.

##### **9.4.2.1. Tragedies**

In this section, I will compare the relative frequency of the address terms types in the eighteenth-century dramas and Busse’s (2006) data on Shakespearean tragedies. For the sake of comparison, the relative frequency in this section and 9.4.2.2 were recalculated using Busse’s method, i.e. by multiplying the actual figures by 100 and



by dividing this result through the number of words used in the play (2006: 146).<sup>106</sup>

It is rather difficult to make an exact comparison of my data and Busse's (2006) due to the use of different categories of address terms. To take an example, she uses the category EPITHET, which includes combinations of a noun and an adjective describing evaluation (poor sir, etc.), while my study does not put adjectives modifying address terms into consideration. Consequently, I will try to make rough analyses rather than trying to make exact comparisons. The rough correspondences of Busse's (2006) categorisations and mine are shown in the table below:

Table 51: The rough correspondences of Beatrix Busse's (2006) categories and mine.

Busse (2006)	The current study
Conventional	Honorifics
Emotion / mind, thought	Endearment
EPITHET (friend, poor, sirrah)	Title + name, Familiariser, Abusive
Generic terms	Generic
Natural phenomena	Supernatural
Personal names	SN, FN, Shortened FN, Greek names
Specialised fields	Occupational
Terms of family relationship	Kinship

Some of the categories used in her study are not exact matches to my own. For example, although Busse's 'conventional' address terms more or less cover 'honorifics' in my classification, it also includes address terms in five other categories: kinship (*kinsman*), generic (*neighbour*), occupational (*servant*), abusive (*fool, slave*) and others (*minister*) (Busse 2006: 459).

---

<sup>106</sup> The frequency of each type of address term per 10,000 words in each play is shown in the appendix.

Figure 21: The relative frequency of address term types in each tragedy.

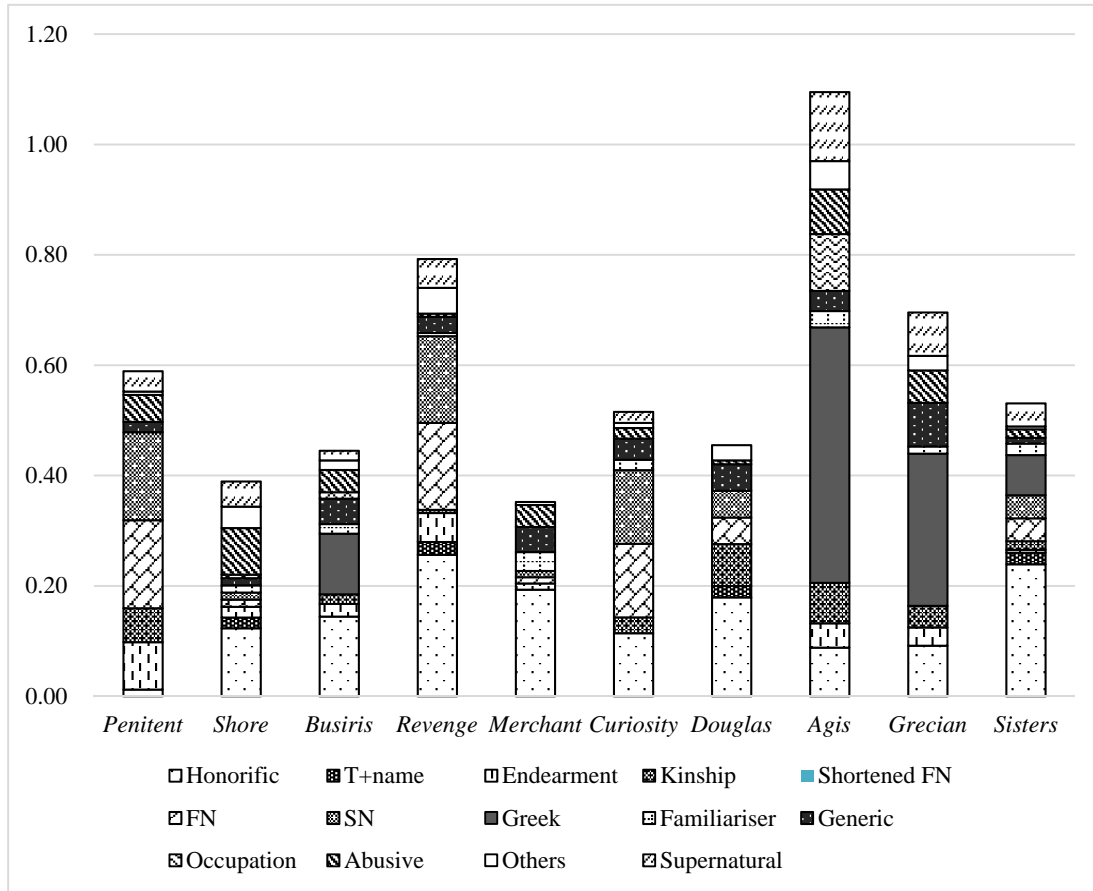


Figure 22: Relative frequencies of vocatives in the tragedies (plays are listed chronologically) (Busse 2006: 156).

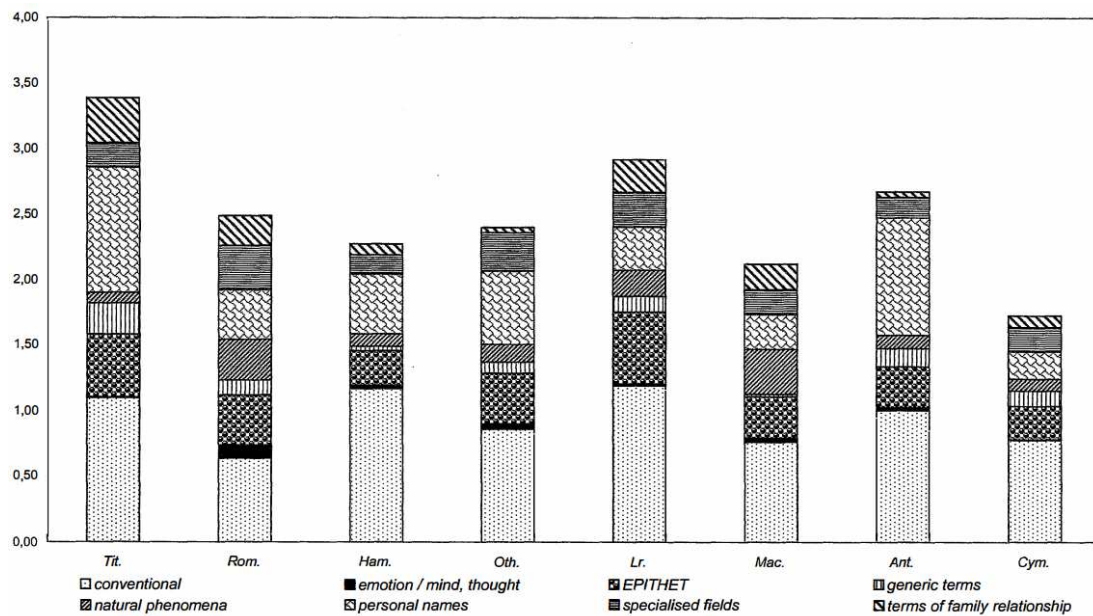


Figure 23: The relative frequency of address terms per type in the tragedies.

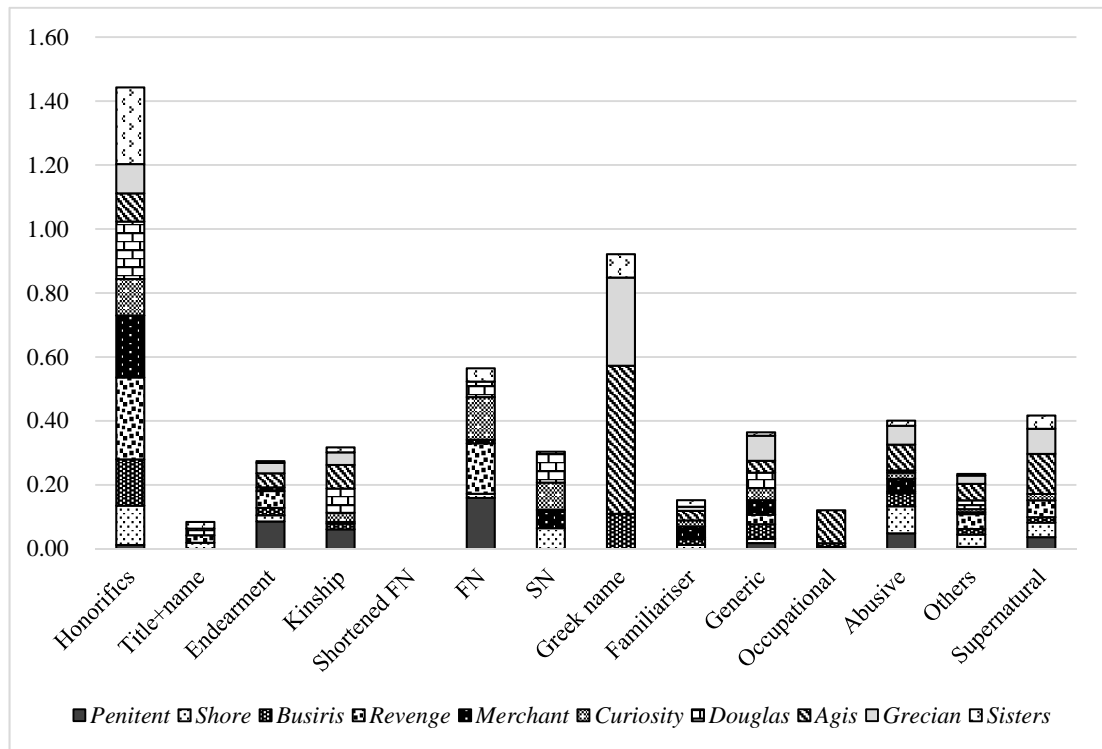
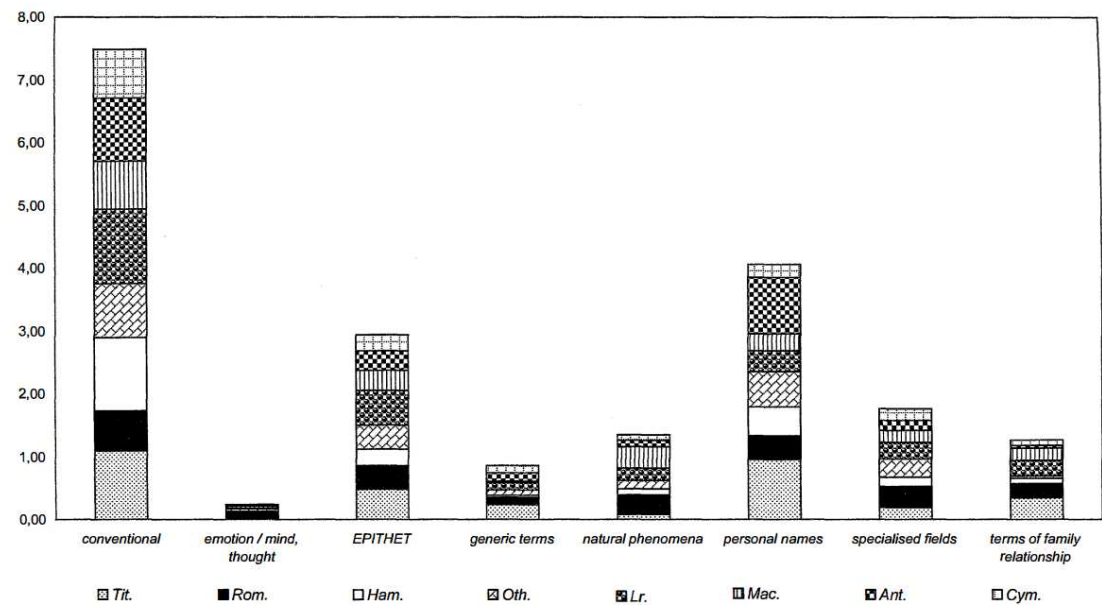


Figure 24: Tragedies' share in the different vocative clusters (Busse 2006: 157).



The most salient difference between my data and Busse's is that the relative frequency of address terms is much higher in the Shakespearean tragedies in general (Figures 21

and 22), as is already shown in the overall figures in 9.3. The frequency is so different that it is rather hard to make comparisons between the two data. One thing which can be said for certain is all types of address terms decreased in the eighteenth-century tragedies. Although Busse's categories and mine do not exactly match each other, it seems likely that none of the types remained same in the Shakespeare corpus and my eighteenth-century corpus.

It is especially noteworthy that the decline of frequency of address terms can be observable even in *Shore*, which is roughly based on Shakespeare's *Richard III*. The below is the data of *Richard III* taken from Busse's study:

Table 52: Relative frequency of each type of address terms in *Richard III* (from Busse 2006: 148).

Type	Frequency
Conventional	1.15
Emotion / mind, thought	0.01
EPITHET	0.54
Generic	0.05
Natural phenomena	0.11
Personal names	0.31
Specialised fields	0.17
Family relationship	0.17
TOTAL	2.51

Table 53: The relative frequency of each type of address terms in *Shore*.<sup>107</sup>

Type	Frequency
Honorifics	0.12
Title + name	0.02
Endearment	0.02
Generic	0.01
Supernatural	0.05
Personal names	0.07
Occupational	0.01
Kinship	0.00
Familiariser	0.01
Abusive	0.08
Others	0.04
TOTAL	0.43

It is observable from the tables above that frequency in most of the categories declines

<sup>107</sup> The category 'personal names' is the sum of SN and FN.

in *Shore*. The reason of this decline is unclear, but it seems Rowe did not simply copy Shakespeare's use of address terms when rewriting *Richard III*. If he had followed Shakespeare's usage while employing his own (eighteenth-century) usage of address terms, the use of address terms would have been much more frequent in the parts based on *Richard III*. However, only 16% of address terms appear in conversations between Shakespearean characters. This suggests that even though *Shore* is loosely based on *Richard III*, the use of address terms seen in *Shore* is Rowe's, not Shakespeare's.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> It is unclear on what basis Rowe treated address terms in *Richard III*. He deleted some in *Richard III* and added new ones, as shown in the passages below (address terms are in bold):

<Shakespeare> (address terms: 4x)

HASTINGS: If they have done this thing, **my gracious lord**—

GLOUCESTER: If I thou protector of this damned strumpet—

Tellest thou me of 'ifs'? Thou art a traitor:

Off with his head! Now, by Saint Paul I swear,

I will not dine until I see the same.

**Love** and **Ratcliff**, look that it be done:

**The rest**, that love me, rise and follow me.

(William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Richard III*, 3.4)

<Rowe> (address terms: 4x)

HASTINGS: If they have done this Deed—

GLOSTER: If they have done it!

Talk'st thou to me of If's! **audacious Traytor!**

Thou art that Strumpet Witch's chief Abettor,

The Patron and Complotter of her Mischiefs,

And join'd in this Contrivance for my Death,

Nay start not, **Lords**, —What hoa a Guard there, **Sirs!**

**Lord Hastings** I arrest thee, of High Treason.

Seize him, and bear him instantly away,

He sha' not live an Hour. By Holy Paul!

One seeming exception is Busse's 'Emotion / mind, thought', which more or less covers 'endearment' in my data. There are four occurrences of terms of endearment in *Shore*, all of which appear in the sections not based on *R3*. Of all the instances, *love* (2x) is categorised as 'emotion / mind, thought' and *life* (1x) as 'EPITHET' (Busse 2006: 459, 461). The address term *treasure* is not listed in Busse's study. If I exclude *life* from endearment, the relative frequency becomes 0.01, i.e. almost same as the figure in *R3*.

When focussing on the categories, the two most frequent categories in both of the data are: 'personal names' in Busse, which is a rough equivalent of 'FN', 'SN' and 'Greek names' in my data; 'conventional' address terms, which is a rough equivalent of 'honorifics' in my data. Although these categories appear most frequently in both of the data, it is noticeable that the frequency tends to be much smaller in the eighteenth-century tragedies. To make the comparison easier, I present the sum of address forms related to names (i.e. equivalent to Busse's 'personal names'), as well as honorifics in my data. I also present the numerical data of Busse's study for the sake of comparison:

---

(*Shore* 4.1)

Table 54: The relative frequency of personal names in the tragedies.

	FN	SN	Greek name	Names TOTAL	Honorifics
<i>Penitent</i>	0.16	0	0	0.16	0.01
<i>Shore</i>	0.01	0.06	0	0.07	0.12
<i>Busiris</i>	0	0	0.11	0.11	0.14
<i>Revenge</i>	0.16	0	0	0.16	0.26
<i>Merchant</i>	0.01	0.06	0	0.07	0.19
<i>Curiosity</i>	0.13	0.09	0	0.21	0.11
<i>Douglas</i>	0.05	0.10	0	0.15	0.18
<i>Agis</i>	0	0	0.25	0.25	0.09
<i>Grecian</i>	0	0	0.28	0.28	0.09
<i>Sisters</i>	0.04	0	0.07	0.11	0.24

Table 55: Relative frequencies of *conventional* address terms in the Shakespearean tragedies (based on Busse 2006: 148).

	Personal names	Conventional
<i>Tit.</i>	0.95	1.10
<i>Rom.</i>	0.38	0.64
<i>Ham.</i>	0.46	1.17
<i>Oth.</i>	0.56	0.86
<i>Lr.</i>	0.33	1.19
<i>Mac.</i>	0.27	0.76
<i>Ant.</i>	0.90	1.00
<i>Cym.</i>	0.21	0.78

The above tables show the tendency that address terms of the two categories tend to appear more frequently in the Shakespearean tragedies. In the category of personal names, the figure in *Grecian* surpasses that in *Cym.* and *Mac.* It should be noted, however, that while personal names take up the large share of address terms in *Grecian*, it only takes a relatively small proportion of the entire figure in *Cym.* and *Mac.*, as shown in Figures 21 and 22. When comparing the highest and lowest figures of

personal names in each corpus (*Grecian* and *Tit.*, *Merchant* and *Cym.*), the figure in the Shakespearean tragedy is larger. This seems to suggest that the frequency of personal names as an address term had declined since the time of Shakespeare regardless of the percentage of personal names in the whole figure of address terms.

It is rather hard to explain why personal names are frequent in some eighteenth-century tragedies but not in the others. One pattern observable from Figure 21 and Figure 23 is that there are very few or no blood-related family members in the tragedies with very low frequency of personal names (*Shore* and *Merchant*). However, this hypothesis cannot explain why the frequency in *Sisters* (the protagonists are two sisters) is lower than that in *Grecian* (the protagonists are a daughter and a father).

As regards ‘honorifics’ and ‘conventional’, none of the figures in the eighteenth-century plays surpasses that in those in the Shakespearean tragedies. As we will see in 9.4.2.2, the use of honorific address terms increased greatly in the eighteenth-century comedies, probably due to the shift of the society to more ‘polite’ society. It seems that the eighteenth-century tragedies were not affected by the social change. This could reinforce the claim that eighteenth-century tragedies and comedies were written in a very different style (cf. Chapters 5 and 6).

Another difference observable from the data above is that while ‘natural phenomena’ appears in all of the Shakespearean tragedies, ‘supernatural’, which more or less covers Busse’s ‘natural phenomena’, does not appear in all of the eighteenth-century tragedies.<sup>109</sup> One reason of reasons of this uneven distribution would be the difference in the setting of the plays. Beatrix Busse points out that *conventional*

---

<sup>109</sup> Some of my ‘supernatural’ address terms are classified as ‘specialised fields – metaphysical’ (e.g. *angel*, *God*, *heaven*) in Beatrix Busse’s study (2006: 464).



vocative terms are used to evoke the historical effect in the Shakespearean histories (2006: 164). Such a ‘historical’ effect of address terms was probably expected in other plays of the ancient times. Supernatural address terms tend to appear more frequently in the tragedies set in Greece in my corpus (*Busiris*, *Agis*, *Grecian* and *Sisters*). The use of address terms related to Greek myths (e.g. *gods*, *Jove*, *Hermes*) would probably help the audience to invoke the image of ancient Greece. However, this is not always true, since *Busiris* (another Greek play) has relatively low frequency of supernatural address terms.

Another factor which can increase the use of ‘supernatural’ address terms would be the theme of plays. Beatrix Busse argues that the theme of plays can affect the frequency of address terms:

*Tit.* is [...] a Roman play and a Senecan Revenge tragedy particularly characterised by horror, rape, and murder. As such, the play’s emphasis on a great man’s complaint against fortune and its focus on history are not only part of the immediate and highly appreciated literary and theatrical context, but are also considered to be a faithful picture of Roman civilisation. If one considers the theme of revenge together with a dramatic style that distances horror, it is obvious that the high general relative frequency of vocatives used in the play, 3.38, is crucial to the interpersonal, textual, and experiential - that is multi-faceted and interdependent - representation as well as construal of themes associated with this play.

(Busse 2006: 154)

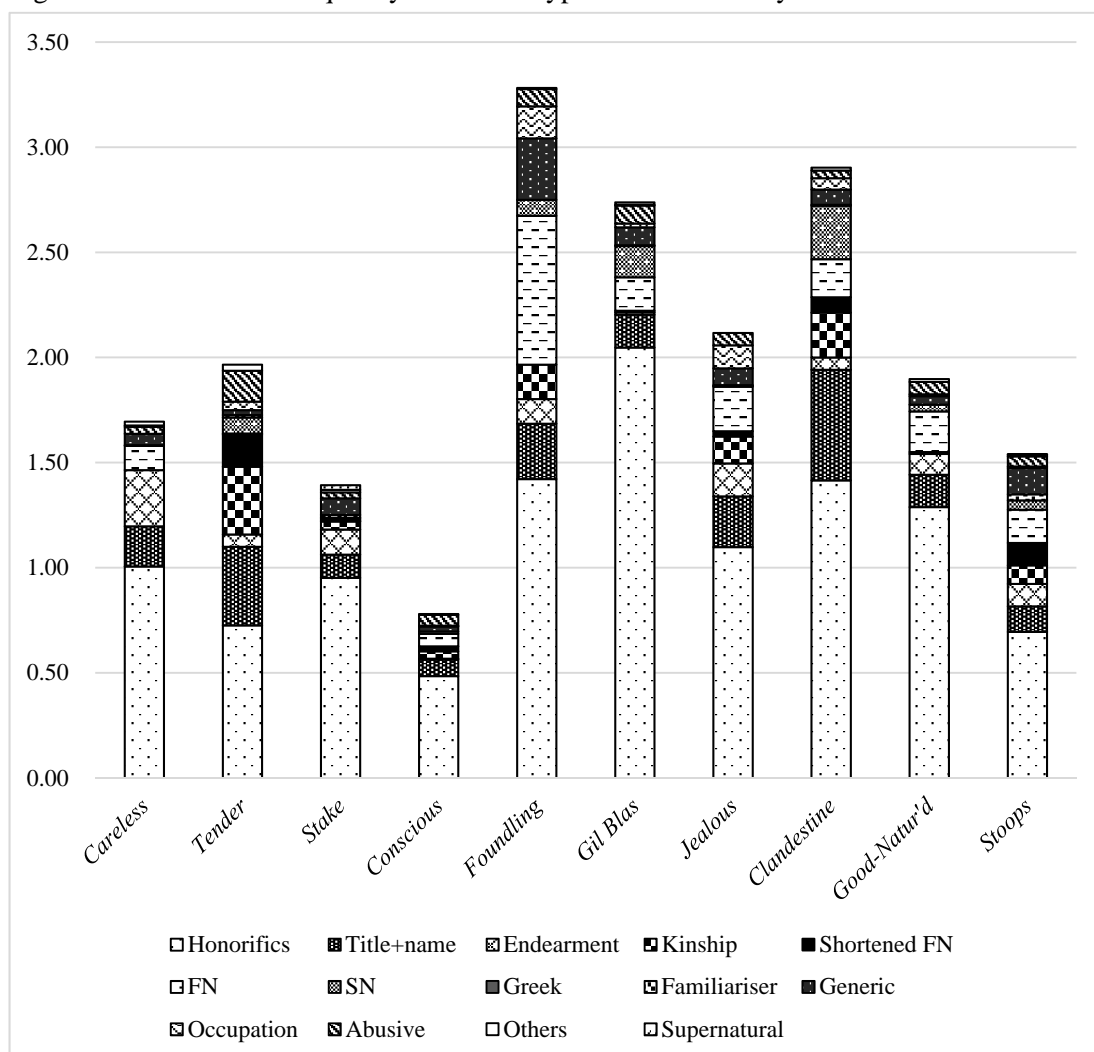
The Greek tragedies in my corpus focus on noble people in the ancient times at the mercy of the fate. Such characters’ addresses to supernatural beings would suit the style of the plays. The high frequency of ‘supernatural’ address terms in *Revenge*, the play set in medieval Spain, would be due to the story rather than the historical setting. More than half of the ‘supernatural’ address terms are uttered by the protagonist Zanga.

The main theme of the play is his revenge against his current master. He performs his revenge, sometimes invoking the help of supernatural beings (e.g. *jealousy*, *memory*, etc.). The use of ‘supernatural’ address terms might also help creating the image of Zanga as the defeated prince not just a slave, by invoking the image of Roman and Greek characters.

#### **9.4.2.2. Comedies**

I have shown in 9.3 that, generally speaking, the frequency of address terms is quite similar in the eighteenth-century comedies and Shakespearean comedies. In this section, I will investigate the frequency of each address type to see if there is any difference of the patterns of distribution in my corpus and Busse’s (2006). As in 9.4.2.1, the figures used in this section are calculated using Busse’s (2006) method.

Figure 25: The relative frequency of address types in each comedy.<sup>110</sup>



<sup>110</sup> Address terms with ‘full name’, i.e. Gil Blas in *Gil Blas*, is included in SN because this category appears in *Gil Blas* only as ‘Gil Blas’. The character Gil Blas is always addressed as ‘Gil Blas’, not simply as ‘Gil’ or ‘Blas’.

Figure 26: Relative frequencies of vocatives in the comedies (Busse 2006: 167).

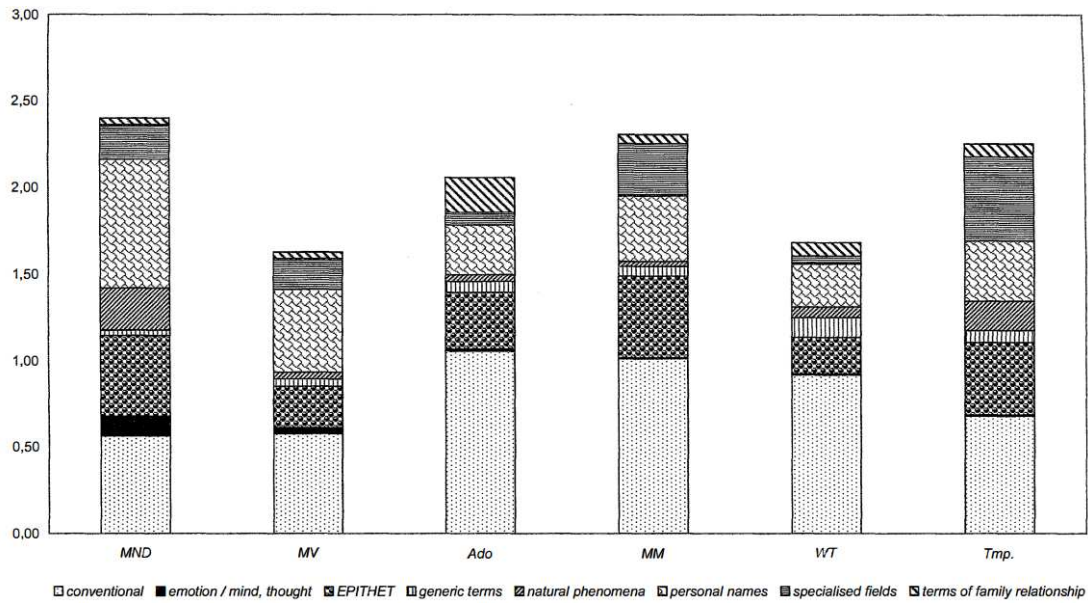


Figure 27: The relative frequency of address terms per type in the comedies.

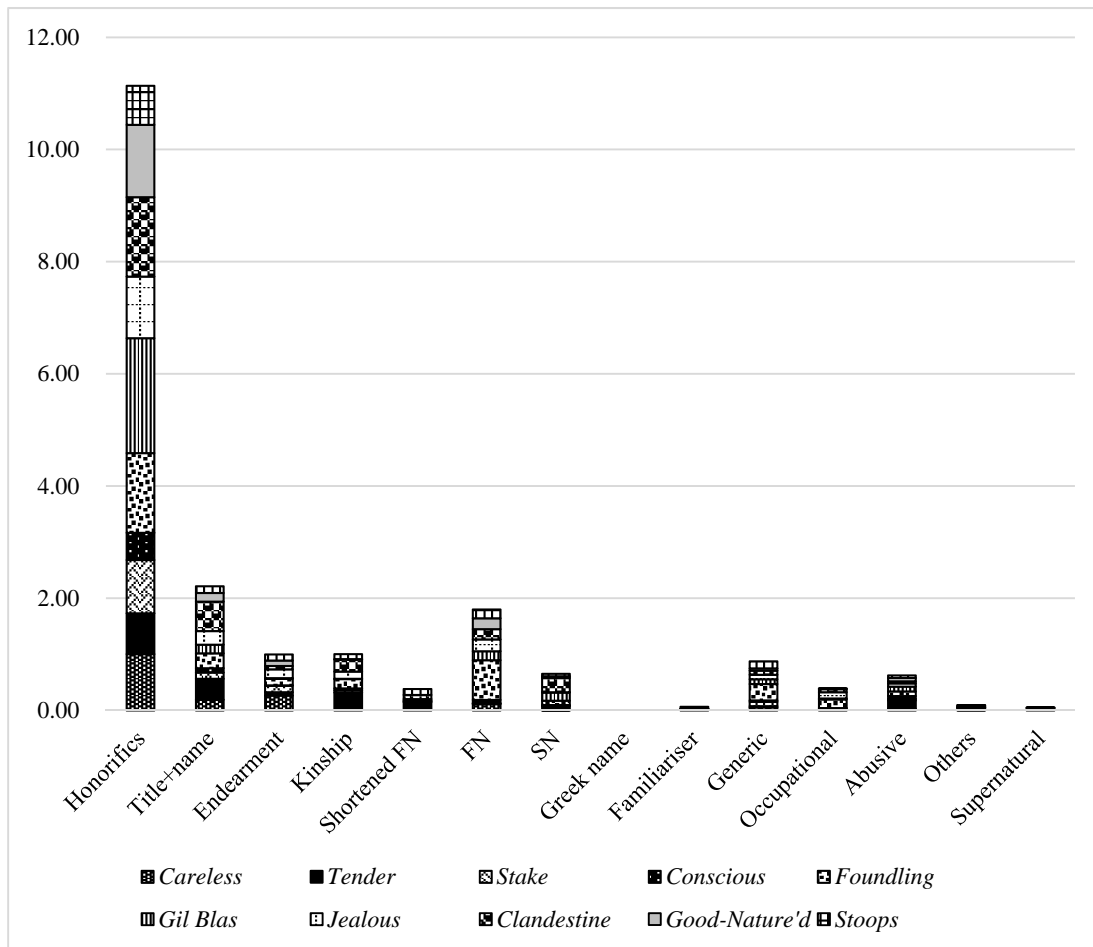
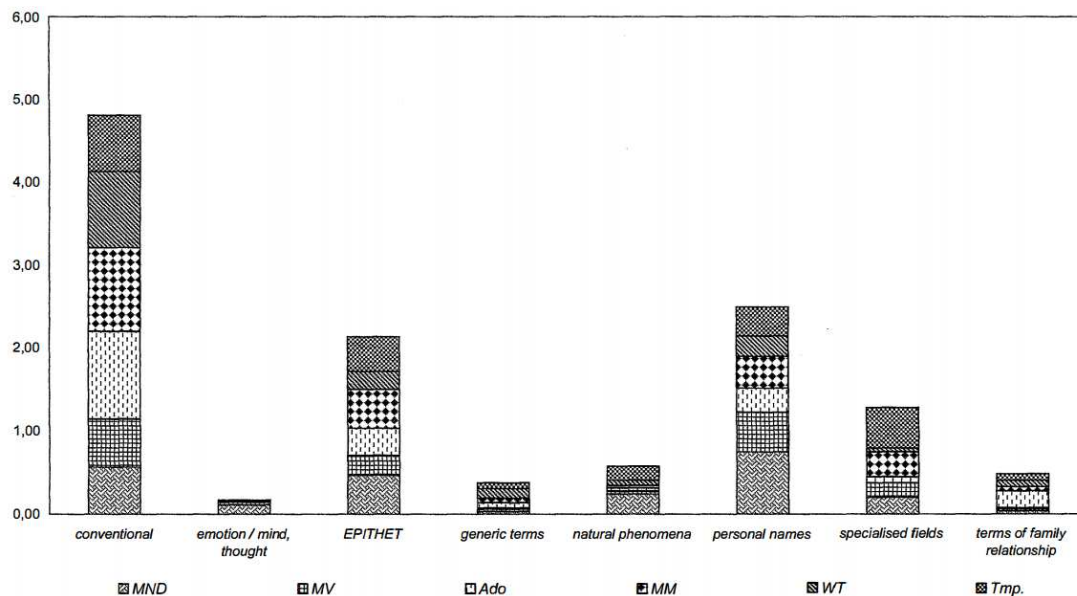


Figure 28: Comedies' share in the different vocative clusters (Busse 2006: 168).



Figures 25 and 26 show that the most frequent type of address terms is ‘honorifics’ or ‘conventional’, which are rough equivalents. In some eighteenth-century comedies, the frequency of honorifics is noticeable higher than the Shakespearean comedies; the highest frequency in the latter is around 1.00 (in *Ado* and *MM*), while the frequency of honorifics exceeds 1.00 in five eighteenth-century comedies (*Careless*, *Foundling*, *Gil Blas*, *Jealous*, *Clandestine* and *Good-Natur'd*).<sup>111</sup> When looking at the frequency of the category in the entire corpus (Figure 27 and Figure 28), it is noticeable that the frequency is more than twice higher in the eighteenth-century comedies than in the Shakespearean comedies. Shiina discusses the predominance of honorifics in her seventeenth- and eighteenth-century comedy corpus, quoting McIntosh (1998):

McIntosh (1998: 13) discusses an ideology of polite style emerged in mid-eighteenth century discourse, and asserts that the eighteenth century is ‘a hinge between the

<sup>111</sup> See the appendix for the exact figures of the frequency of each type of address terms in the comedies.

olden times and our own'. He observes that elegance and politeness had become more and more important in print culture in the eighteenth century, which is to do with the emergence of middle class, who 'contributed to language consciousness' (1998: 10). [...] Although the VSPC also includes the texts from the seventeenth century, the predominance of deferential vocatives in the VSPC may reflect the linguistic ideal of the period for the emerging bourgeois and middle class.

(Shiina 2005a: 125)

As regards Shakespearean plays, Kopytko (1995) shows that positive politeness was more favoured in them. The difference between the frequency of honorifics in my eighteenth-century comedy corpus and that in Busse (2006)'s Shakespearean comedy corpus seems to indicate the change in the society and the style.

The highest relative frequency of honorifics is found in *Gil Blas*, in which 75% of address terms is honorifics. The reason of very high frequency in this play seems to be the class of the protagonist. While the other eighteenth-century comedies (and several Shakespearean ones) focus on upper- and upper-middle-class characters, the protagonist of *Gil Blas* is the servant named Gil Blas. Shiina points out that, 'The honorific vocatives seem obligatory for a person of lower rank to start a conversation' (2005a: 268). Probably for this reason, Gil Blas uses honorifics very frequently. Since he is the protagonist, he speaks much more frequently than supporting-role servants in the other plays, which increases the number of honorific address terms he uses. The number of honorifics used by him accounts for 33% (relative frequency 0.68) of the entire figure of the honorifics in *Gil Blas*. If I add the frequency of honorifics uttered by Gil Blas disguised as a gentleman, his share in honorifics rises to 41% (relative frequency 0.85).<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> See Chapters 5 and 6 for the discussion on speeches of characters in disguise.

The percentage of honorific address terms is also considerable in *Good-Natur'd*. In this play, the character who employs honorifics most often is the protagonist Mr Honeywood, the young affluent gentleman. The number of honorifics used by him takes up 25% of the entire figure of honorifics. There seem to be two reasons why he employs honorifics so often. One reason is that he often talks to the upper-middle-class woman Miss Richland. Although they are close as a friend, they try to keep their relationship as friendship free from love (although they do love each other unconsciously).<sup>113</sup> For this reason, they talk to each other politely using honorific address terms, not terms of endearment. Another reason is Mr Honeywood employs honorifics terms even to characters inferior to him (e.g. a bailiff). Honorifics, along with other (over-)polite features (6.4.1.2), might be used to show his excessive good-naturedness.

Another noticeable difference between the distributions of types of address terms in my corpus and those in Busse's (2006) is that 'specialised fields' in Busse appears much more often than 'occupational' address terms in my data. 'Specialised fields' covers what I classify as 'occupational', such as legal (e.g. *judge*, *Sheriff*), medical (e.g. *apothecary*, *doctor*) and military terms (e.g. *chief*, *soldier*), but it also include supernatural objects (subcategorised as 'metaphysical', e.g. *angel*, *chaos*) and abusive terms (e.g. *traitor*, *wrongs*). It is impossible to make an exact comparison due to the different categorisation, but considering the frequency of 'supernatural' terms in

---

<sup>113</sup> 'HONEYWOOD: My own sentiments, Madam: friendship is a disinterested commerce between equals; love, an abject intercourse between tyrants and slaves.

MISS RICHLAND: And, without a compliment, I know none more disinterested or more capable of friendship than Mr. Honeywood.'

(*Good-Natur'd* 1.1)

my data is quite low, there is a possibility that the frequency of 'specialised fields' in Busse's categorisation had decreased over time.

Terms of family relationship / kinship seem to have been increased in my data, but there is a lot of variation in each play. It seems that the quantity of family interactions affect the frequency. In *Tender*, in which the relative frequency of kinship terms is higher than that in the other comedies, one of the centres of the story is Humphrey and his extended family: his father, uncle, aunt and niece. In *Clandestine*, the story revolves around two families: Mr Sterling, his sister and two daughters; Lord Ogleby and his nephew. These conditions probably increase the number of interactions between family members, and they employ address terms of kinship, especially when talking to their equals (e.g. *cousin, brother*) or inferiors (e.g. *niece, nephew*).<sup>114</sup> This seems more or less applicable to *Ado*. One of the protagonists, Beatrice, often talks with her cousin Hero and uncle Leonato, probably exchanging kinship terms. In the plays with very low or no frequency of kinship address terms, there are very few conversations between family members (e.g. *Good-Natur'd, MV*), or with the case of the latter, none of the characters is related by blood (e.g. *Careless*).

To sum up, although the relative frequency of address terms is not so different in the eighteenth-century and the Shakespearean comedies, the distributional pattern of each type of address terms had changed.

---

<sup>114</sup> Inferior (or younger) members of family occasionally address their superiors with a kinship term (e.g. *aunt, papa*), although they tend to employ honorifics (*sir, madam*) more often.



## **9.5. Co-occurrence with THOU/YOU**

Ulrich Busse hypothesises that since both address terms and second person pronouns mirror the relationship between the speaker and the hearer (9.1), some types of address terms will co-occur predominantly with THOU or YOU:

the more reverential and deferential vocatives, e.g. the titles of courtesy, should attract a Y pronoun, and the more intimate vocatives and the terms of abuse should show a preponderance of T forms, with an area of overlap in-between.

(2002: 99)

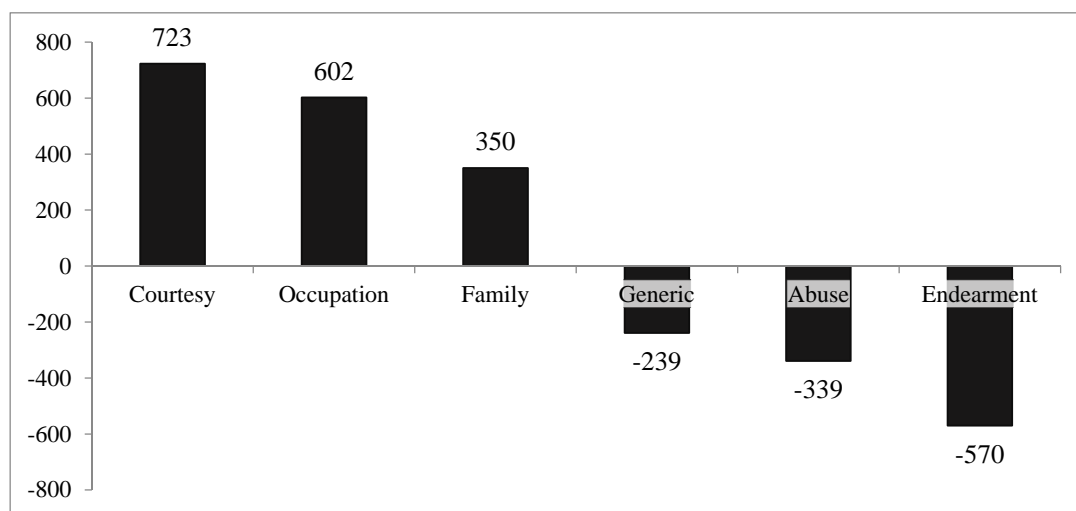
He shows that among the categories he investigates, THOU-ness is stronger in the following order (from the strongest to the weakest): endearment, abuse, generic, family, occupation, courtesy [deferential]. Is this applicable to my data too? Since the percentage of THOU and YOU differs greatly in the tragedies and the comedies, I discuss them separately.

### **9.5.1. Tragedies**

In tragedies, where THOU tends to be the dominant form, many address term categories are expected to co-occur with THOU. When we compare the number of address terms which co-occur with THOU and those with YOU, the percentage of address terms with THOU is 60%.

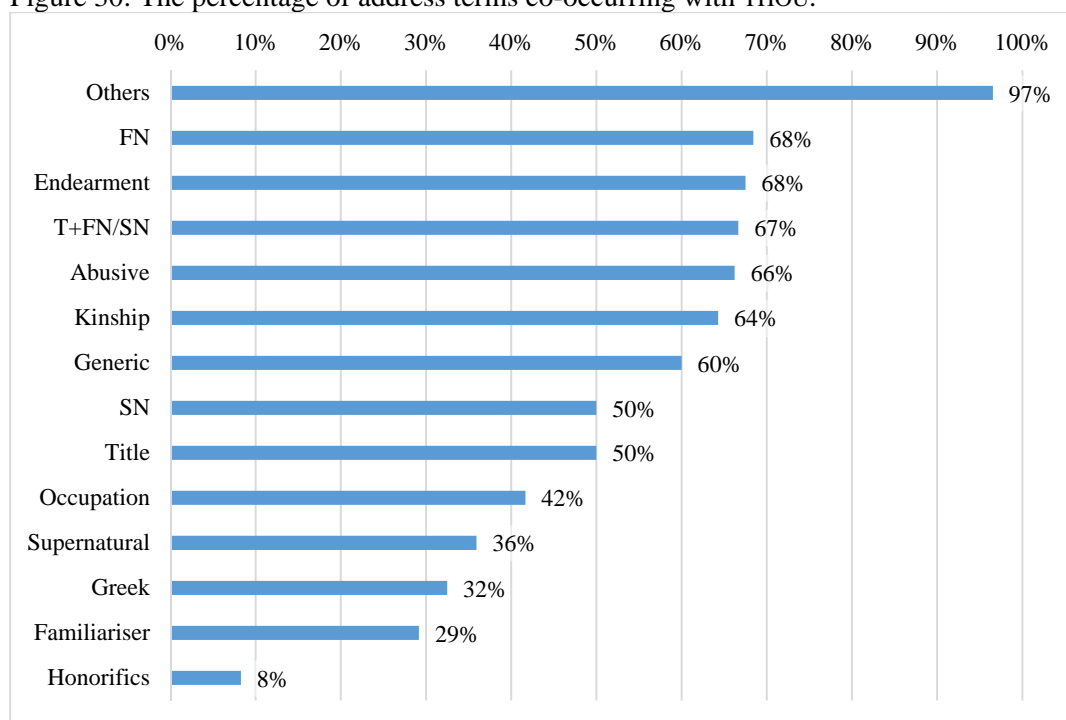
Ulrich Busse shows that the categories ‘courtesy’ (deference), ‘occupation’ and ‘family’ tend to occur with YOU while ‘generic’, ‘abuse’ and ‘endearment’ tend to occur with THOU (2002: 184). Similar tendencies are observable in my data too:

Figure 29: Vocative categories ranked according to co-occurring pronouns considered in the aggregate. (Busse 2002: 184)



\* The column of occupation gives the score for all terms excepting *nurse*. If *nurse* – the only form to make use of T pronouns – is considered alongside the others, the score drops to 176.

Figure 30: The percentage of address terms co-occurring with THOU.<sup>115</sup>



YOU occurs most frequently with honorific address terms (e.g. *sir, madam*). This is not

<sup>115</sup> Title refers to a position in the sovereign's retinue, i.e. 'Lord Chamberlain'.

surprising, for both YOU and honorific terms are associated with politeness and deferential attitude (e.g. Brown and Gilman (1970)). Despite that, honorific address terms in collocation with THOU are frequently found in *Douglas*, in which 72% of the second person pronouns are THOU (Cf. Chapter 7). This seems rather unusual, considering the previous studies rarely found honorifics co-occurring with THOU (Busse 2002, Kerridge 2014). While Kerridge could not find *sir* collocating with THOU in her entire corpus which covers six genres between 1560 and 1760 (2014: 327), *sir* does co-occur with THOU in *Douglas* once, as follows:

*[Lady Randolph is chiding Glenalvon, her husband's heir.]*

LADY RANDOLPH: Act thus, Glenalvon, and I am thy friend:

But that's thy least reward. Believe me, Sir,

The truly generous is the truly wise;

And he who loves not others, lives unblest.

*(Douglas 3.1)*

Moreover, even a lower-class character uses an honorific address term with THOU: 'I fear thee not. I will not go. [...] I'm an accomplice, Lord, / With thee in murder.' (*Douglas* 5.1, from a shepherd to a feudal lord). It seems that the association with THOU and power difference does not play a strong role in *Douglas* when compared with the other works.

There are a few cases where address terms co-occur with both YOU and THOU, for example:

*[Philotas addresses Evander, who used to rule his country but now is in captive.]*

PHILOTAS: Oh! my sovereign,

My king, my injur'd master, will you pardon

The wrongs I've done thee?

*(Grecian 3.2)*

In the above example, it is hard to judge whether the address terms are associated with THOU or YOU. It might be possible to judge whether THOU or YOU is misused here by comparing Philotas's use of THOU and YOU in other scenes, but here I will just say that associations with address term categories and second person pronouns are not always rigid.<sup>116</sup>

Another category which YOU often collocates with is familiariser, i.e. *friend*, though there are variations in each tragedy (from 0% to 100%). Shiina explains that *friend* had two meanings in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English; solidarity and hierarchy:

On the whole, *friend* is a delicate vocative which is used between equals as a marker of intimacy as well as between non-equals (mainly downwards) as a marker of goodwill.

(2005a: 159)

Considering that there are many upper-class characters in the tragedies, who tend to use YOU in solidarity, the collocation of YOU and *friend* is not surprising.

As expected from the power and solidarity theory (Brown and Gilman 1970 etc.), the categories on the familiarity scale, i.e. FN and endearment are quite THOU-oriented. Abuse, which is used to harm rather than maintain somebody's face, is also on the THOU-ness side.

I cannot find a clear reason why the category 'others' have such high THOU-ness. This category contains both proper nouns (*Africk, Thracian* etc.) and common names

---

<sup>116</sup> In fact, Philotas uses the same number of THOU and YOU to Evander (4x each), so it is difficult to tell which is the normal/unmarked pronoun. Considering the latter is a king and the former is his soldier, it is likely that the unmarked form is YOU.

(*stranger, mourner, etc.*) and they tend to appear only once or twice in the entire corpus. One possibility is THOU is considered as ‘unmarked’ in the tragedies, and is chosen to combine such miscellaneous address terms which do not have stronger emotional or social-class-based meanings.<sup>117</sup>

### 9.5.2. Comedies

Because 90%+ of second person singular pronouns are YOU in the comedy corpus, so most (99%) address terms occur with YOU. There are 36 address terms which occur with THOU, while the total number of address terms in the comedy corpus is 4749 (see the appendix for the list of address terms co-occurring with THOU or YOU).

As in the tragedy corpus, there are some categories which occur with THOU:

Table 56: The categories of address terms co-occurring with THOU and YOU in the comedies.

	THOU	YOU
supernatural	7 (58.3%)	5
others	4 (15.4%)	22
shortened FN	4 (8.0%)	46
abuse	10 (7.6%)	121
generic	9 (6.8%)	124
endearment	10 (4.0%)	243
SN	4 (3.7%)	104
FN	14 (3.5%)	386
T+SN	3 (0.7%)	441

<sup>117</sup> Tomihara suggests the possibility that THOU was sometimes used as a ‘non-social’ (i.e. not strongly related to social hierarchy) pronoun (2006). He claims that THOU is used in aside because it is when characters are free from social constraints. Burnley argues that *ye* connotes discrimination while *thou* does not in Chaucer’s works: ‘*Ye* has associations of detachment deriving from that remoteness which stems from formal address and discrimination of status; *thou* connotes nearness and intimacy in which such discrimination is forgotten.’ (1983: 19).

The category which has the highest percentage of THOU is ‘supernatural’: *assurance, cordial, Fortune, liquid, pretence, reflection* and *virtue*. This category has a strong association with THOU and *ye* (Chapters 7 and 8).

As in the tragedies, the category of ‘others’ co-occurs with THOU more frequently than other categories. This category includes: *forrester, innocent, piece of wild nature* and *worthiest*. There does not seem to be anything in common in these four terms.

The address term categories which are on familiar/intimate side, i.e. shortened FN, endearment, SN and FN can occur with THOU, though sparingly. Also, although THOU is sometime used to show contempt or disdain, the percentage of abuse terms which occur with THOU is not high. These show that THOU is not strongly associated with intimacy or contempt, and YOU is used most of the time as a default choice.

One unexpected result is that ‘Title + SN’, which is generally used to show deference, is combined with THOU. I give a close look at these three ‘irregular’ examples:

(7) Vous etes un sot, Mons. Canton—Thou art always dreaming of my intrigues,  
and never seest me badiner, but you suspect mischief, you old fool, you.  
(*Clandestine* 4.2, Lord Ogleby to Canton)

(8) Nay, prithee, Sir Charles, let’s have a little of thee—  
(*Careless* 3.1, Lord Foppington to Sir Charles)

(9) Well, go thy ways, Sir William Honeywood. It is not without reason that the  
world allows thee to be the best of men.  
(*Good-Natur’d* 1.1, Jarvis to Sir William)

(7) is uttered by Lord Ogleby to his Swiss follower Canton. There are quite a few

switches; he speaks in French with *vous* (=YOU) and the French title, switches to English with THOU, then switches to YOU. The deferential ‘Mons. + SN’ used here can be interpreted as governed by *vous* rather than THOU, or as a mock politeness to tease him. One thing to note is he uses only *vous* when speaking in French, so this might suggest that the author did not pay attention to the relationships between address terms and pronouns when writing in French.

(8) is a dialogue between two upper-class friends. One reason for the use of THOU is the speaker’s idiolect (cf. Chapter 6). Lord Foppington occasionally addresses Sir Charles with THOU, addressing him as ‘Charles’ (5x). Considering their equality in class, deciding whether to add *Sir* or not might not matter between them. There is another character (an upper-class man, Lord Morelove) who also addresses Sir Charles with and without *Sir*.

(9) is uttered by a servant to his master. This is an apostrophe, i.e. the master cannot hear what his servant says. Aside and apostrophe is quite THOU-oriented and speakers can have more freedom of speech compared with dialogues (Chapter 7).

To sum up, these three ‘irregular’ examples are all used in a special situation, rather than just as a violation of the deferential meaning of ‘Title + SN/FN’ category.

One thing to note about address terms co-occurring with THOU is that their appearance is rather hap-hazard; most of the terms occurs in only one comedy, and only once. Although there are some *categories* which are THOU-oriented, it is impossible to say that some *terms* are THOU-oriented.

## 9.6. Qualitative study

### 9.6.1. Address terms to show the change of interpersonal relationships in *Stoops*

We have seen in Chapters 5 and 6 that THOU and YOU are rarely used to show the relationship between interlocutors or to mark its change in the comedies, while in the tragedies the relationships between class and THOU/YOU was by and large retained. In that case, what else did playwrights use to show the change of relationships? One possible option is address terms. They are constantly used to show the hearer's class, especially the upper class, who receive special address terms such as *my lord* and *your honour*. Additionally, characters use different address terms in different settings. Therefore, it is expected that the playwrights in my corpus will choose address terms to represent the characters' emotions and status, as Elizabethan playwrights chose the second person pronouns.

In this section, I take *Stoops* as a case study and see how characters use address terms to represent their relationships and feelings to each other. Before starting the discussion, I list the main characters and their status in *Stoops* below:



Table 57: The main characters of *Stoops* (\* represents a mistaken or disguised identity).

Name	Gender	Class	Description
Hardcastle	m	UM	gentry, second husband of Dorothy
*innkeeper [=Hardcastle]	m	L	Marlow and Hastings misunderstand Hardcastle as such
Dorothy Hardcastle	f	UM	second wife of Hardcastle, mother of Tony
Kate Hardcastle	f	UM	daughter of Mr Hardcastle and his first wife
*barmaid [=Kate]	f	L	first disguise of Kate
*poor relation of Hardcastle [=Kate]	f	UM	second disguise of Kate
Tony Lumpkin	m	U	Squire, son of Dorothy and her first husband
Constance Neville	f	UM	niece of Dorothy, in love with Hastings
George Hastings	m	UM	gentry, Marlow's friend
Charles Marlow	m	U	son of Sir Charles, fiancé of Kate
Sir Charles	m	U	Marlow's father, Hardcastle's friend

Because THOU does not seem to serve to represent the differences of social relationships or emotions in this play, it is rarely found (only four times). My survey reveals that the playwright employs address terms to represent such differences, as I will show below. Firstly, I take examples of changes of attitudes from dialogues between two close friends, Hastings and Marlow. Despite their class difference (Hastings belongs to the upper-middle class while Marlow belongs to the upper class), there is no visible class difference in their dialogues. They usually call each other by their first name or surname, i.e. familiar type of vocatives (Shiina 2005b: 210) only when they are alone. Shiina (2005b) points out that male friends address each other by surname to show comradeship (2005b: 217). Here is an example of their address:

*[Marlow and Hastings finally arrive at Hardcastle's house, which they mistake for an inn.]*

HASTINGS: After the disappointments of the day, welcome once more, Charles, to the comforts of a clean room and a good fire. [...]

MARLOW: Travellers, George, must pay in all places.

(*Stoops* 2.1)

However, in formal settings, they use the deferential 'title + SN' to each other, as in:

*[Marlow meets his fiancée Miss Hardcastle for the first time and gets very nervous. Hastings is trying to leave the room with Miss Neville, but Marlow wants him to stay and back him up.]*

HASTINGS: Well! Miss Hardcastle, I see that you and Mr. Marlow are going to be very good company. I believe our being here will but embarrass the interview.

MARLOW: Not in the least, Mr. Hastings. We like your company of all things.

[To George.] Zounds! George, sure you won't go? How can you leave us?

HASTINGS: Our presence will but spoil conversation, so we'll retire to the next room.

[To him] You don't consider, man, that we are to manage a little tête-à-tête of our own.

(*Stoops* 2.1)

In the above scene, Marlow and Hastings use a formal address 'Mr+SN' in conversations heard by the other characters. In contrast, when they talk to each other in asides, they use a familiar address forms *man* and FN. These address terms with different intimacy/formality scale can be considered as a substitute or supplement of T/V system. Shiina states that 'in a formal situation, the politeness scale moves towards negative politeness' and characters use deferential address terms in such situations (2005b: 212).<sup>118</sup> Additionally, in this particular scene, the change of address terms can signify that they are talking in asides.

The change of address terms can also signify the change of a speaker's feelings towards/against the address. In the following scene, the two male friends address each

---

<sup>118</sup> Wakimoto points out that such change of address terms according to formality can be observed in Miss Hardcastle's language. She usually addresses to her father with *sir*, but she switches to *papa* in less formal settings (2004: 141).

other with deferential forms, but not out of formality:

*[Marlow finds out that his friend Hastings deliberately did not point out his mistake and insists on his explanation. Hastings is very disturbed because his plan of elopement with Miss Neville has just been ruined, and is not willing to talk to Marlow. Miss Neville tries to reconcile them.]*

MARLOW: But your conduct, Mr. Hastings, requires an explanation. You knew of my mistakes, yet would not undeceive me.

HASTINGS: Tortured as I am with my own disappointments, is this a time for explanations. It is not friendly, Mr. Marlow.

MARLOW: But, Sir – [...]

MISS NEVILLE: O, Mr. Marlow! if you knew what a scene of constraint and ill-nature lies before me, I'm sure it would convert your resentment into pity.

MARLOW: I'm so distracted with a variety of passions, that I don't know what I do. Forgive me, Madam. George, forgive me. You know my hasty temper, and should not exasperate it.

(*Stoops* 4.1)

This piece of dialogue shows the shift of address terms due to the change of characters' feelings. At the beginning, both Marlow and Hastings are angry with each other, so they use the deferential address term '*Mr* + surname' and *sir* to distance themselves from each other, rather than showing respect. When they finally reconcile, they go back to familiar address form 'first name'.

As in the above scene, a switch from endearment / intimate form to honorific forms is used to show contempt or disgust, often sarcastically. These can be seen from a superior (a master to a servant, an older family member to a younger) and between equals (lovers, friends).<sup>119</sup> There is another example of an honorific form as a sign of

---

<sup>119</sup> Cf. There is a similar example in which characters use a deferential term to distance themselves from their addressee in Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775). A young nobleman named Absolute usually receives terms of endearment from his sweetheart Lydia, so he is

contempt, as shown below:

*[Mrs Hardcastle just found out her niece's plan to elope and talks to her sarcastically.]*

MRS. HARDCASTLE: [Curtesying very low.] Fine spoken, Madam, you are most miraculously polite and engaging, and quite the very pink of curtesy and circumspection, Madam.

(*Stoops* 4.1)

Mrs Hardcastle usually addresses her niece with intimate vocatives 'my dear' or by her first name 'Constance' and her attitude is rather affectionate. However, in this scene she shows the utmost contempt with a feigned politeness, both verbally and physically. Her sentence itself is polite, but when considering the context – saying the opposite of what she thinks – this is a quiet but strong representation of anger. This kind of deferential forms as anger is seen in *Clandestine* too.

Another case of address forms showing a different attitude can be seen in the dialogues between Kate and Marlow. At their first meeting, Kate shows up as herself – a member of the gentry. Because of her class, Marlow is too nervous to talk with her. His address to her is restricted to the deferential 'madam'. Their meeting does not end

---

shocked to hear her addressing him as *sir*:

*[Lydia is sullen after she has found out that Absolute has been lying to her.]*

ABSOLUTE: So grave, Lydia!

LYDIA: Sir!

ABSOLUTE: [*aside.*] So! — egad! I thought as much! — that damned monosyllable has froze me!

(*The Rivals* 4.2)

This is clear evidence that using *sir* to a romantic partner was not acceptable, at least in the case of young upper-class and/or upper-middle-class couples.

satisfactorily, so Kate decides to approach him disguised as a barmaid. Marlow, who is very aggressive and confident with lower-class women, addresses her with intimate and patronising *child* (*Stoops* 3.1 and 4.1). When she meets him again, she uses a more polished way of speaking (McIntosh 1998: 212) and tells him she is a poor relation of the Hardcastles, he switches to address terms of endearment *my dear*:

*[Marlow sees Kate again, who speaks slightly more politely than the last time. Marlow notices the difference in her speech.]*

MARLOW: Pray, child, answer me one question. What are you, and what may your business in this house be? [...]

*[Kate tells him she is a poor relation of Hardcastle and he is in Hardcastle's house.]*

MARLOW: So then all's out, and I have been damnably imposed on. [...] What a silly puppy do I find myself. There again, may I be hang'd, my dear, but I mistook you for the bar-maid.

(*Stoops* 4.1)

Marlow, who was already attracted to her beauty in the former meeting, uses terms of endearment with the in-group marker *my*, 'my dear' and 'my lovely girl' (4.1) but never uses *child* again. Now that he has found out she belongs to the same class as him, presumably he cannot use a patronising term anymore. In the final scene, she appears as her upper-middle-class self, speaking in a very polite way.<sup>120</sup> Marlow notices her 'improvement' and addresses her with respectful *madam*:

*[Miss Hardcastle speaks to Marlow in 'her own natural manner', i.e. as a*

---

<sup>120</sup> McIntosh lists some features of Kate's speeches in the two different personae. Kate as a barmaid speaks with several features of rusticness, including malapropism, old-fashioned colloquialism and rustic asseverations (1998: 211-212). Speeches by Kate as herself have many features of her refined speech: an elevated vocabulary, asyndeton, anaphora, rhetorical questions and antitheses (1998: 212). Such changes would be recognisable to the audience as well as Marlow.

*daughter of a gentleman.]*

MARLOW: [Aside.] This girl every moment improves upon me.

*[To her.] It must not be, Madam. I have already trifled too long with my heart.*

*(Stoops 5.3)*

In the above scenes, Miss Hardcastle carefully manipulates her speeches so that she sounds like the role she is playing. Her speech is as elaborate as the ones she speaks when she meets him as an upper-middle-class woman in Act 2 Scene 1. Marlow notices the difference (he thinks the girl ‘improves’ every time he sees her) and chooses appropriate address terms according to her ‘role’. Their use of address terms is not elaborate but a dynamic of changing interpersonal relationship.

From the above examples it can be surmised that address terms help to show the interpersonal relationships and the dynamics of their change. Especially in the comedies, the THOU/YOU dichotomy does not play an important role at this date and THOU was mainly used as a mere sign of theatrical climax. Despite that, playwrights could show the difference in personal relationships by employing various address terms.

### **9.6.2. Address terms to show the change of interpersonal relationships in**

#### ***Revenge***

I have shown that address terms are used in an elaborate way to represent emotional changes. How about in the tragedies? Here I take *Revenge* as a sample. I choose this play for two reasons: the plot is similar to *Othello*, so it is easier to make a comparison of the usage of address terms between two plays; this play involves a clear change of the protagonist’s attitude towards his wife and friend.

The protagonist Alonzo is about to get married to his fiancé Leonora within a day.

day. At the beginning of the play, he is in bliss and addresses her with FN and terms of endearment, such as *the essence of my joy, heart of my heart* and *my love*. After his Moor slave Zanga has told him that Leonora is in an adulterous relationship with Alonzo's best friend Carlos, he is distressed, but he still wants to believe her innocence. For this reason, he still uses terms of endearment and first name, as shown below.

*[Alonzo is distressed at the thought that Leonora is in an adulterous relationship. He has left his wedding banquet earlier because of that. Leonora has found him and asks the reason of his absence.]*

LEONORA: My good Lord, I do observe Severity of Thought  
Upon your Brow. Ought hear you from the Moors?

ALONZO: No, my Delight.

LEONORA: What then employ'd your Mind?

ALONZO: Thou, Love, and only Thou; so Heav'n befriend me,  
As other Thought can find no Entrance here.

*(Revenge 4.1)*

He starts using abusive terms to Leonora only after he is determined to kill her: *thou piece of witchcraft* and *enchantress*. Such changes of address terms are also observed in Othello's addresses to Desdemona (Mazzon 2003: 229). Alonzo decided at the last moment not to kill Leonora, but then Leonora comes back to him with his dagger. Alarmed, he addresses her with a distant address term *woman*. He, after gathering his composure, addresses her with *madam*. He has used this honorific term at the beginning of the play out of politeness, but this instance seems to be a distancing one:

*[Alonzo believes Leonora's desperate pleading is a lie to seduce him.]*

ALONZO: Madam, stay.  
Your Passion's wise, 'tis a Disguise for Guilt:  
'Tis my Turn now to fix you here awhile;  
You, and your Thousand Arts shall not escape me.

(Revenge 5.2)

He does not want to believe Leonora is in earnest to prove her innocence at the risk of her life. He tries to be cool and distant, by using a polite but distant term *madam*. He calls her first name only after she has killed herself and Zanga has told him the truth that she is guiltless:

ALONZO: Murder'd! Murder'd!  
O Shame! O Guilt! O Horror! O Remorse!  
O Punishment! Had Satan never fell,  
Hell had been made for me. —O Leonora!

(Revenge 5.2)

The simple address term seems to be chosen to emphasise his strong despair, and it would be more realistic than using a long flowery address.

Another protagonist (or antagonist), the Moor slave Zanga, also exhibits change in the address terms he uses to his master Alonzo. He has grudge against Alonzo for ruining his kingdom and enslaving him. He pretends to be a faithful slave so that Alonzo trusts him and it makes easier to take revenge on him. Therefore, his address to his master is always deferential, using *my lord* and *sir*. He changes his address term to *Spain* (and using THOU) only in apostrophe.

ZANGA: In me, my Lord, you hear another self,  
And give me leave to add, a better too,  
Clear'd from those Errors, which, tho' caus'd by Virtue,  
Are such as may hereafter give you Pain. [...]

ALONZO: Perish the Name! What! Sacrifice the Fair  
To Age and Illness, because set in Gold?—  
I'll to Don *Carlos*, if my Heart will let me. [...]  
[Exit Alonzo.]



ZANGA: [...] Proud, hated Spain! Oft drench'd in Moorish Blood;  
Dost thou not feel a deadly Foe within thee?

(*Revenge* 1.1)

When his revenge is fulfilled he reveals his true feelings and true identity as a prince of the kingdom Alonzo destroyed. In doing so he addresses Alonzo addressing him with *Christian* and THOU:

ZANGA: Fall'n Christian, thou mistak'st my Character.  
Look on me. Who am I?

(*Revenge* 5.2)

Zanga's use of address terms, combined with the switches of THOU/YOU, shows his attitude towards Alonzo and his identity as slave / prince effectively.

As I have seen in 9.3, the frequency of address terms in the tragedies is smaller than the comedies. However, as the case study on *Revenge* shows, address terms indicate the change of interpersonal relationships and the emotions of speakers in the tragedies, often combined with second person pronouns.

## 9.7. Conclusion

I have shown that address terms are used to indicate interpersonal relationships between characters in the tragedies and the comedies. In the tragedies, address terms are not used so frequently, although they are used in combination with personal pronouns to show personal relationships. In contrast, address terms are used much more often in the comedies, where they can be used to show subtle changes of personal relationships, as we have seen in 9.6.1. The comedies have almost lost THOU as a living option, but it does not mean they have lost the way to signify interpersonal

relationships. This might account for the difference of frequency of address terms in the tragedies and the comedies. In the tragedies, the binary system of second person singular pronouns is still alive, so playwrights can show changes of emotions, difference of status etc. with their choice of pronouns. In the comedies, in contrast, they could no longer show such changes with second person pronouns, so they resorted to address terms.

## **10. The influence of Elizabethan dramatists on eighteenth-century dramas**

In this section, I will look at the influence of Elizabethan dramatists, especially Shakespeare, on eighteenth-century dramatists. They influenced many aspects of theatre, including theatrical language. Shakespeare was one of the most influential and popular dramatists, even in the eighteenth century. The adoration of ‘the Bard’ was such that ‘Many authors [of late-eighteenth-century tragedies] express in prologue and in preface their determination to follow Shakespeare’s style’ (Nicoll 1927: 56) and ‘the eighteenth century writers showed their appreciation of his work by adapting his tragedies to the requirements of the more modern stage’ (Nicoll 1927: 57). Studying the Elizabethan influences can give us a hint why eighteenth-century dramatists, especially tragedians, employed the ‘older’ pronoun THOU.

### **10.1. Popularity of Elizabethan dramatists in the eighteenth century**

Some Elizabethan dramatists were popular and their plays were still performed in the eighteenth century. The popularity of Shakespearean plays was especially outstanding in the eighteenth century, although they were rarely unaltered (Hartnoll 1983: 756).<sup>121</sup> His plays were performed quite frequently in London and his reputation as the best national poet had already been established. Nicoll states that Shakespeare was the most

---

<sup>121</sup> One of the reasons why Shakespeare’s plays were altered was his language/usage did not look ‘correct’ any more to eighteenth-century editors/audience. This suggests that eighteenth-century playwrights’ usage of English might have differed from that of Shakespeare and Elizabethan writers, following their eighteenth-century standards, even when the former tried to imitate the latter’s style. I will discuss this point further in Chapter 11. It is also worth pointing out that altering Shakespeare’s text does not mean these writers and editor did not admire Shakespeare (Nicoll 1927: 57).

popular tragedian in eighteenth-century England (1925: 60, 1927:56). Additionally, numerous people discussed and mentioned his works in their writings. *Critical Heritage: Shakespeare* (vols. 2-6) lists over 250 writings and criticisms on Shakespeare's works appearing in the eighteenth century, including writings of distinguished figures such as Sir Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, Alexander Pope and Samuel Johnson.

One anecdote to note about bardolatry is Voltaire's criticism of Shakespeare and responses from his British readers. He criticised Shakespeare, stating that he 'had not so much as a single Spark of good Taste, or knew one Rule of the Drama' (1733: 166) and blamed Shakespeare for 'ruining' the English stage in his *Letters*:

[T]he great Merit of this Dramatic Poet has been the Ruin of the *English Stage*. [...] Most of the whimsical, gigantic Images of this Poet, have, thro' Length of Time [...] acquir'd a Right of passing for sublime. Most of the modern dramatic Writers have copied him; but the Touches and Descriptions which are applauded in *Shakespeare*, are hiss'd at in these Writers; [...] and you'll easily believe that the Veneration in which this Author is held, increases in Proportion to the Contempt which is shown to the Moderns. Dramatic Writers don't consider that they should not imitate him; and the ill Success of *Shakespeare's* Imitators, produces no other Effect, than to make him be consider'd as inimitable.

(1733: 167-168)

Here he claimed two things. Firstly, he claimed that Shakespearean plays did not show good taste. Secondly, he criticised contemporary British playwrights for imitating him too much. Not surprisingly, his criticism did not go unchallenged. Numerous British critics tried to defend Shakespeare (Besterman 1967: 23). To take a few examples, John Berkenhout claimed in his *Biographia Literaria* that Voltaire's opinion was wrong and universally rejected by the British:

Mr. de Voltaire has more than once, but particularly in a late publication, endeavoured to ridicule our enthusiastic admiration of Shakespeare. His opinions are universally diffused, and deservedly regarded; it is therefore of importance to convince him of his error [...].

(Berkenhout 1777, quoted in Vickers 1981: 157-158)

He goes on to refute Voltaire's criticism of Shakespeare's violation of unities and vulgar speeches (quoted in Vickers 1981: 158-159). Elizabeth Montagu wrote *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare [...] with Some Remarkes Upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire* (1769), also refuting the shortcomings Voltaire pointed out and explaining the excellence of some of his plays. Her essay was 'perfectly adapted to the taste of the age' (Vickers 1979: 328). Several of the leading British philosophers and critics such as Edmund Burke and Sir Joshua Reynolds sent her a letter of appraisal and David Garrick, one of her greatest admirers, wrote a poem celebrating her victory over Voltaire (Eger 2003: 132). However, as far as I know, they did not try to defend the English stage against Voltaire's charge that Shakespeare was too influential. Eighteenth-century playwrights do not seem to be so ashamed of imitating their great models. Dryden criticised Cibber for copying and stealing his predecessors' works, such as Fletcher, Congreve and Corneille in his *Dunciad* (1748: 16), but Cibber defended himself by saying 'Is a Tailor, that can make a new Coat well, the worse Workman, because he can mend an old one?' (Cibber 1742: 33).<sup>122</sup>

As regards comedies, Shakespeare was not quite so popular in the first half of the the eighteenth century. This is because the taste of audience had changed in the

---

<sup>122</sup> Cibber altered two Shakespearean plays: *King Richard III* (1700) and *Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John* (from Shakespeare's *King John*) (1745) (Hawkins-Dady 1994: 195).

Restoration period and his romantic comedies were not included in the repertoires of theatres (Nicoll 1925: 149, Nicoll 1952: 182). They started to regain their popularity in 1735, when ‘the romantic comedies once more take their position upon the boards of the playhouses in a comparatively unaltered form’ (Nicoll 1925: 139), and from 1744 onwards Shakespeare’s comedies were quite popular (Nicoll 1927: 111), resulting in numerous adaptations of his plays in the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>123</sup>

Modern scholars occasionally discuss the influence of Shakespeare on individual eighteenth-century playwrights. Here I introduce some remarks on the playwrights in my corpus. Firstly, Bevis (1988) describes how Nicholas Rowe, a playwright and also an editor of Shakespeare, was influenced by Shakespeare:

[Rowe] echoed Shakespearean tragedy later [in his career], especially after his critical edition of Shakespeare (1709). Perhaps he owed his mastery of blank verse to that discipleship; ‘No living Englishmen could write blank verse more beautifully than Mr Rowe’<sup>124</sup>, which is doubtless why generations heard and read him with pleasure.

(Bevis 1998:130)

Rowe wrote *The Tragedy of Jane Shore* (1714), an adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Richard III* in blank verse (Chapter 5). Although the story itself is ‘domestic’ and far from the original (Thomson 2006: 91), the style is archaic and stiff, reminding readers of Elizabethan tragedies.

Other tragedians in my corpus are also compared to Shakespeare. John Home is

---

<sup>123</sup> Nicoll calls Shakespearean romantic comedies as ‘a happy hunting-ground for the lazy or the uninventive dramatist of the time [late eighteenth century]’ (1927: 111).

<sup>124</sup> *Three Plays by Nicholas Rowe*, edited by James Sutherland (London, 1929), p.27, quoted in Bevis (1998: 130).

another playwright heavily influenced by Shakespeare (Bevis 1988: 206). Nettleton holds that 'Home was much more influenced by Shakespeare, with whom he was frequently compared by his admiring countrymen, than by any eighteenth-century author' (1939: 573). Thomson discusses the similarity of Edward Young's style and Shakespeare's (2006: 135). Although George Lillo wrote his tragedy *London Merchant* in prose, the editor of his play describes the play text as 'At times prose is heightened into concealed blank verse, and the imitations of Shakespeare' (McBurney 1928: xxiv).

Other Elizabethan playwrights have not been forgotten by eighteenth-century dramatists. Nicoll points out that there are many adaptations from Elizabethan comedies and several alterations of tragedies and tragi-comedies of that era (1927: 58). He names Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher and Shirley as authors who were 'ransacked' by eighteenth-century playwrights (1927: 112). Thomson states that Garrick acted in Ben Jonson's *Every Man In His Humour* as well as Shakespearean plays (2006: 158).

Considering these facts and studies, it is likely that Elizabethan playwrights had an influence on the eighteenth-century English theatre, especially on tragedies. Not only were their plays performed on the stage, but also their style and language influenced eighteenth-century playwrights. I hypothesise that Elizabethan plays set the norm for the language of theatres and that playwrights tried to copy them, in other words, to write like their predecessors. However, the usage of eighteenth-century English had become different from that of Elizabethan English. Editors and playwrights admired their predecessors, but they were not always happy about the language of the earlier age. I will discuss this point further in 10.2, taking Shakespeare's text as an example, as he was the Elizabethan playwright most often discussed and referred by eighteenth-century critics, as well as by present-day scholars

who write about the eighteenth-century theatre.

## **10.2. Treatment and ‘correction’ of Shakespeare’s text**

Although the popularity of Shakespeare is unquestionable throughout the eighteenth century, his text was not respected as it is in the present day; people did not think they should not bowdlerise his text.<sup>125</sup> On the contrary, they changed or ‘improved’ his text to make them ‘perfect’ for the Bard’s sake. This attitude is well expressed by Theobald’s comment that Shakespeare’s works were ‘unweeded Garden grown to Seed’, and he proposes ‘to restore Sense to Passages in which no Sense has hitherto been found’ (Theobald 1733, cited in McKnight 1928/1968: 303).

Correction and standardization had already been seen between folios (McKnight 1928/1968: 235-236), but it was during the Restoration period that people started to notice the differences between their English and Shakespeare’s. When editing Shakespeare, they altered or deleted passages which did not suit their taste, such as oaths and obsolete or archaic words and grammatical irregularities (McKnight 1928/1968: 270-171). Similar or further editing was done in the eighteenth century. Additionally, some editors believed that Shakespeare wrote free from mistakes (according to their standard) and that faults in existent text were due to mistakes by the author and printers, or contamination by players who wrote folios. In other words, the editors’ concern was ‘to discover what Shakespeare had actually written’ (Seary

---

<sup>125</sup> The word ‘bowdlerise’ itself derives from an edition of Shakespeare. *OED* explains that the origin of this word is ‘the name of Dr. T. Bowdler, who in 1818 published an edition of Shakespeare, “in which those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family”’ (“bowdlerize, v.” *OED* Online. Oxford University Press, December 2014. Web. 10 December 2014.).



1990: 131). For example, Alexander Pope edited Shakespeare (published in 1725) so as to enhance the sublimity of Shakespeare: ‘Pope deliberately altered, relegated to the bottom of the page, or omitted passages he felt might diminish Shakespeare’s reputation’ (Seary 1990: 131). Even personal pronouns were edited, as seen in Dennis (1720):

You gods! I prate,  
And the most noble mother of the world  
Leave unsaluted: sink, my knee, i’ the earth;  
(*Coriolanus* 5.3.54-56, Open Source Shakespeare)

But Oh! ye Gods, while fondly thus I talk,  
See, the most noble Mother of the World  
Sounds unsaluted.

(Dennis 1720, quoted in Vickers (1974: 439))

Along with numerous emendations, the personal pronoun *you* is changed to the more archaic pronoun *ye*. I have not found any examples of changing YOU to THOU, but the above example might suggest that eighteenth-century editors paid attention to the choice of personal pronouns.

To sum up, at this stage eighteenth-century playwrights and critics noticed that there were linguistic differences between their English and Elizabethan (at least Shakespearean) English, but they did not seem to think that different standards exist in different times and tried to force their standard on older texts.

This trend started to change around the half of the eighteenth century. 1744 saw the revival of the original *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet* and in 1741 Macklin presented Shylock close to the original figure in *The Merchant of Venice* (Hartnoll 1983<sup>4</sup>: 756). Thomas Gray, a poet and a classical scholar, observed the differences

between his contemporaries' English and Shakespeare's:

I will not decide what style is fit for our English stage; but I should rather choose one that bordered upon *Cato* [written by Addison in 1712], than upon Shakespeare. One may imitate (if one can) Shakespeare's manner, his surprising strokes of true nature, his expressive force in painting characters, and all his other beauties; preserving at the same time our own language. Were Shakespeare alive now he would write a different style from what he did.

(A Letter to West, 4 April 1742, as cited in Vickers 1975)

Rather than assuming that Shakespeare's English was incorrect or that eighteenth-century English had been corrupted since Elizabethan time, he simply stated that the style of English had changed.

Edmond Malone published his edition in 1790 in the aim of presenting as original a text as possible based on his research, rather than on his aesthetics. He claimed that his principal employment 'has been to *restore*, in the true sense of the word; to eject the arbitrary and capricious innovations made by our predecessors from ignorance of the phraseology and customs of the age in which Shakespeare lived.' (1790: xi). He denied the common notion that anomalies in Shakespeare's text were due to mistakes by printers and criticised Pope and other predecessors as follows:

When Mr. Pope first undertook the task of revising these plays every anomaly of language, and every expression that was not understood at that time, were considered as errors [*sic*] or corruptions, and the text was altered, or amended, as it was called, at pleasure. The principal writers of the early part of this century seem never to have looked behind them, and to have considered their own era and their own phraseology as the standard of perfection: hence from the time of Pope's edition, for above twenty years, to alter Shakespeare's text and to restore it were considered as synonymous terms.

(Malone 1790: xi)

Unlike his predecessors, Malone investigated other Elizabethan plays to discover the grammars and phraseology at the time (Malone 1790: xi, lvi).<sup>126</sup> The fact that his edition sold out in little over a year (Thomson 2006: 107) seems to suggest that readers were ready for a more objective, scholastic reading of Shakespeare. This led to the praise of his text as ‘authentic English’. However, the acceptance of Elizabethan English does not necessarily lead to mastering Elizabethan usage, possibly due to the lack of observance skills (5.2.3), as I will see in 10.3 below.

### **10.3. THOU and YOU in Elizabethan and Eighteenth-century plays**

In the previous sections, I have discussed the influences of Elizabethan playwrights on eighteenth-century playwrights and how people’s perception on Elizabethan (especially Shakespearean) English had changed over the century. In this section, I will look at the figures of THOU and YOU in some Elizabethan plays and those figures in my eighteenth-century tragedy corpus to see how closely the latter imitated the former.

There are very few studies on THOU and YOU which study Elizabethan tragedies other than Shakespeare’s. One such study is Mitchell (1971), who includes seven Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies in her corpus, as listed in Table 58:

---

<sup>126</sup> He does not clearly state which Elizabethan and Jacobean plays he compared with Shakespeare’s. Considering that his edition has a section on Shakespeare, Ford and Jonson (1790: 387-414), it is reasonable to assume Malone read their works.

Table 58: Th-forms and Y-forms in Elizabethan tragedies (based on Mitchell 1971: 67)

Author	Play	Th form	Y form	Th %
Marlowe	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> (1589)	269	174	61%
Marlowe	<i>The Jew of Malta</i> (1591)	355	308	54%
Shakespeare	<i>Julius Caesar</i> (1598)	230	532	30%
Shakespeare	<i>Hamlet</i> (1600)	261	793	25%
Shakespeare	<i>King Lear</i> (1603)	568	697	45%
Ford	<i>Perkin Warbeck</i> (1629)	222	399	36%
Ford	<i>The Broken Heart</i> (1625)	354	376	48%

Since her ‘Th form’ includes *ye* and ‘Y form’ includes plural *you* and its variant, it is not quite relevant to compare her data with my data of THOU and YOU.<sup>127</sup> The number of *ye* is so large in Ford’s works (101 times in total) (Mitchell 1971: 127) that it can distort the proportion of THOU (or Th-form) to YOU (or Y-form). For this reason, I use her data only as a reference.

Since the current study is focussed on the use of THOU and YOU in eighteenth-century plays, it is out of my scope to do an extensive research on the use of THOU and YOU in Elizabethan dramas. Therefore I performed a quick corpus search using Wordsmith. I chose the same set of Elizabethan and Jacobean tragedies as Mitchell’s so that the data can be compared: *Doctor Faustus* (hereafter *Faustus*), *The Jew of Malta* (hereafter *Malta*), *Julius Caesar* (hereafter *Caesar*), *Hamlet*, *King Lear* (hereafter *Lear*), *Perkin Warbeck* (hereafter *Perkin*) and *The Broken Heart* (hereafter *Broken*). Electronic texts were taken from Literature Online (LION). I did not exclude

---

<sup>127</sup> She gives figures of each form (*ye*, *you*, *your* etc.) of each author in her Appendix B (pp. 123-152) but she does not break them down to each play. *Ye* is attested 12 times in Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta* (Mitchell 1971: 124), 86 times in Shakespeare’s ten plays (including histories, tragedies and comedies) (1971: 125) and 101 times in Ford’s *Perkin Warbeck* and *The Broken Heart* (1971: 127).

plural *you* manually from the Elizabethan data since it would be too time-consuming to create reference data (cf. Busse 2002), and the aim of taking the data is to get a rough trend of Elizabethan tragedies, not to study them thoroughly.

The below is the result of searching THOU and YOU in the seven Elizabethan plays:

Table 59: The raw number of THOU and YOU and their frequency per 1,000 words in the Elizabethan tragedies.

Author	Title	raw number		per 1,000 words		THOU %
		THOU	YOU	THOU	YOU	
Marlowe	<i>Faustus</i> (1589)	260	174	20.7	13.8	60%
Marlowe	<i>Malta</i> (1591)	344	316	17.4	15.9	52%
Shakespeare	<i>Caesar</i> (1598)	230	552	10.9	26.2	29%
Shakespeare	<i>Hamlet</i> (1600)	267	780	8.9	26.0	26%
Shakespeare	<i>Lear</i> (1603)	497	657	20.0	26.4	43%
Ford	<i>Perkin</i> (1629)	179	389	8.1	17.6	32%
Ford	<i>Broken</i> (1625)	285	371	13.7	17.8	43%

Figure 31: The percentage of THOU to YOU (including plural) in the Elizabethan tragedies and the eighteenth-century tragedies.

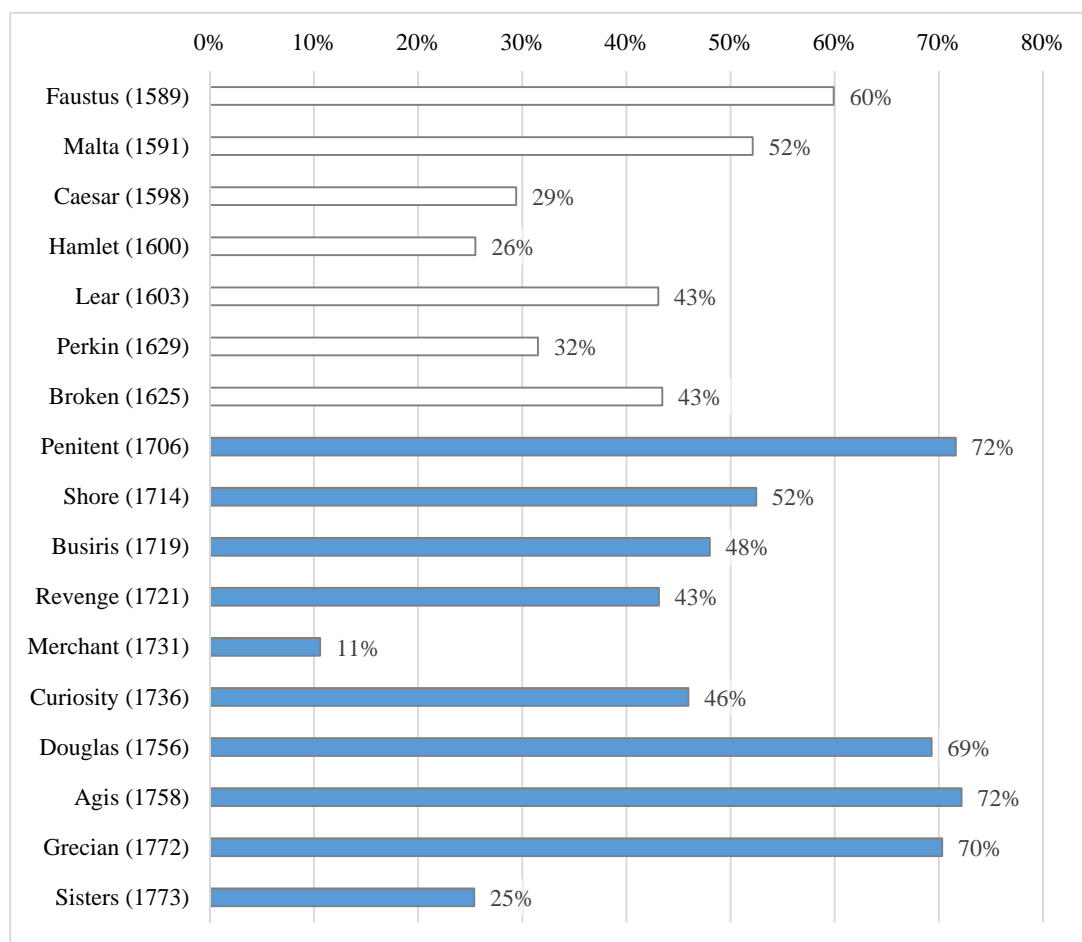


Table 59 shows that there is a lot of variation among Elizabethan playwrights and plays; the percentage of THOU to YOU ranges from 26% (in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*) to 60% (in Marlowe’s *Faustus*). The data seem to be close to Mitchell (1971)’s (Table 58), with fewer occurrences of THOU (or ‘Th-forms’ in Mitchell (1971)) due to the exclusion of *ye* from my data.

Figure 31 compares the percentage of THOU to YOU (including plural *you* and its variants) in the Elizabethan tragedies and the eighteenth-century tragedies. I included plural *you* in the eighteenth-century data too to compare them with the Elizabethan

ones with the same condition.<sup>128</sup>

When comparing my Elizabethan data with eighteenth-century ones (Figure 31), the percentage of THOU seems to be slightly lower in Elizabethan plays in general; the average percentage of THOU in the Elizabethan plays is 41% while 51% in the eighteenth-century tragedies. Additionally, the highest percentage of THOU is found in the eighteenth-century tragedies (72% in *Penitent* and *Agis*).

In 10.2, I have shown that people started to be aware that Elizabethan English was different from theirs due to language changes, rather than considering their predecessors' language as incorrect. It might be hypothesised that if playwrights in the latter half of the eighteenth century could have acquired a better understanding about Elizabethan usage, then their use of THOU and YOU would have been closer to Elizabethan one than those in the first half of the eighteenth century. As Figure 31 shows, however, there was no clear divide or transition in the data between the first

---

<sup>128</sup> The difference in the proportion to THOU to you between the data excluding plural *you* and its variants and those including them is between 0% and 8%.

Table: The percentage of THOU to YOU in the eighteenth-century tragedies.

	excl. plural <i>you</i>	incl. plural <i>you</i>
<i>Penitent</i>	76%	72%
<i>Shore</i>	54%	52%
<i>Busiris</i>	51%	48%
<i>Revenge</i>	44%	43%
<i>Merchant</i>	11%	11%
<i>Curiosity</i>	48%	46%
<i>Douglas</i>	72%	69%
<i>Agis</i>	77%	72%
<i>Grecian</i>	78%	70%
<i>Sisters</i>	26%	25%

and the second the half of the century. On the contrary, the percentage of THOU to YOU in the second half of the eighteenth century exceeds that of the Elizabethan tragedies in three out of four plays (*Douglas, Agis* and *Grecian*). This seems to suggest that people's awareness of one variation of English (i.e. Elizabethan English) does not necessarily lead to the correct understanding or use of that variation. Throughout the eighteenth century, tragedians had some idea about tragic style mostly based on Elizabethan English (of plays), but their usage was somewhat different from Elizabethan playwrights'. Such a phenomenon can happen when people are imitating other people's linguistic variation or 'register'. I will discuss this 'failure' of observation further in Chapter 11, employing the theory of enregisterment and indexicality.



## **11. Enregisterment**

### **11.1. Introduction**

In the previous chapters I have discussed the influence of Elizabethan playwrights on the use of THOU in eighteenth-century dramas but the usage of eighteenth-century playwrights was somewhat different from Elizabethan usage. To explain this linguistically, I employ the enregisterment theory and indexicality, as I will introduce in this chapter. Firstly, I will introduce enregisterment theory and features relevant to my current study. Secondly, I will look at the studies using enregisterment in languages of the present day, then I will present some diachronic studies. Thirdly, I will show the influence of Elizabethan playwrights on eighteenth-century playwrights and audience to discuss how the latter enregistered Elizabethan linguistic features. Lastly, I will apply enregisterment to THOU to explain why it lingered in the eighteenth-century dramas long after its disappearance from Standard English. Enregisterment has not been applied to explain the changes in the meanings of THOU, but as I will show, it serves well to explain how Shakespeare influenced the eighteenth-century dramas.

### **11.2. Register**

Before I look at enregisterment itself, I would like to give a brief overview of the notion of ‘register’, which the notion of enregisterment is based on and stemmed from. ‘Registers’ refer to ‘linguistic varieties that are linked [...] to particular occupations or topics’ (Trudgill 2000<sup>4</sup>: 81). Registers are different from dialects in the point that dialects are what people speak habitually (‘determined by who you are’) but registers are what people speak in a particular situation (‘determined by what you are doing’) (Halliday 1978: 35). Style is also a similar concept of register, but while styles are

often discussed in terms of formality, registers 'tend to be associated with particular groups of people or specific situations of use' (Holmes 2001<sup>2</sup>: 246). Typical examples of registers are ways of talking characteristic to some occupations, such as legalese and sports announcer speech.

### **11.3. Enregisterment**

Agha proposes a concept of 'enregisterment' as follows: 'processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognised register of forms' (2003: 231). In other words, some features of one variation (pronunciation, lexical item etc.) can be put into a certain register and considered to belong to it, i.e. 'enregistered' into one register. Cooper gives an example of 'lawyeresse' where the use of a set of legal terms evokes the image of the profession related to the terms (2013: 32-33).

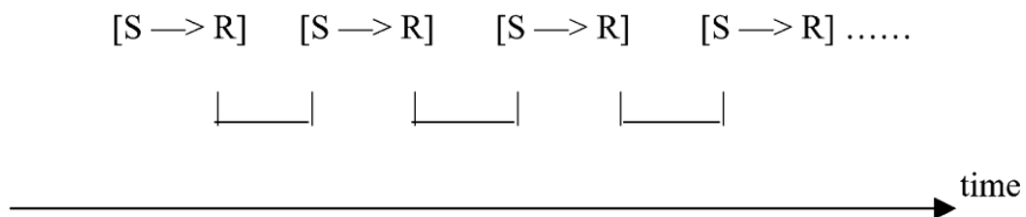
Enregistered features do not always stay enregistered. For enregistered features to perpetuate in a register over multiple generations, such features need to be replicable so that they can be disseminated and noticed among people (Agha 2004: 27). Sometimes enregistered features get 'deregistered', in other words, lose their connection to the previously linked register. For example, Johnstone et al. (2006) state that phonetic features of 'Pittsburghese' used to be associated with working class but that they were deregistered or 'semiotically de-linked from' class and enregistered as a regional dialect 'Pittsburghese' (2006: 95).

### **11.4. Speech chain**

Agha proposes a model of events in which linguistic features are enregistered.

Messages related to the characterological constructs of certain linguistic features are transmitted through events. In such events, one or more speakers give a message to hearer/s. The same hearer/s give messages to other hearer/s in the next event, then the hearer/s might become other speaker. From a historical perspective, these events are ‘linked together by the permutation of individuals across speech-act roles in the following way: the receiver of the message in the (n)th speech event is the sender of the message in the (n+1)th speech event’ (Agha 2003: 247), as shown in Figure 32 below:

Figure 32: Speech chains. (Agha 2003: 247)



The sender and the receiver do not need to exist in the same time and place. When senders use the form of text (e.g. a novel), the receiver might receive the message after a gap of a few centuries (Agha 2003: 247). Senders and receivers might not be one-to-one, when the message is transmitted through mass media (ibid.).

The event and the message contained in it are shared only among people who belong to the same speech chain network (Agha 2003: 248). To gain co-membership of the same speech chain network, all people need to do is to know the value of the symbol shared through the speech chain. They do not need to know each other or attend the same event. For example, to join the speech chain network regarding somebody’s

name, people are considered to be in the network as long as they know the specific person has the specific name.

One interesting thing about the transmission of messages regarding dialect feature is they are sometimes imperfect. Agha states that

They [the genres that had wide public circulation] were neither sufficiently precise in their treatment of accent nor sufficiently comprehensive so as to allow members of the reading public to transform their habits of pronunciation in any systematic way. We might say that these genres replicate the competence to recognize accent contrasts and associated values across the space of the nation without replicating the competence to speak the most prestigious accent.

(2003: 260)

Consequently, while many people can distinguish the language variations (here, RP), few people can produce the variations correctly.

### **11.5. Diachronic studies of enregisterment**

There are not many diachronic studies of enregistered features, but they indicate that it is feasible to study enregisterment in the history of the English language. Beal shows that the repertoire of Geordie is fairly stable between the nineteenth and the twenty-first century (2009: 144). Cooper (2013) conducted a diachronic research on Yorkshire dialect in the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries in the following way: he identified features prominent in nineteenth-century texts related to the dialect; then compared the frequency of those features in literature in the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. His research reveals that there are diachronic changes of indexicality and enregisterment.

Aaron (2009) studies five ‘A-forms’ meaning ‘like that’ in Spanish (*así, asín, ansí,*

ansí, asina, and ansina) both diachronically and synchronically. She finds that although ‘non-standard’ forms used to be used in an unmarked way (2009: 481), they came to represent a non-standard speech, used along with other non-standard features as well as reference to their speaker’s (non-standard) status, e.g. race (2009: 481-482).

### **11.6. Indexicality**

Another important notion when discussing enregisterment is ‘indexicality’, originated by Silverstein. Johnstone et al. define indexicality as follows:

A meaning in terms of one or more native ideologies [...]. The feature has been “enregistered”, that is, it has become associated with a style of speech and can be used to create a context for that style.

(2006: 82)

Indexicality has orders and  $n+1$ -th-order indexicality will not happen until  $n$ th-order indexicality does. first-order indexicality is the state where speakers are unaware of their speech variation. With second-order indexicality, speakers begin to ‘notice variation in their speech and attribute social meanings to this variation’ (Johnstone et al. 2006: 82). To shift from first- to second-order indexicality, social mobility is required because the choice of variety can be related to linguistic ideologies such as correctness and class (Johnstone et al. 2006: 89). After gaining second-order indexicality, third-order indexicality occurs and people who are aware of their variation begin to associate linguistic variants with their identity (e.g. their region) while people outside the variety can use such variants to represent the variety’s traits, sometimes in jocular or semi-serious ways (Johnstone et al. 1996: 82-83). To achieve this, geographical mobility is needed so that people can be aware that different

communities have different linguistic variations (Cooper 2013: 35).

As with the case of enregisterment, indexicality can also change in the course of time; different age groups might attribute different social values to one specific linguistic variant even in the same community. This suggests that there can be ‘a diachronic shift in the particular values indexed by these features’ (Cooper 2013: 37). For example, in his data of Yorkshire dialect, Cooper reveals that four phonetic features (e.g. <oi> in *loike* ‘like’) were prominent in early nineteenth century but not in the twenty-first century (2013: 174). These features

may have been enregistered to a wider audience at the beginning of the [nineteenth] century, but became ‘deregistered’ towards its end. This could also represent a shift in the order of indexicality of these features from third-order at the beginning of the century to second-order at the end.

(Cooper 2013: 174)

He goes on to state that people both inside and outside Yorkshire do not associate those deregistered features with Yorkshire anymore (2013: 198, 210). These forms became what Labov calls a ‘fossilised form’ (Cooper 2013: 244).

### **11.7. Third-order Indexicality in literary texts**

When a linguistic feature reaches the third-order indexicality and becomes a stereotype to represent the variety, people outside the variety do not necessarily imitate the features correctly. Cooper surmises that some features which have become a commonplace stereotype come to be only used in literary works (2013: 127) (cf. see also Aaron’s study in 11.5 on this point). Agha states that because the aim of literary metadiscourses on dialects is ‘to create a memorable cast of fictional characters’, the

link between the feature and the character is often foregrounded and even caricatured (2003: 256). Geda points out that ‘the features enregistered as typical of x-speech don’t necessarily represent the reality of x-speech’ (2009: 358, cited in Cooper 2013: 55). Geda studies the way stand-up comedians represent male gay characters and identifies special intonations and sibilance used for such purpose, which gay men in the real life do not necessarily use.

Aaron, who studies five A-forms meaning ‘like that’ in Spanish, found out that some non-standard A-forms which are thought to be falling out of use appear most frequently in the 20th century, i.e. ‘a slow decline infrequency followed by a sharp rise’ (2009: 472). She discusses that this sudden rise is caused by ‘these forms’ arrival, or literary/representational “re-birth”, as linguistic stereotypes’ (2009: 474). She also points out that three non-standard A-forms occur nearly exclusively in two genres, i.e. lyrical verse and narrative prose, and concludes:

The relative diachronic rise in these three forms’ frequency, then, may point not to an increase in actual use, or even to the moment these forms became stereotypes, but rather to an increase in the production of literary genres in which authors aimed to reproduce non-standard speech, such as the Latin American literary movement known as *criollismo* (e.g. Alonso 1996).

(Aaron 2009: 482)

Considering these findings, features in third-order indexicality ( $\equiv$  stereotyped) can act differently from the features in everyday language and their use becomes dissociated from reality.

### **11.8. Enregisterment without self-identification (first-order indexicality)**

Although Silverstein states that  $n+1$ -th-order indexicality will not happen until  $n$ th-

order indexicality does (11.6), enregisterment (second-order indexicality) can take place without speakers' self-identification (first-order indexicality). In such cases, people talk about 'other people's language' rather than their own. One example is *chavspeak* studied by Bennet (2012). It refers to the way of speaking associated with 'chavs', i.e. poor young British working-class people. Since *chav* is used in a derogatory manner, people do not want to identify themselves as such— *chav* is 'others'— and *chavspeak* is 'others' language' (Bennet 2012: 8). In other words, there are no (native?) speakers who do first-order indexicality while identifying themselves 'chavs'. He found that the descriptions of *chavspeak* are based on well-established basilectal stereotypes (or third-order indexicals in Silverstein's taxonomies), rather than new images unique to *chavs*, and that the writers who described *chavspeak* tried to give readers ideas about culture of *chavs*, not just about their language (Bennet 2012: 20).<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> Johnstone et al. (2006) explains the relationship among Labov's taxonomy and Silverstein's indexicality. They match Labov's 'stereotypes' with Silverstein's indexicality and their case study in Pittsburgh as follows:



Another example of enregisterment without first-order indexicality is *netspeak*, i.e. speech or writing used mainly on the internet, such as ‘howz r u 2day!!!!!!!111’<sup>130</sup>. Squire (2010) shows that the enregisterment of *netspeak* is different from enregisterment of other (regional) dialects for two reasons:

First, the internet is not a geographically bounded place with local, place-distributed linguistic features; the internet also has no clearly definable population of “speakers.” Second, communication via the internet, like most CMC, is predominantly text-based and typed, rather than spoken. Thus, the factors laying the foundation for enregisterment are likely somewhat different

Labov	Silverstein	In Pittsburgh
<p>“<b>stereotype</b>”: A variable feature that is the overt topic of social comment; may become increasingly divorced from forms that are actually used; the form may eventually disappear.</p>	<p>“For any indexical phenomenon at order <math>n</math>, an indexical phenomenon at order <math>n+1</math> is always immanent, lurking in the potential of an ethnometapragmatically driven native interpretation of the <math>n</math>-th-order paradigmatic contextual variation that it creates or constitutes as a register phenomenon” (p. 212). In the case of Labovian “stereotypes,” “<math>n+1</math>st order indexicality has become presupposing ... replacing an older <math>n</math>-th order indexical presupposition” (p. 220).</p>	<p><b>Third-order indexicality:</b> People noticing the existence of second-order stylistic variation in Pittsburghers’ speech link the regional variants they are most likely to hear with Pittsburgh identity, drawing on the increasingly widely circulating idea that places and dialects are essentially linked (every place has a dialect). These people, who include Pittsburghers and non-Pittsburghers, use regional forms drawn from highly codified lists to perform local identity, often in ironic, semiserious ways.</p>

(from Johnstone et al. 2006: 82-83)

<sup>130</sup> <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=netspeak>; quoted in Squires (2010: 458).

from those underlying regional dialect enregisterment.

(2010: 461)

She also points out the further problem of the population of the 'speakers' of netspeak, that people who participate in the speech chain of netspeak (i.e. who encounter or hear about netspeak) are 'internet users', but most of them claim not to use netspeak (2010: 479). Furthermore, she goes on to show that there is no linguistic features that bear a first-order indexical in the enregisterment of netspeak (2010: 481). There are some features which are enregistered as netspeak, such as acronyms and uncapitalisation, but not all of the features appear more frequently in instant messaging conversations (2010: 482). Adding to that, some features which are (thought to be) more frequent in instant message conversations might appear commonly in other (offline) non-standard or vernacular texts. People did not notice these features in vernacular texts because those texts have not been recorded so often before the age of internet (2010: 482-483). She concludes that the enregisterment of netspeak was outcomes of ideologies of language and technology, rather than speakers' awareness of their own language (2010: 483-484).

### **11.9. Enregisterment of THOU: THOU as a pronoun of elevated language**

As I have shown above, some linguistic features in one variety can be enregistered as a stereotype of that variety, then be reproduced by people outside of that variety. As the reproduction goes on, these features can acquire a new meaning. Such changes can be seen in the meaning of THOU. It used to mark intimacy or class difference, but in the Present-day English it is used as a marker of elevated language or archaic style (2.1). Wales points out the striking difference of the meaning of THOU between Middle

## English and Present-day English:

The modern prototypical ‘values’ of *thou* then, as part of a general elevated, rhetorical/literary register with high prestige, are in striking contrast to its medieval prototypical (even stereotypical) values, where *thou* was associated with low-prestige speech amongst the lower classes, or with intimate, even impolite discourse. [...] at different stages of their linguistic history *thou* and *you* (sg.) have had different sets of broad values in relation to each other:

Table 60: The values of THOU and YOU in the history of the English language. (Wales 1996: 77)

	<i>Old English</i>	<i>Middle English to 16th century</i>	<i>17th to 20th centuries</i>	<i>Late 20th century</i>
<i>Thou</i> sg.		familiar	marked	archaic
<i>You</i> [pl.]		polite	unmarked	common core

There have been some discussions why THOU came to be associated with archaic or elevated style, in relation to the language of the Bible. Many liturgical texts, especially the Authorised Version, were used without modification of the texts, while there were many changes happening in the English language over the centuries. People in the later period considered such archaic features as the language of the Bible without realising they were just hangovers of an earlier age.<sup>131</sup> Brook discusses the influence of the Authorised Version and the Common Prayer as follows:<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> Some people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered archaic or obsolete usage as ‘wrong’ and ‘corrected’ texts of the earlier period. For example, Shakespeare was condemned for his ‘mistakes’ in Restoration and Augustan period and editors tried to ‘improve’ his text. (McKnight 1968).

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Strang points out that the language of Authorised Version sounded old-fashioned even to the contemporary readers: ‘Though the Authorised Version of the Bible was published in 1611, its language was almost entirely that of Tyndale, whose New Testament appeared in 1525, almost a century earlier. [...] By 1611 the usage of

The real danger arising out of changing grammatical habits between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries is that grammatical features of the language of the Book of Common Prayer may not be recognised as such, and may be mistaken for features of style. Such characteristics as the retention of the second singular personal pronoun, *thou, thee*, and of the *-est* ending of verbs which accompanies its use, [...] are liable to be regarded as the mannerisms of a deliberately 'poetic', high-flown style, whereas they are really simply the survivals of normal, everyday grammatical forms which have since been discarded.

(1968: 53)

She goes on to explain how THOU became associated with elevated, liturgical style:

Although the second person singular pronoun survives in Northern dialects in the *tha* and *thee* of homely, familiar speech, in Standard English it has come to be confined to prayer and, decreasingly, to the more self-conscious kinds of verse. In consequence, *thou* and *thee* and the possessives *thy, thine*, have attracted a special emotional atmosphere to themselves. There seems to be an unstated but deep-rooted English belief that it is irreverent to address God as 'You'. There is also some evidence that the singular pronoun is, in general, unconsciously regarded as more appropriate for liturgic use than the plural pronoun, even when human beings are addressed, since one hears from time to time the expression *thy* or *thine* hearts used when the Sacrament is administered to communicants.

(Brook 1968: 53-54)

While the influence of liturgical texts on the use of THOU is clear and undeniable, there are some features which cannot be explained solely by the Bible in the use of THOU as 'elevated' language in the eighteenth century and the present day.<sup>133</sup> The tragedies in my corpus have elevated style, but very few of the uses of THOU in them are related to

---

Tyndale would be [...] not archaic, but decidedly old-fashioned in flavour; for the most part Tyndale had chosen forms as being normal.' (1970: 140)

<sup>133</sup> See Campbell (2011) for the publication and influences of King James Version in the eighteenth century. He shows King James Version kept being used throughout the century, despite occasional criticisms against its language.

Christianity or other supernatural beings. As I have argued in Chapter 5 and 10, their use of THOU is more motivated by the genre and their predecessors rather than Christian influence. Wales points out that THOU was incorporated into poetic and dramatic styles in the Present-day English:

fusing with this usage [address to God] to suggest an overall 'elevated' stylistic function was the *thou*, possibly influenced by Latin usage, found in conventional poetic and dramatic address and invocation to (super)natural forces and ghosts, and also objects, in the standard literary language. This survives well into the twentieth century [...]. This same literary language also kept alive, for the same rhetorical effect of elevation, the archaic poetic *thou* for intimate address, again well into the twentieth century.

(1996: 77)

I propose that this poetic and dramatic usage of THOU was developed through a different path from that of liturgical use, although they are related to each other. Just as people had acquired the association between the Bible and THOU by reading liturgical texts, they also developed the connection between THOU and tragedy as a genre by reading and reproducing tragedies containing THOU, especially Elizabethan plays. I have already shown in 10.1 that Elizabethan plays were widely read and performed in the eighteenth-century Britain. Additionally, there were also many plays based on or modelling Elizabethan plays (e.g. *Shore*). From these facts, it can be surmised that THOU underwent a process of enregisterment without first-order indexicality (11.8). People who were born after the Elizabethan period were not familiar with the use of THOU in the age, i.e. they cannot have the first-order indexicality (self-identification) of THOU. They contacted the use of THOU through their familiarity with Shakespeare and other Elizabethan playwrights' works, as a part

of the speech chain (11.4). They noticed THOU was used frequently in such text (=second-order indexicality), then eventually associated it with the language of dramas, especially Elizabethan dramas (=third-order indexicality). This association with Elizabethan playwrights and THOU is still alive in the twenty-first century, as can be seen in mock-Shakespeare/Elizabethan parodies.

### **11.10. Summary**

In this chapter I have presented the theory of enregisterment and factors related to it. As seen in 11.9, enregisterment can be used to explain why THOU was frequently used in the eighteenth-century tragedies; the playwrights used THOU frequently because it was associated with the language of drama.

The enregisterment of THOU as dramatic language suggests the importance of studying the language of tragedies. Compared to comedies, tragedies tend to be neglected because of their unnatural language. However, I have shown that studying the language of tragedies can show one development of the use of THOU, which is still seen in the twenty-first century. I propose that the use of THOU as elevated language had two routes of development: one was as liturgical language and the other as the language of dramas, especially Elizabethan style.

## **12. Conclusion**

The present study has attempted to show the use of second person pronouns in eighteenth-century tragedies and comedies. I have done this by creating a small-sized corpus and analysing it qualitatively as well as quantitatively. In this final chapter, I will answer my research questions as presented in Chapter 1, then discuss the limitations of my research and future areas of study.

### **12.1. Issues addressed**

Genre has been proved to be one of the biggest factors to affect the use of second person pronouns (Chapters 3 and 4). While THOU appears very rarely in the comedies, it is attested very frequently in the tragedies and it is the dominant (unmarked) form in six out of ten tragedies. This is because of the nature of the genres – tragedies, often written in verse, are expected to deal with great people in the past with solemn style. It has also been revealed that the medium of the text affects the use of THOU. *Merchant*, the only tragedy written in prose in my corpus, has a significantly lower percentage of THOU to YOU compared to the other tragedies written in verse.

Of the two extralinguistic factors I considered as potentially influential in the choice of THOU and YOU, only the class of the characters has been proved to influence the choice (Chapters 5 and 6). As Brown and Gilman's power and solidarity theory suggests, social superiors tend to receive YOU and give THOU to their inferiors. There are some exceptions, which are regulated by other factors such as strong emotions. Gender of the characters was not influential in the main corpus, although it seemed to affect the choice in the small-scale pilot study (Chapter 3).

Qualitative studies on each genre (Chapters 5 and 6) have revealed that many of

the dramatists employed THOU to show the strong emotion of the speaker in both the tragedies and the comedies, as Elizabethan playwrights did. Another common purpose of using THOU is to add an archaic or solemn image to their text. Aside, apostrophe and other situations where the intended hearer cannot hear the speaker (i.e. the hearer is dead or unconscious) also encourage the use of THOU (Chapter 7).

In the comedies, in which THOU has almost fallen out of use, the writers used address terms to show changes of speakers' emotions and relationships with the hearer (Chapter 8). In other words, they changed the category of address terms (e.g. from endearment to deferential), rather than second person pronouns, to show the change of the speaker's attitude towards the addressee. In the tragedies, both second person pronouns and the category of address terms have been changed to signal the emotional changes.

With regards to *ye*, another disappearing second person pronoun, it has been proved that its use was more fossilised than THOU. While THOU is used for various purposes as shown above, *ye* is either used as a vocative in apostrophe (mostly in the tragedies) or a colloquial form of singular *you*, e.g. *d'ye*. Although both *ye* and THOU were falling out of use in the eighteenth century English in general, *ye* was at a further stage of extinction than THOU. This also suggests that THOU and *ye* should be treated separately, rather than treating them together as archaic pronouns (cf. Mitchell 1971).

THOU seems to have two different systems in the eighteenth-century dramas. One is to represent social status and emotions, as used in Elizabethan plays. The other is to mark elevated, solemn style of dramas, especially in the tragedies. Only the latter survived into the Present-day English (2.1 and 11.9).



## **12.2. Contributions of this research to scholarship**

One of the contributions of my study is that there are two systems of using THOU in eighteenth-century dramas. Although the use of second person pronouns has been attracted attentions (Walker (2007), Kerridge (2014) etc.), how the use of THOU has changed in different genres has rarely been discussed. However, my study has revealed that THOU has acquired a new meaning as a pronoun of grave, tragic style by the eighteenth century, which still exists in the twenty-first century. In contrast, although the Elizabethan way of using THOU, i.e. to mark social distance and emotions, still existed in the eighteenth-century dramas to some extent, it had fallen out of use before the twentieth century. Considering that THOU was originally used to signify intimacy and casualness rather than formality, THOU has undergone a striking change of meanings. I showed in Chapter 11 how the system of THOU as grave style emerged using enregisterment theory, that the dramatists saw THOU used frequently in Elizabethan texts and associated it with their style. In other words, THOU was enregistered as Elizabethan tragic language. In order to imitate their renowned predecessor, they used THOU very frequently in their dramas, without understanding the rules completely (cf. Trudgill 1983: 148). By employing enregisterment theory, it is possible to explain why THOU lingered in one variety even after it fell out of use in Standard English and other varieties.

I have also shown the importance of studying two different genres of dramas, i.e. ‘comedies’ and ‘tragedies’ separately. ‘Dramas’ or ‘plays’ are often treated as a monolithic genre, and only comedies are included when studying eighteenth-century English (e.g. Kytö and Walker 2006, Walker 2007, Kerridge 2014). However, my study has revealed that tragedies and comedies have quite different styles and they should be

discussed separately. Additionally, it is the language of tragedies that reveals the new development of THOU as grave language, which can be still seen in the twenty-first century.

### **12.3. Limitations**

One of the limitations of this study is the size of the corpus. This is partly because there is no tagged corpus which contains both comedies and tragedies. I needed to separate plural *you* from singular YOU and find address terms manually, which requires a lot of time. The small-size of the corpus was responsible for the small amount of data for THOU in the comedies. THOU occurs only several times in the comedies written in the latter half of the eighteenth century, including one comedy (*Gil Blas*) which has no instances of THOU used between characters. This makes it difficult to give overall descriptions of the usage of THOU in the comedies, although it is possible to provide explanations to each case as to why THOU is employed there. However, since the aim of this study is to provide qualitative analysis of the use of THOU, a larger-scaled corpus would not be suitable for doing such a detailed study on each occurrence.

Another limitation is that the settings and characters vary in dramas, especially in tragedies, which makes it harder to draw parallels between each datum. While eighteenth-century comedies tend to have similar settings – contemporary upper-middle or upper class people making a fuss about love – the age and the place which tragedies deal with can vary, from ancient Greece to early modern Spain. It is difficult compare the usage of characters who have completely different settings; the difference might be due to their country or their time. However, it is not impossible to compare them from the viewpoint that the playwrights were British writing in English and they

wrote using their knowledge about the English language. The fact that Shakespeare's Roman and Italian characters are often treated as an English equivalent in the study of his works indicate this hypothesis can be true. Another problem with the setting of dramas is not all of the social classes are well represented. While there are many upper-middle and upper class characters in the comedies, there are very few lower-class and middle-class characters (especially as a main character) in them. With regard to the tragedies, they tend to have ancient classes such as Greek soldiers and kings, which cannot be categorised well in the eighteenth-century British social class system. For this reason, it is difficult to draw parallels between the English in comedies and that in tragedies, and between the language of dramas and everyday language.

#### **12.4. Further areas of study**

There are some possibilities for future studies with regards to the use of personal pronouns. First of all, extensive studies on the use of second person pronouns in Elizabethan plays (not just Shakespearean plays) are needed (cf. 10.3). Studying how the use of second person pronouns from Elizabethan to Restoration (or to the end of the eighteenth century) would be also fruitful.

While THOU is attested in both comedies and tragedies in the eighteenth century, it has fallen out of use in twentieth- and twenty-first-century dramas. Studies on nineteenth-century dramas are needed to reveal the process of the disappearance of THOU in the theatre. Studying nineteenth-century and twentieth-century plays which are set in earlier times, would be of particular interest because the eighteenth-century equivalents show excessive use of THOU to add an archaic style to their text. To take an example, while in *Shore* (1714), which is loosely based on Shakespeare's *Richard*

III, the author used THOU more often than the Bard, Tom Stoppard's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* (1967), a play loosely based on Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, has no occurrence of THOU except in the parts directly taken from *Hamlet*. This might suggest that the use of THOU in dramas set in older times has died out in the intervening two centuries.

Another area to investigate is comparing the data from dramas with novels. Dramas and novels are similar in the sense that they tell stories to others, and printed books of dramas can be read like a novel. Is there any similarity in the use of THOU between these two genres? There is no overall study on the use of THOU in eighteenth-century novels, but there are some pieces of evidence that THOU was still used in eighteenth-century novels in studies on individual authors (e.g. Denison 1999). Nakayama (2015) shows that the use of THOU and *ye* in nineteenth-century novels has some similarities with that in Elizabethan dramas; i.e. to show heightened emotion. Considering that there is at least one instance where THOU is used to mark strong emotion in an eighteenth-century novel *Cecilia*, it is not unlikely that such use of THOU existed in eighteenth-century novels. Adding to that, there are some novelists who also wrote some dramas, such as Henry Fielding. Did they change their style according to the genre? Some studies on *ye* in such genres would also be worthwhile.

Studying the influence of religious texts on the use of THOU and *ye* would also be fruitful. As discussed in Chapter 11, the Authorised Version and other liturgical texts are one of the main factors which developed the use of THOU as grave, archaic language. Biblical usage of THOU is still seen in the twenty-first century, when people want to imitate the style of the Bible, for example '*thou* shalt not do ...'. It would be also worthwhile to investigate how the dramatic, grave THOU and the liturgical THOU

influenced each other.

My study has revealed that the eighteenth-century tragedies were strongly influenced by Shakespeare's style. Adding to that, some dramatists (e.g. Nicholas Rowe and David Garrick) revised Shakespeare while writing their own works. One possible further study on this matter would be to investigate the emendation and correction these dramatists added to their edition of Shakespeare. In the first half of the eighteenth century (and also in the Restoration period), people believed they had the right to 'improve' Shakespeare's text by changing the grammar and words which were solecisms to them. Their emendation of Shakespeare might suggest their notion of what great tragedies should look like.

With regard to the relationship between second person pronouns and address terms, it would be useful to study those in seventeenth-century dramas. If we hypothesise that address terms supplement the loss of THOU, in seventeenth-century plays, in which THOU was used as a living option, the use of address terms might not be so developed. A longitudinal study that explores what happens to address terms as THOU collapses would be valuable to find out this point.

### **12.5. Concluding remarks**

The present study shows that one linguistic factor, THOU, can survive longer in one special register even after it has fallen out of use in Standard English. Highly specialised registers, such as tragedies, are often shunned because they are not considered to reflect how ordinary people speak. However, they can still understand and appreciate the language used in dramas. Adding to that, people have access to archaic or obsolete features by reading other people's writings (what Agha calls

‘speech chain’), for example people in the twenty-first century can use THOU even though it has died out in Standard English centuries ago (Wales 1998). My study has shown that linguistic factors do not die out at one point of history and they can still exist in special registers, sometimes with a totally different meaning from the original.

## Appendix

### Appendix I: The number of words in each text

Table 61: The number of words in each text.

Tragedies				Comedies			
Year	Author	Title	words	Year	Author	Title	words
1703	Rowe	<i>Penitent</i>	17608	1705	Cibber	<i>Careless</i>	29369
1714	Rowe	<i>Shore</i>	16493	1705	Steele	<i>Tender</i>	18597
1719	Young	<i>Busiris</i>	18474	1708	Cibber	<i>Stake</i>	33024
1721	Young	<i>Revenge</i>	18147	1723	Steele	<i>Conscious</i>	26466
1731	Lillo	<i>Merchant</i>	18461	1748	Moore	<i>Foundling</i>	19773
1736	Lillo	<i>Curiosity</i>	10935	1751	Moore	<i>Gil Blas</i>	28160
1756	Home	<i>Douglas</i>	15572	1761	Colman & Garrick	<i>Jealous</i>	28895
1758	Home	<i>Agis</i>	14765	1767	Goldsmith	<i>Good- Nature'd</i>	23031
1772	Murphy	<i>Grecian</i>	16324	1773	Goldsmith	<i>Stoops</i>	23920
1786	Murphy	<i>Sisters</i>	20354	1776	Colman	<i>Clandestine</i>	28825
		Total	167133			Total	26006 0
		Average	16713			Average	26006

## Appendix II: The number of THOU, YOU and *you* (pl.) in the comedies

Table 62: The number of THOU, YOU and *you* (pl.) in the comedies.

Title	THOU	YOU	<i>you</i> (pl.)	You (sg+pl)	THOU to YOU (sg.)	THOU to <i>you</i> (pl. + sg.)	difference of percentages
<i>Careless</i>	44	1090	18	1108	3.8%	3.8%	(0%)
<i>Tender</i>	36	675	23	698	5.1%	4.9%	(0.1%)
<i>Stake</i>	34	1169	30	1199	2.8%	2.8%	(0%)
<i>Conscious</i>	37	881	19	900	4.0%	3.9%	(0.1%)
<i>Foundling</i>	80	595	12	607	11.9%	11.6%	(0.3%)
<i>Gil Blas</i>	1	1121	7	1128	0.1%	0.1%	(0%)
<i>Jealous</i>	6	1187	60	1247	0.5%	0.5%	(0%)
<i>Clandestine</i>	14	950	22	972	1.5%	1.4%	(0.1%)
<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	9	693	11	704	1.3%	1.3%	(0%)
<i>Stoops</i>	4	806	94	900	0.5%	0.4%	(0.1%)
TOTAL	265	9167	296	9463	2.8%	2.7%	(0.1%)



### Appendix III: The list of female characters attending another woman in Shakespearean works

Table 63: The list of female characters attending another woman in Shakespearean works.

Works	Characters
<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>	Charmian, Iras
<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	Luce
<i>Coriolanus</i>	gentlewoman
<i>Cymbeline</i>	Lady
<i>Henry V</i>	Alice
<i>Henry VIII</i>	Anne Bullen, Patience
<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	Lady Rosaline, Lady Maria, Lady Katharine, Boyet
<i>Macbeth</i>	gentlewoman
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Nerissa
<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>	Margaret, Ursula
<i>Othello</i>	Emilia
<i>Pericles</i>	Lychorida
<i>Richard II</i>	Lady (attending on the Queen)
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	nurse
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	Maria
<i>Two Gentlemen in Verona</i>	Lucetta
<i>Winter's Tale</i>	Emilia, Paulina

## Appendix IV: The frequency of types of address terms

Table 64: The frequency of each type of address terms per 1,000 words in the tragedies.

	Honorifics	Title + name	Endear- ment	Kinship	Shortened FN	FN	SN	Greek name	Familiar iser	Generic	Occupati onal	Abusive	Others	Superna tural
<i>Penitent</i>	0.12	0.00	0.86	0.61	0.00	1.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.49	0.06	0.37
<i>Shore</i>	1.23	0.19	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.65	0.00	0.13	0.13	0.06	0.84	0.39	0.45
<i>Busiris</i>	1.44	0.00	0.23	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.10	0.17	0.46	0.12	0.40	0.17	0.17
<i>Revenge</i>	2.56	0.23	0.52	0.06	0.00	1.57	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.29	0.00	0.06	0.47	0.52
<i>Merchant</i>	1.93	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.57	0.00	0.34	0.45	0.00	0.40	0.06	0.00
<i>Curiosity</i>	1.14	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.00	1.33	0.86	0.00	0.19	0.38	0.00	0.19	0.10	0.00
<i>Douglas</i>	1.79	0.21	0.00	0.76	0.00	0.48	0.97	0.00	0.00	0.48	0.00	0.07	0.28	0.00
<i>Agis</i>	0.51	0.00	0.29	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.50	0.29	0.07	0.29	0.44	0.15	0.00
<i>Grecian</i>	0.92	0.00	0.33	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.76	0.13	0.79	0.00	0.59	0.26	0.79
<i>Sisters</i>	2.39	0.21	0.05	0.16	0.00	0.42	0.00	0.73	0.21	0.10	0.00	0.16	0.05	0.42

Table 65: The frequency of each type of address terms per 1,000 words in the comedies.

	Honorifics	Title + name	Endearment	Kinship	Shortened FN	FN	SN	Greek name	Familiariser	Generic	Occupational	Abusive	Others	Supernatural
<i>Careless</i>	10.06	1.91	2.67	0.00	0.00	1.15	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.54	0.00	0.32	0.07	0.18
<i>Tender</i>	7.26	3.74	0.59	3.22	1.52	0.06	0.76	0.00	0.12	0.23	0.41	1.46	0.29	0.00
<i>Stake</i>	9.52	1.10	1.20	0.38	0.03	0.09	0.06	0.00	0.13	0.79	0.00	0.28	0.13	0.22
<i>Conscious</i>	4.84	0.79	0.04	0.35	0.24	0.59	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.04	0.51	0.04	0.00
<i>Foundling</i>	14.22	2.63	1.17	0.00	0.00	7.08	0.76	0.00	0.00	2.93	1.52	0.82	0.06	0.00
<i>Gil Blas</i>	20.48	1.56	0.11	0.07	0.00	1.60	1.48	0.00	0.04	0.85	0.19	0.85	0.04	0.11
<i>Jealous</i>	10.99	2.41	1.57	1.28	0.26	2.12	0.04	0.00	0.04	0.80	1.09	0.58	0.00	0.00
<i>Clandestine</i>	14.15	5.26	0.59	2.13	0.73	1.81	2.54	0.00	0.05	0.73	0.54	0.36	0.14	0.00
<i>Good-Natur'd</i>	12.89	1.53	0.99	0.09	0.00	1.94	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.41	0.09	0.59	0.14	0.00
<i>Stoops</i>	6.95	1.21	1.07	0.88	1.07	1.58	0.44	0.00	0.29	1.25	0.07	0.48	0.07	0.04

## Appendix V: Address terms which co-occur with THOU in the comedies

Table 66: Address terms which co-occur with THOU and YOU in the comedies.

Category	Term	<i>Care.</i>		<i>Tend.</i>		<i>Stak.</i>		<i>Cons.</i>		<i>Foun.</i>		<i>Jeal.</i>		<i>Clan.</i>		<i>Good.</i>		<i>Stoo.</i>	
		T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y	T	Y
Title + name	Mon.+SN													1	0				
	Sir+FN	1	18																
	Sir+full name															1	0		
Endearment	dear	1	44			1	16					1	30					1	24
	love	1	0			1	0					2	7						
	nightingale									1	0								
	sweetness	1	0																
kinship	cousin			1	8														
shortened FN	shortened FN			3	2			1	5					1	8				
FN	FN	8	8					4	10	6	47								
SN	SN			3	7					1	8			2	34				
Generic	boy									3	0								
	child									1	11								
	creature	1	2											1	0				
	girl																	1	1
	one			1	0														

	woman																1	0
Abusive	bully								1	0								
	fool	1	0															
	fop				1	0												
	monster			1	0													
	rascal				1	0			1	2								
	rogue			1	1													
	savage			1	1													
	wretch					2	0											
Others	forrester			1	0													
	innocent							1	0									
	piece of wild nature					1	0											
	worthiest																1	0
Supernatural	assurance					1	0											
	cordial					1	0											
	Fortune									1	0							
	liquid					1	0											
	pretence					1	0											
	reflection																	
	virtue	1	0					1	0									

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- [AF] Fielding, Henry. 1734. *The Author's Farce*.
- [Agis] Home, John. 1758. *Agis*.
- [Beggar] Gay, John. 1728. *The Beggar's Opera*.
- [Busiris] Young, Edward. 1719. *Busiris*.
- [Careless] Cibber, Colley. 1704. *The Careless Husband*.
- [Clandestine] Colman, George Elder and Garrick, David. 1766. *Clandestine Marriage*.
- [Conscious] Steele, Richard. 1723. *The Conscious Lovers*.
- [Covent] Fielding, Henry. 1732. *The Covent-Garden Tragedy*.
- [Curiosity] Lillo, George. 1736. *The Fatal Curiosity*.
- [Douglas] Home, John. 1756. *Douglas*.
- [Foundling] Moore, Edward. 1748. *The Foundling*.
- [Gil Blas] Moore, Edward. 1751. *Gil Blas*.
- [Good-Natur'd] Goldsmith, Oliver. 1767. *The Good-Natur'd Man*.
- [Grecian] Murphy, Arthur. 1772. *The Grecian Daughter*.
- [Jealous] Colman, George Elder. 1761. *The Jealous Wife*.
- [Merchant] Lillo, George. 1731. *The London Merchant*.
- [Modern] Fielding, Henry. 1732. *The Modern Husband*.
- [Penitent] Rowe, Nicholas. 1706. *The Fair Penitent*.
- [Revenge] Young, Edward 1721. *The Revenge*.
- [Shore] Rowe, Nicholas. 1714. *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*.
- [Sisters] Murphy, Arthur. 1786. *The Rival Sisters*.
- [Stake] Cibber, Colley. 1707. *The Lady's Last Stake*.
- [Stoops] Goldsmith, Oliver. 1773. *She Stoops to Conquer*.
- [Tender] Steele, Richard. 1705. *The Tender Husband*.
- [TT] Fielding, Henry. 1737. *The Tragedy of Tragedies; or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great*.

### Secondary Sources

- Aaron, Jessi Elena. 2009. 'Coming Back to Life: From Indicator to Stereotype and a Strange Story of Frequency.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 13.4: 472-498.
- Adair, Anya. 2016. 'Swift, Satire and Second-Person Pronoun.' *The Review of English*

- Studies*, New Series 67 (278): 103-121.
- Adamson, Silvia. 1993. 'Varieties, Stereotypes, Satire – and Shakespeare.' *Aspects of English as a World Language*. Ed. Yoshihiko Ikegami and Masanori Toyota. Tokyo: Maruzen, 225-245.
- Agha, Asif. 2003. 'The Social Life of Cultural Value.' *Language & Communication* 23: 231-273.
- Agha, Asif. 2004. 'Registers of Language.' *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Ed. Alessandro Duranti. Oxford: Blackwell, 23-45.
- Baker, Sheridan. 1964. 'The Idea of Romance in the Eighteenth-Century Novel.' *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 49: 507–522.
- Baldick, Chris. 2008. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Online edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
<[http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res\\_ver=0.2&res\\_id=xri:lion&rft\\_id=xri:lion:ft:ref:R04453783:0&rft.accountid=13828](http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:lion&rft_id=xri:lion:ft:ref:R04453783:0&rft.accountid=13828)> Accessed 18 Sep 2016.
- Barber, Charles. 1976. *Early Modern English*. London: André Deutsch; new ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.
- Barber, Charles. 1981. "'You" and "Thou" in Shakespeare's *Richard III*.' *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series 12: 273-289.
- Barber, Charles. 1997. *Early Modern English*. New ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Barnhart, Robert K. and Sol Steinmetz (eds.). 1998. *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*. New York: H. W. Wilson.
- Baugh, Albert C. and Thomas Cable. 1993. *A History of the English Language*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Routledge.
- Beal, Joan C. 2004. *English in Modern Times: 1700-1945*. London: Arnold.
- Beal, Joan C. 2009. 'Enregisterment, Commodification and Historical Context: "Geordie" versus "Sheffieldish".' *American Speech* 84.2: 138-156.
- Beal, Joan C. 2010. *An Introduction to Regional Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bell, Allan and Andy Gibson. 2011. 'Staging Language: An Introduction to the Sociolinguistics of Performance.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15.5: 555-572.
- Bennett, Joe. 2012. "'And What Comes out May Be a Kind of Screeching": The Stylisation of Chavspeak in Contemporary Britain.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16.1: 5-27.
- Berkenhout, John. 1777. *Biographia Literaria; or, a Biographical History of*

- Literature: Containing the Lives of English, Scottish, and Irish Authors, from the Dawn of Letters in these Kingdoms, to the present Time, Chronologically and Classically arranged. Vol. 1. From the Beginning of the Fifth to the End of the Sixteenth Century.* Rpt. '252. John Berkenhout, Shakespeare defended from Voltaire.' *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage. Volume 6: 1774-1801.* Ed. Brian Vickers. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981. 156-159.
- Besterman, Theodore (ed.). 1965. *Voltaire on Shakespeare.* Geneve: Institut et Musee Voltaire les Delices.
- Bevis, R. W. 1988. *English Drama: Restoration and Eighteenth Century, 1660-1789.* London: Longman.
- Blake, Norman F. 2002. *A Grammar of Shakespeare's Language.* New York: Palgrave.
- Branam, George C. 1956. *Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The Comment Clause in English: Syntactic Origins and Pragmatic Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brittain, Lewis. 1788. *Rudiments of English grammar by Lewis Brittain Regent of Bornhem College.* Louvain: printed by L.J. Urban, M.DCC.LXXXVIII. [1788]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 31 Aug 2015.
- Brook, Stella. 1968. *The Language of the Book of the Common Prayer.* London: Deutsch.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman. 1960. 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity'. *Style in Language.* Ed. Thomas A. Sebeok. New York and London: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Willey and Sons, Inc., 235-276.
- Brown, Roger and Albert Gilman. 1989. 'Politeness Theory and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies.' *Language in Society* 18.2: 159-212.
- Bruti, Sylvia. 2000. 'Address Pronouns in Shakespeare's English.' *The History of English in a Social Context: A Contribution to Historical Sociolinguistics.* Ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 25-51.
- Burney, Fanny. 1782. *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress.* Rpt. Ed. Peter Sabor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Burnley, D. 1983. *A Guide to Chaucer's Language.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.



- Burnley, D., 2003. 'The T/V Pronouns in Later Middle English Literature.' *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*. Ed. Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 27-45.
- Busse, Beatrix 2006. *Vocative Constructions in the Language of Shakespeare*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Busse, Ulrich. 2002. *Linguistic Variation in the Shakespeare Corpus: Morpho-Syntactic Variability of Second Person Pronouns*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Busse, Ulrich. 2003. 'The Co-occurrence of Nominal and Pronominal Address Forms in the Shakespeare Corpus: Who Says *Thou* or *You* to Whom?' *Diachronic Perspectives in Address Term Systems*. Ed. Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 192-221.
- Byrne, Sister St. Geraldine. 1936. *Shakespeare's Use of the Pronoun of Address; Its Significance in Characterization and Motivation*. Washington: Catholic University of America.
- Campbell, Gordon. 2011. *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611-2011*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chapman, Don. 2008. "'You Belly-guilty Bag': Insulting Epithets in Old English.' *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 9.1: 1-19.
- Child, Harold. 1966. 'Shakespeare in the Theatre from the Restoration to the Present time.' *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*. Ed. Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 325-346.
- Christie, Agatha. 1944. *Absent in the Spring*. Rpt. London: Harper Collins, 1997.
- Cibber, Colley. 1742. *A Letter from Mr. Cibber, to Mr. Pope, Inquiring into the Motives That Might Induce him in his Satyrical Works to Be So Frequently Fond of Mr. Cibber's Name*. Glasgow: printed for W. Macpharson. Eighteenth Century Collection Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 14 Nov 2016.
- Clark, John W. 1975. *The Language and Style of Anthony Trollope*. London: André Deutsch.
- Coates, Jennifer. 1993. *Women, Men and Language: A Sociolinguistic Account of Gender Differences in Language*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Longman.
- Cooper, Paul S. 2013. 'Enregisterment in Historical Contexts: A Framework'. PhD thesis. University of Sheffield.
- Coulthand, Malcolm. 2004. 'Author Identification, Idiolect, and Linguistic Uniqueness.' *Applied Linguistics* 25 (4): 431-447.
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style: Language Variation and Identity*. Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press.
- Crowell, T. L. Jr. 1949. 'Ye Olde Englysse "Ye".' *American Speech* 24.2: 115-119.
- Cuddon, J. A. and Preston, C. E. 1998. *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Blackwell.
- Culpeper, Jonathan. 1996. 'Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 25: 349-367.
- Culpeper, Jonathan, and Dawn Archer. 2008. 'Requests and Directness in Early Modern English Trail Proceedings and Play Texts, 1640-1760.' *Speech Acts in the History of English*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 46-84.
- Culpeper, Jonathan & Kytö, Merja. 2000. 'Data in Historical Pragmatics: Spoken Interaction (Re)Cast as Writing.' *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1(2): 175-99.
- Curme, George O. 1931. *Syntax*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company.
- Dennis, J. 1720. *The Invader of his country: or, the fatal resentment. A tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. By His Majesty's servants. By Mr. Dennis*. London: printed for J. Pemberton, and J. Watts: and sold by J. Brotherton and W. Meadows; T. Jauncy [and 3 others in London]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 31 Aug 2015.
- de Saussure. 1729. *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*. Rpt. Madame van Muyden (ed.) 1902. London: J. Murray.
- ECCO-TCP = Eighteenth Century Collections Online Text Creation Partnership.  
<<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/>> Accessed 07/08/2014.
- Eger, Elizabeth. 2003. "'Out rushed a female to protect the Bard": The Bluestocking Defence of Shakespeare.' *Reconsidering the Bluestockings*. Ed. Nicole Pohl and Betty A. Schellenberg. San Marino: Huntington Library, 127-151.
- Engetsu, Yuko. 1998. 'Warau sakusha wo warau shougeki – *Sakusha no Shougeki ni kansuru ichi kousatsu*—.' [The farce mocking the mocking author: A study of *The Author's Farce*.] *Doshisha Studies in English* 69: 1-23.
- Evans, Mel. 2011. 'Aspects of the Idiolect of Queen Elizabeth I: A Diachronic Study on Sociolinguistic Principles.' PhD thesis. University of Sheffield.
- Farroe, Daniel. 1771. *The royal universal British grammar and vocabulary. Being a digestion of the entire English language into its proper parts of speech. Compiled and calculated for equal Ease, both for the Master and Scholar. In a Method entirely New. In which An exact Parallel is observed between the Names, Qualities, and Affirmations, according to Being, Doing, and Suffering, in the English or modern British Language, and the Declensions of the Nouns, both Substantive and*

*Adjective; the Pronouns and Conjugations of Verbs in the Latin and other Languages; the Regular Words of each Part of Speech are distinctly separated from the Irregular; and Plain, and Concise Rules are given precedent to the full and entire Scope of Examples. The whole being delivered In the most approv'd and entertaining Manner; viz. by proper Queries and Answers. In this work the Etymology of the English Language is illustrated, and rendered very facile; the various Acceptations of the same Word are carefully distinguished; the proper Accents accurately marked; and Children may be taught the Formation of more than Ten Thousand Sentences, by marginal Insertions, apposed to that Part of Speech term'd Qualities; which have not increased the Volume two Pages. By D. Farro, S. M. London: printed for the author, in Red-Lion-Court, Watling Street; J. Hodges, at the Looking-Glass on London-Bridge; R. Baldwin, at the Rose in Pater-Noster Row; and other Booksellers in Town and Country, M.DCC.LIV. [1754]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online.*

<<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 31 Aug 2015.

- Fielding, Henry. 1741. *An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*. rpt. *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*. Ed. Thomas Keymer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. 305-373.
- Freedman, Penelope. 2007. *Power and Passion in Shakespeare's Pronoun*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Goffman, Erving. 1967. *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- Gray, Thomas. 1742. 'From a Letter to West, 4 April 1742'. Rpt. '93. Thomas Gray, Shakespeare's language.' *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage. Volume 3: 1733-1752*. Ed. Brian Vickers. London: Routledge, 1975. 109-110.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Harberson, W. P. 1921. *The Elizabethan Influence on the Tragedy of the Late Eighteenth and the Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Lancaster: Wickersham Printing Company.
- Hartnoll, Phyllis (ed.). 1983. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins-Dady, Mark (ed.). 1994. *International Dictionary of Theatre. Vol.2, Playwrights*. Detroit & London: St. James Press.
- Hickey, Raymond. 2002. 'Rectifying a Standard Deficiency: Second-Person Pronominal Distinction in Varieties of English.' *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*. Ed. Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam;

- Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 343-374.
- Hogg, Richard M. 1992. 'Phonology and Morphology.' *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Vol. I: The Beginning to 1066*. Ed. Richard M. Hogg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 67-167.
- Holmes, Janet. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. London: Longman.
- Hope, Jonathan. 1993. 'Second Person Singular Pronouns in Records of Early Modern "spoken" English.' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 94.1: 83-100.
- Hope, Jonathan. 1994. 'The Use of THOU and YOU in Early Modern Spoken English: Evidence from Depositions in the Durham Ecclesiastical Court Records.' *Studies in Early Modern English*. Ed. Dieter Kastovsky. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 141-151.
- Hornsey, John. 1793. *A short English grammar in two parts: simplified to the capacities of children: with notes, and a great variety of exercises upon a plan entirely new. To which are added, Rules, Illustrated with Examples, For the Structure, Precision, and Unity of Sentences, by Way of Conclusion. Together with Tables of Initial, Significant Letters, and Usual Abbreviations. By John Hornsey, Schoolmaster, Scarborough, Author of the Tables, entitled an "introduction to Arithmetic"*. York: printed for the author by Wilson, Spence, and Mawman. Sold by G.G.J. and J. Robinson, London; Swinney and Walker, Birmingham; Binns, Leeds; Wilson & Co. and Tesseyman, York; by the author at Scarbro', and by all the booksellers in the county of York. Anno, [1793]. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 31 Aug. 2015.
- Jacobs, Andreas and Andreas H. Jucker. 1995. 'The Historical Perspective in Pragmatics.' *Historical Pragmatics. Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 3-36.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1909-49. *A Modern English Grammar: on Historical Principles*. 7 vols. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. rpt. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1954-61.
- Johnson, Anne C. 1966. 'The Pronoun of Direct Address in Seventeenth-century English.' *American Speech* 41: 261-269
- Johnstone, Barbara, Jennifer Andrus and Andrew E. Danielson. 2006. 'Mobility, Indexicality and the Enregisterment of "Pittsburghese".' *Journal of English Linguistics* 34.2: 77-104.
- Jucker, Andreas H., and Irma Taavitsainen. 2000. 'Diachronic Speech Act Analysis: Insults from Fyting to Flaming.' *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1: 67-95.
- Kerridge, Maggie. 2014. 'A Stylistic Analysis of the Pragmatics of *Thou* in Early

- Modern English Dialogues.’ MPhil thesis. University of Sussex.
- Kopytko, Roman. 1995. ‘Linguistic Politeness Strategies in Shakespeare’s Plays’. *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 515-540.
- Kytö, Merja and Terry Walker. 2006. *Guide to A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*. Stockholm: Elanders Gotab.
- Lass, Roger. 1999. ‘Phonology and Morphology.’ *The Cambridge History of the English Language volume III: 1476-1776*. Ed. Roger Lass. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 56-186.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1999. ‘The Distribution and Function of Vocatives in American and British English Conversation.’ *Out of Corpora: Studies in Honour of Stig Johansson*. Ed. Hilde Hasselgård and Signe Oksefjell. Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi, 107-118.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. and Michael H. Short. 1981. *Style in Fiction*. London: Longman.
- Llamas, Carmen, Louise Mullany and Peter Stockwell. 2006. *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Lowth, Robert. 1762. *A short introduction to English grammar: with critical notes*. London: printed by J. Hughs; for A. Millar in the Strand; and R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. Accessed 31 Aug. 2015.
- Malone, Edmond. 1790. *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, in Ten Volumes; Collated Verbatim with the Most Authentick Copies, and Revised: With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to Which Are Added, an Essay on the Chronological Order of His Plays; an Essay Relative to Shakspeare and Jonson; a Dissertation on the Three Parts Of King Henry VI.; an Historical Account of the English Stage; And Notes; by Edmond Malone*. London : printed by H. Baldwin, for J. Rivington and Sons, L. Davis, B. White and Son, T. Longman, B. Law, H. S. Woodfall, C. Dilly, J. Robson, J. Johnson, T. Vernor, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, T. Cadell, J. Murray, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, J. Sewell, J. Nichols, J. Bew, T. Payne, jun. S. Hayes, R. Faulder, W. Lowndes, G. and T. Wilkie, Scatcherd and Whitaker, T. and J. Egerton, C. Stalker, J. Barker, J. Edwards, Ogilvie and Speare, J. Cuthell, J. Lackington, and E. Newbery. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 14th Dec 2016.
- Mazzon, Gabriella. 2000. ‘Social Relations and Forms of Address in the Canterbury Tales.’ *The History of English in a Social Context: A Contribution to Historical Sociolinguistics*, Ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger. Berlin: Mouton de

- Gruyter, 135-168.
- Mazzon, Gabriella. 2003. 'Pronouns and Nominal Address in Shakespearean English: A Socio-affective Marking System in Transition.' *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 223-249.
- McBurney, William H. (ed.) 1965. *George Lillo. The London Merchant*. London: Edward Arnold.
- McIntosh, Carey. 1986. *Common and Courtly Language*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- McIntosh, Carey. 1994. 'Prestige Norms in Stage Plays, 1600-1800.' *Towards a Standard English 1600-1800*. Ed. Dieter Stein and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 63-80.
- McIntosh, Carey. 1998. *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKnight, George M. 1968. *The Evolution of the English Language: From Chaucer to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Dover Publications. (Original work published 1928)
- Mitchell, Eleanor Rettig. 1971. *Pronouns of Address in English, 1580-1780: A Study of Form Changes as Reflected in British Drama*. PhD thesis, Texas Agricultural and Mining University. Ann Arbor, UMI.
- Montagu, Elizabeth. 1769. *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare, Compared with the Greek and French Dramatic Poets, with Some Remarks Upon the Misrepresentations of Mons. De Voltaire*. Rpt. '221. Elizabeth Montagu, Shakespeare's genius.' *The Critical Heritage. Volume 5: 1765-1774*. Ed. Vickers, Brian. London: Routledge, 1979. 328-343.
- Mulholland, J. 1987. "'Thou" and "You" in Shakespeare: A Study in the Second Person Pronoun.' *A Reader in the Language of Shakespearean Drama*. Ed. Vivian Salmon and Edwina Burness. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 153-162.
- Nakayama, Masami. 2014. 'The Complex Behavior of the Second Person Pronoun *ye* in 19<sup>th</sup>-century English Novels.' *Studies in English Literature* 55: 95-115.
- Nakayama, Masami. 2015. 'Grammatical Variation of Pronouns in Nineteenth-century English Novels.' PhD Thesis, University of Tokyo.
- Nettleton, George H. 1939. *British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan*. London: George G. Harrap and Co.
- Nevala, Minna. 2002. 'Family First: Address and Subscription Formulae in English Family Correspondence from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century.'

- Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*. Ed. Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 147-176.
- Nevala, Minna. 2004a. 'Accessing Politeness Axes: Forms of Address and Terms of Reference in Early English Correspondence.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 36.12: 2125-2160.
- Nevala, Minna. 2004b. 'Inside and Out: Forms of Address in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Letters.' *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5.2: 271-296.
- Nevalainen, Terttu. 2006. *An Introduction to Early Modern English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Nevalainen, Terttu and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 1995. 'Constraints on Politeness: The Pragmatic of Address Formulae in Early English Correspondence: Diachronic Function-to-Form Mapping'. *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 541-601.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. 1925. *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama 1700-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. 1927. *A History of Late Eighteenth Century Drama 1750-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. 1952. *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900. Volume 1: Restoration Drama, 1660-1700*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nonomiya, Ayumi. 2008. 'Imperative Sentences in the Eighteenth-century Novel.' MA thesis. University of Tokyo.
- Nonomiya, Ayumi. 2011. 'Imperative Sentences in Ten Eighteenth-century English Comedies.' *Studies in Modern English* 27.
- Nonomiya, Ayumi. 2013. 'What Happens When a Word Is Falling out of Use? A Case Study on THOU and YOU in Henry Fielding's Plays.' *Track Changes* 4, 39-56.
- Nonomiya, Ayumi. 2014. 'THOU and YOU in Eighteenth-century English Plays.' *Token* 3: 211-234.
- OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2014. <<http://dictionary.oed.com/>> Accessed 5 August 2014.
- Open Source Shakespeare*. <<http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/>> Accessed 25 Aug 2015.
- Pedicord, Harry William. 1975. 'Introduction.' *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*. By Rowe, Nicholas. Ed. Pedicord, Harry William. London: Arnold, pp. xiii-xxvii.
- Petyt, K. M. 1974. "'Thou" and "you" in *Wuthering Heights*.' *Brontë Society Transactions* 16: 291-293.

- Phillips, Kenneth C. 1970. *Jane Austen's English*. London: Andre Deutsch.
- Pope, Alexander. 1728. *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books. Written by Mr. Pope*. London: printed, and Dublin re-printed by and for G. Faulkner, J. Hoey, J. Leathley, E. Hamilton, P. Crampton, and T. Benson. Eighteenth Century Collections Online. <<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>> Accessed 14 Nov 2016.
- Quirk, Randolph, 1964. 'English Language and the Structural Approach'. *The Teaching of English*. Ed. Randolph Quirk and A. H. Smith. London: Oxford University Press, 6-35.
- Replogle, Carol. 1973. 'Shakespeare's Salutations: A Study in Stylistic Etiquette.' rpt. *A Reader in the Language of Shakespearean Drama*. Ed. Vivian Salmon and Edwina Burness. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1987, 101-115.
- Ronberg, Gert. 1992. *A Way with Words: The Language of English Renaissance Literature*. London: Arnold.
- Seary, Peter. 1990. *Lewis Theobald and the Editing of Shakespeare*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sherburn, G. and Donald F. Bond. 1967. *The Literary History of the England. Vol. III. The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century, 1660-1789*. London: Routledge.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley. *The Rivals. 1775. The School for Scandal and Other Plays*. Ed. Michael Corder. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998. 1-86.
- Shiina, Michi. 2003. 'How Spouses Used to Address Each Other: A Historical Pragmatic Approach to the Use of Vocatives in Early Modern English Comedies.' *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters, Hosei University* 48: 51-73.
- Shiina, Michi. 2005a. 'The Use of Vocatives in Early modern English Gentry Comedies: A Corpus-based Approach.' PhD thesis. Lancaster University.
- Shiina, Michi. 2005b. 'How Playwrights Construct Their Dramatic Worlds: A Corpus-based Study of Vocatives in Early Modern English Comedies.' *The Writer's Craft, the Culture's Technology*. Ed. Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Michael Toolan. Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi, 209-224.
- Shiina, Michi. 2007a. 'Positioning and Functioning of Vocatives: Casework in Historical Pragmatics (1).' *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters, Hosei University* 55: 17-32.
- Shiina, Michi. 2007b. 'Positioning and Functioning of Vocatives: A Case Study in Historical Pragmatics (2).' *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters, Hosei University* 56: 29-48.
- Shiina, Michi. 2014. 'Shoki kindai eigo ki no houtei gengo no tokuchou—"torishirabe" ni okeru "yobikakego" no shiyō to kinou.' [Characteristics of courtroom



- language in Early Modern English: The use and functions of “address terms” in “interrogations”.] *Rekishi goyouron no sekai: Bumpouka, Taiguu Hyougen, Hatsuwa Koui*. [Horizons of Historical Pragmatics: Grammaticalization, Politeness and Speech Act] Ed. Satoshi Kinsui, Hirouki Hkada and Michi Shiina. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo, 77-104.
- Shimonomoto, Keiko. 2001. *The Language of Politeness in Chaucer: An Analysis of the Use of Linguistic Features Reflecting Social and Interpersonal Relationships*. Gifu-shi: K. Shimonomoto.
- Short, Mick. 1996. *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. London: Longman.
- Short, Mick. 1998. ‘From Dramatic Text to Dramatic Performance.’ *Exploring the Language of Drama*. Ed. Jonathan Culpeper, Mick Short and Peter Verdonk. London: Routledge, 6-18.
- Squires, Lauren. 2010. ‘Enregistering Internet Language’. *Language in Society* 39: 457-492.
- Stein, Dieter. 2003. ‘Pronominal Usage in Shakespeare: Between Sociolinguistics and Conversation Analysis’. *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*. Ed. Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 251-307.
- Stoppard, Tom. 1967. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Strang, Barbara 1970. *A History of English*. London: Methuen.
- Sundby, Bertil, Anne Kari Bjørge and Kari E. Haugland. 1991. *A Dictionary of English Normative Grammar 1700-1800*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Taavitsainen, Irma. 1995. ‘Interjections in Early Modern English: From Imitation of Spoken to Conventions of Written Language.’ *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. ed. Andreas H. Jucker. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 439-465.
- Taylor, W. D. and Simon Trussler. 1969. *Eighteenth Century Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, Jenny. 1995. *Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Thomson, Peter. 2006. *The Cambridge Introduction to English Theatre 1660-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid. 1994. ‘Standard and Non-standard Pronominal Usage in English, with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century.’ *Towards a*

- standard English 1600-1800*. ed. Dieter Stein and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 217-242.
- Tomihara, Yuji. 2006. 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* ni okeru hi syakaiteki *thou* no youhou.' [The usage of non-social *thou* in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*] *Nidaba* 35: 135-144.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1983. 'Acts of Conflicting Identity. The Sociolinguistics of British Pop-song Pronunciation'. In *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives*. Ed. Peter Trudgill. Oxford: Blackwell, 141-160.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1990. *The Dialect of England*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2000. *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Penguin Books.
- Vickers, Brian. (ed.) 1979. *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage. Volume 5: 1765-1774*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Vickers, Brian. (ed.) 1981. *Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage. Volume 6: 1774-1801*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Voltaire. 1733. *Letters concerning the English nation*. London: Printed for C. Davis in Pater-Noster-Row, and A. Lyon in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden.
- Wakimoto, Kyoko. 1996. 'Sheridan no *The Rivals* no gengo ni kansuru ichi kousatsu —kasou kaikyū no gengo wo chushin to shite—. ' [A discussion on the language of Sheridan's *The Rivals*; focussing on the language of the lower class.] *Eigo Eibei Bungaku Ronshū* 5: 123-134.
- Wakimoto, Kyoko. 2004. 'How Did They Call Each Other?: Speaking Names and Terms of Endearment/Abuse in Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*.' *Bulletin of Faculty of Education, Okayama University* 126: 137-147.
- Wales, Katie. 1996. *Personal Pronouns in Present-Day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, Terry. 2007. *Thou and You in Early Modern English Dialogues*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wood, Nigel (ed.). 2007. *She Stoops to Conquer and Other Comedies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.