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XXXV CICLO

***EARLY MODERN ENGLISH TRIALS:
PRAGMATIC INFLUENCES ON THOU AND YOU***

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1. Abstract

The present dissertation illustrates the design, and analyses the *Corpus of Early Modern English Trials* (1650-1750), henceforth *EMET*, a highly specialized historical corpus of trial proceedings. The main purpose of the creation of the above-mentioned corpus is to shed light on the pragmatic aspects of Early Modern spoken English, since trial proceedings are considered records of authentic dialogues (Culpeper and Kytö 2010:17).

After introducing Early Modern English society and discussing previous research, which deals with a limited amount of data, the phase of the consultation of the archives, the criteria behind the selection of the trials and the technical stages that are necessary to the uploading of a corpus on #LancsBox and its study are illustrated. Then, the *EMET* itself is presented, and a macro (quantitative) and a micro (qualitative) analysis – which take into account both pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors – are carried in order to understand the pragmatic influences on T-forms and Y-forms.

2. Introduction

2.1. Aims and outline of the study

The present dissertation is aimed at the building of a highly-specialized historical corpus of play-like trial proceedings, which could shed light on the spoken language of the years between 1650 and 1700. The *Corpus of Early Modern English Trials 1650-1700* was specifically built to investigate the pragmatic influences on the second person singular pronoun, which coexisted in two forms *thou* and *you* (the research has been expanded to any form used in the Restoration: *thou, thee, prithee, prethee, prethy, pray thee, thy, thy self, thyself, thine, you, ye, your, your self, yourself, yours* and *pray you*). While the quantitative analysis (*i.e.*, macro analysis) focused on any form, the qualitative one (*i.e.*, micro analysis) focused only on non-formulaic T-forms, since Y-forms in the *EMET* are around 38 000 and formulaic T-forms could falsify the results.

According to previous studies, the period between 1650 and 1700 is particularly interesting since these decades see the decline and disappearance of T-forms from the standard language (Barber 1976; Walker 2003, van Dorst 2019). Furthermore, previous research has already highlighted the importance of extra-linguistic factors in the choice of the pronoun; however, no quantitative studies of this breadth have ever been carried; indeed, most studies focus only on small corpora, collecting and analyzing a limited amount of data.

The overarching hypothesis of the present dissertation is that both (im)politeness and sociolinguistic factors can play a role in the choice of the pronoun; more specifically, the four social variables delineated by Brown and Levinson (1987:74), and implemented by Culpeper (1996; 2011) and Del Villano (2018) [social distance (D), relative power (P), ranking of imposition (R) and reflexivity (RF)], will be considered as well as sociolinguistic factors (sex, age, rank, kinship and place of birth). Such hypothesis was formulated starting from the results of previous research, which focused mainly on (Shakespearian) plays, letters, trials, depositions and historical grammars; such studies distinguish between marked and unmarked pronoun usage, find evidence of the influence of sociolinguistic factors and/or (im)politeness on pronoun choice, highlight the influence

of the linguistic context, see the pronoun forms almost as interchangeable, or find evidence of two, or more, of the above-mentioned influence factors. Thus, it can be affirmed that scholars still have not completely shed light on the matter (see Chapter 4, which discusses the state of the art).

After presenting the study, an introduction of Early Modern English society is made in order to give more context to the research; in such introduction (Chapter 3), the importance of social mobility and the role of books aimed at indicating how to be the perfect courtier are discussed. Chapter 4 presents previous research in order of publication and, then, it discusses it critically. Chapter 5, instead, is dedicated to the building of the corpus. Firstly, the phase of archive selection and consultation is discussed; then, the first phase of editing is presented. Subsequently, the need to normalize the documents is explained, the whole normalization process and the second phase of editing are shown. Later, the possibility to add linguistic and sociopragmatic annotation is considered. Furthermore, the publication of trials is discussed: their role as entertainment is explored, the influence of the scribe on the language is considered, the reliability of Early Modern (written) trials as examples of spoken language is questioned, and particularly similar corpora and studies are presented (Culpeper and Kytö 2005; Culpeper and Kytö 2014; Walker 2007).

In Chapter 6 both a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the data is offered. The latter considers the following groups of T-forms: 1) *thou* and *thee*, 2) *pray thee*, *prethee*, *prithy* and *prithee*, 3) *thy* (excluding *thy self*), and 4) *thy self*.

Chapter 7, instead, is dedicated to conclusions and suggestions for further research. More specifically, the final chapter discusses the results of the research and provides and examines quantitative data concerning the factors of influence in the selection of the T-forms. Detailed tables about the quantitative data presented in the closing remarks can be found in the appendix.

2.2. Research fields

The present dissertation embraces many fields: historical pragmatics, corpus linguistics, corpus pragmatics and, more specifically, (diachronic) corpus pragmatics. As the present paragraph will underline, such fields overlap and merge.

Historical pragmatics is aimed at discovering the communicative patterns of the past; basically, it is a discipline that merges pragmatics and historical linguistics, relying also on the collection of ethnographic data (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013:1-15). While pragmatics studies the language use, focusing on the intentions and the goal of the interactants in a specific context, and is a rather young research field (it originated between 1970s and 1980s), historical linguistics focuses on languages of the past and it is a well-established discipline (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013:2). Surely, pragmatics is strictly bound with sociolinguistics or, maybe, sociolinguistics is also part of pragmatics: indeed, according to sociolinguists, linguistics research should always consider the social context of the interactants (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013:6).

Historical pragmatics clearly benefits from corpus technology and “considerable progress has been made in the compilation, in the search technologies and in particular in the annotation of corpora” (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013:8). These advances are having a major impact on pragmatic research, and especially diachronic research. Studies in historical pragmatics have highlighted that scholars should make “the best use of bad data” (Labov 1994:11): indeed, problems concerning the authenticity of data, noisy texts and lack of information about the interactants¹ are only a few of the major issues that historical research encounters.

Corpus linguistics, after a phase of unpopularity between 1960s and 1970s, has become one of the most interesting linguistic methodologies since it involves only empirical data that scholars can interpret (McEnery and Wilson 2005:2-3). It can be defined as “a whole system of methods and principles” (McEnery, Xiao and Tono

¹ The lack of information about the interactants was the major issue encountered during the drafting of the present dissertation. Fortunately, the roles within the trials (judge, witness and defendant) were helpful for the interpretation of T-forms. Indeed, despite sometimes being the interactants of the same social class, for instance Sir Slingsby and Lord President, it is clear that Lord President has more power within the court because of his institutional role.

2006:7f) since any research based on such methodology needs to deal with corpus design, corpus searching/processing and statistical analysis (Paquot and Gries 2020). Thus, scholars, in order to master corpus linguistics, need to develop expertise in many areas, which were not commonly associated to humanities research. Corpus linguistics has gained more and more popularity since it allows researchers to study extremely large datasets, which could not be searched through manually since a human analyst (or a group of human analysts) would need too much time to do it (McEnery and Hardie 2012:2).

Corpus pragmatics can be defined as the combination of pragmatics and corpus linguistics; usually, it analyses lexical words or constructions that other studies have shown to have a pragmatic function. One of the main tools used in corpus pragmatics is KWIC², which displays the form object of study in concordances. Thanks to such tool, the researcher can analyse the form in its context and exclude “unwanted uses”. Then, they can infer “the range of functions performed by the forms (form-to-function)”³ (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015:9).

Diachronic corpus pragmatics, as the name suggests, is the combination of the three disciplines already discussed: historical linguistics, corpus linguistics and pragmatics. The discipline is rather young and can be defined as the “application of corpus-linguistics methods to research questions in pragmatics applied to historical data” (Taavitsainen, Jucker and Tuominen 2014:3). In other words, the present dissertation can be defined as a study in diachronic corpus pragmatics.

² The acronym stands for “Key Word In Context”.

³ The inverse approach (function-to-form) is also possible (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015:9).

3. An Introduction to Early Modern England

3.1. Early Modern English Society

The present dissertation focuses on trials held around the Restoration period. From a historical political point of view, such period includes the circumstances that permitted and made possible a return to monarchy (*i.e.*, the events and negotiations of 1658-1660 surrounding the return of Charles II). It was a moment of change, dynastic uncertainty and intellectual inquiry (Munns 2000:142), which saw the reopening of church courts, the giving back of sequestered estates, the return of court censorship, “of the House of Lords, of bishops, tithing, the licensing of clergymen, and attempts to legislate religious uniformity” (MacLean 1995/2005:3-4). In other words, it was a return to the past. However, some minor changes concerning a number of aspects of social life occurred: women had gained some freedoms, such as acting, speaking and writing and they could even “be called upon to testify before the newly instituted county committees, often against former social superiors”⁴ (MacLean 2005:12); although during the Restoration women were still subjected to gender codes, some minor changes occurred. Arranged marriages were still the norm but legal tools evolved, “such as the strict settlement marriage contract with provisions for younger children and widows, enhanced patriarchal control while also undermining some of its traditional ability to consolidate power and wealth”⁵ (Munns 2000:144). Furthermore, “[p]ublic theaters were back in business, the publishing trade flourished, often in defiance of government controls, and women continued to write and to publish” (MacLean 2005:5). Religious dissent⁶ and England was continuously growing into a commercial nation, trying to expand itself overseas to reach new markets and obtain new wares and resources, causing – in this way – conflicts with other nations. Indeed, contacts with Africa, Asia and the “New World” were frequent and questions concerning national identity and differences with other

⁴ It should also be highlighted that in 1640s and 1650s, “women from all sides of the political spectrum started to petition Parliament on matters ranging from personal grievances over property settlements to trade regulations, poor relief, and the conduct of criminal trials” (MacLean 2005:13). Such women affirmed their right to discuss public matters and to influence government policy.

⁵ The subordination of women, which was still present, was seen as a social (and not natural) inequality (Munns 2000:144). It should also be taken into account that the concerns about gender, marriage and sexuality clearly emerged in the plots of Restoration drama, and had come to “dominate the dramatic action” (Gill 2000:190-192).

⁶ People still died for their religious beliefs (Munns 2000:154).

people were raised (MacLean 2005:6). It was a period during which persons desired peace and order⁷. The above-described situation, which – as already affirmed – foresees a future marked change in society and culture but, at the same time, a return to the past, can be perfectly summarized by the trend of trying to “improve” Shakespearean works (MacLean 2005:10): the plays of the Bard were indeed adapted in order to analyze the current events of a developing commercial and imperial nation (MacLean 2005:24-27); theatres in general tried to perform plays that “reflected national unease and social alteration” (Munns 2000:142). Furthermore, literature and politics enjoyed a great intimacy; literature sought to shape the opinion of readers by showcasing “the personal lives and policies of national leaders” (MacLean 2005:10) and showed an irreverent attitude toward the authority: print was used “to challenge and even ridicule political leaders” (MacLean 2005:10) and to personally attack the king; this attitude was surely the inheritance of revolution (MacLean 2005:10-11).

Criticisms were often harsh; thus, during the Restoration, the distinction between good and bad manners was clear. For the above-mentioned reasons, the Restoration is the perfect period from a linguistic viewpoint to investigate the contraposition between Y- and T-forms in trials, which were regularly published as a form of entertainment (see 5.5), and constituted an extremely politicized literary genre. Furthermore, as it will be highlighted in the following chapter, a decline of T-forms is to be observed in the period between 1560 and 1720 (Walker 2003:311) and some scholars (among them, Barber 1976:212) affirm that by 1700, T-forms had disappeared from standard English.

3.2. Social mobility and the influence of books

Class distinction in Early Modern England was fundamental; the class structure was extremely hierarchical: “everyone except the king at the top and the manual laborers at the bottom had superiors, inferiors, and equals” (Replogle 1973:173). Indeed, the forms used by each speaker could be determined by the specific rank but also by the position

⁷ Even the literary works of the period reflected such desire, as MacLean (2005:6) highlights:

satire flourished to translate disruptive anger and hostility into either companionable irony and innuendo or partisan indignation, the public theaters reopened (with women actors) to entertain an urban public, poets started writing in heroic couplets that structurally replicated principles of social order and civic harmony, and the novel figuring the rise of the bourgeois self began its problematic emergence as the dominant literary genre.

relative to that of the hearer. Furthermore, among people of the same rank (for instance, among earls), the relative position of a person depended on their offices, their honors, ancestry of their title, wealth, relatives, “the favor he found with the king, and, theoretically, at least, his virtues” (Replogle 1973:173). Restoration society did not differ markedly from the Elizabethan and Jacobean one: indeed, four main status-groups can be identified: 1) Gentlemen, 2) Citizens, 3) Yeomen and 4) Artisans and Labourers (Barber 1987:178). Busse (1998:43) provided a description of Elizabethan society, which – making minor changes – could be valid for Restoration.

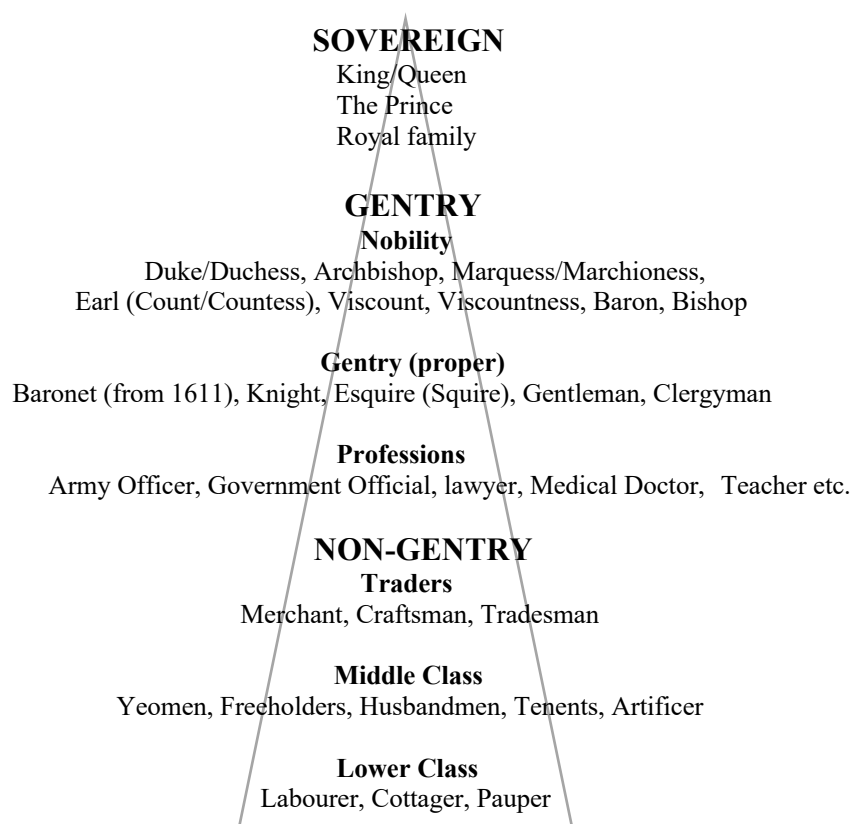


Figure 1: *Adaptation of the table of Busse (1998:43) about social ranks in Tudor and Stuart England to the Restoration period.*

Conservative people were particularly anxious to maintain their status and had “skeptical attitudes with regard to religion, politics, and society” (Munns 2000:155). Moreover, they

particularly disliked the questioning of the traditional authority and doubted that society could change for the better (Munns 2000:155).

The above-described anxiety of conservative people mostly derives from the social mobility that characterized Elizabethan and Jacobean England in general, and more specifically the period between 1540 and 1640. As it is evident from the dates, the period of social mobility begins with the publication or translation of books that indicate how to be the perfect courtier [among them: Thomas Elyot's *The Book named the Governour* (1531), Thomas Hoby's *The Book of the Courtier* (1561), a translation of Baldassarre Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* (1563), the translations of Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* (1558) and of Stefano Guazzo's *La Civil Conversazione* (1574)] (Wales 1983:113; Del Villano 2018:75). Such books were a guide - especially for young men – to enter the “ruling elite”, characterized by an intricate code, which may have been the strategy of aristocrats to avoid social mobility (Wingham 1984): the books were indeed a substantial help since they included great explanation of the “details of dress, of sitting, walking, and bowing, of elegant locution, graceful posture, deference, and self-deprecation” (Brown and Gilman 1989:201). Thus, courtesy was a performative social practice, fundamental to be accepted by the elite. Politeness, indeed, helped to recognize the place of people in society, especial of nobility. The misuse or incapacity to show the appropriate degree of politeness constituted a barrier to enter such elite and caused anxiety in the people struggling to climb the social ladder (Del Villano 2018:73-74). It was from this need that the above-mentioned courtesy books – dedicated to men (Del Villano 2018:75) – originated and became a new genre.

4. Previous research

Nowadays, the pronoun of address in use in English both as singular and plural is “you”; the form “thou”, instead, is common in prayers and naïve poetry. However, in the past, it was used to refer to a single person in certain situations (Brown and Gilman 1960:252). The present dissertation tries to understand which pragmatic factors were implied in the choice of the Y- and T-forms. A great deal of previous research into this field has focused on drama, depositions, trials, letters and handbooks. The next section will try to provide an overview of the above-mentioned researches, organizing them according to the date of publication. In the following one, instead, the results will be critically appraised.

4.1. Diachronic representation of the state of the art

Groundbreaking research concerning (im)politeness that also deals with the influences on the choice of the second person pronoun was conducted by Brown and Gilman, who published “The pronouns of power and solidarity” (1960), where they explore the pronouns use in English, German, Italian and Spanish; focusing on plays, legal proceedings and letters, they argue that the Y-forms are indeed associated with the dimensions of power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960:252-253).

According to Brown and Gilman (1960), it seems that the dichotomy originated in Latin and that, in the antiquity, only the singular form *tu* was in use. However, the plural form *vos* soon originated from the fourth century probably because of the presence of two emperors, one in Rome and one in Constantinople. Furthermore, the emperors often referred to themselves using the *pluralis maiestatis* (that is, using the first-person plural pronoun *nos*). Then, the plural began to be used for other people in powerful positions⁸. Later, Latin contaminated other European languages (among them English, German, Italian and Spanish), which also lived a phase of fluctuation between the singular and plural (Brown and Gilman 1960:254-255). The Latin forms evolved then in the Italian ones *tu e voi/lei*, in the French ones *tu* and *vous*, in the German ones *du* and *ihr* (subsequently, becoming *er* and then *Sie*) and in the English ones *thou* and *ye*, later replaced by *you* (Brown and Gilman 1960:254).

⁸ The basis of power can lie in “physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or within the family” (Brown and Gilman 1960:255).

In their study, Brown and Gilman (1960:255) try to generalize the rules in the use of the *T* and *V* forms to medieval Europe; they affirm that nobility used *T* to the common people and received *V* in exchange and that the same use was to be found in the master-servant and parents-children relationship. However, they notice that in relationship among equals, the upper classes exchanged *V*, while the lower ones exchanged *T*. Afterwards, among equals, different rules developed: people tended to use the *T* of intimacy/solidarity⁹ and *V* of formality [Brown and Gilman (1960:257) name this dimension *solidarity*]. In the 19th century, after a phase that saw the power semantic prevail, the pronoun system evolved in the direction of (non)solidarity: speakers exchange *T* when solidary, and *V* when not (Brown and Gilman 1960:260). Furthermore, it seems that the person with more power has the right to initiate the *T* exchange (Brown and Gilman 1960:260), because if they are not reciprocated, they still preserve their position of power and it is unlikely that they face consequences. In short, it can be affirmed that there has been “a shift from power to solidarity” (Brown and Gilman 1960:261).

In any case, in the English language, many changes in the pronoun system occurred. Before the Norman conquest (1066), *ye* constituted the second person plural pronoun (with *you* as its accusative form) and *thou* the singular one. Afterwards, *you* firstly replaced the plural form *ye* and then, the singular one *thou*. This variation is strictly bound to the use of *ye* as reverential singular¹⁰, which was probably caused by the contact between French and English¹¹ (Brown and Gilman 1960:266-267).

⁹ The *T* of solidarity could be used in the cases when contact was frequent and people developed like-mindedness or when people were objectively similar for age, rank, institutional role etc. (Brown and Gilman 1960:258).

¹⁰ Fanego (1996:6) outlines the history of the English pronoun system. *Ye/you*, which were originally only plural forms, derive from Old English *ge/eow*; instead, the singular forms *thou/thee* derive from OE *thu/the*. According to the scholar, it is from the 13th century that the plural forms began to be used also as singular pronouns of “reverential or polite address” and this usage led to the decline of *thou/thee*. The disappearing of *thou/thee* is difficult to date, but according to Strang (1970) and Barber (1976) it happened by the middle of the 18th century. For a detailed history of the English pronoun system, see Lass (1999:148-155) and Jucker (2000:153-154).

¹¹ An interesting debate was sparked by Quakers in the seventeenth century; their language was characterized by Plain Speech and the usage of *thou* to all persons since George Fox – the founder of the Society of Friends – affirmed that 1) the Lord ordered him to use the *t-forms*, that 2) such forms were not discriminatory (Brown and Gilman 1960:267-268; Wales 1983:120), and that 3) the fashion for *you* should be blamed on the Pope and that “the use of *you* was an ‘evil costume’, which reflected the ‘degeneration’ of the language” (Wales 1983:120). Instead, Richard Farnsworth – a convert to Quakerism – contradicted the first statement by Fox, affirming that, from the reading of the Scriptures, it emerges that God, Adam and Moses were not too proud to be addressed and address with the singular *thou*. This led to social controversy among the Quakers. In the twentieth century, the form *thee* was still preserved among them and used as an in-group marker. Instead, in English at large only the form *you* survived for unknown reasons; however, it seems that this variation occurred because of the shift towards a simplified verbal inflection and the refusal of Quakers’ and Levelers’ radicalism (Brown and Gilman 1960:267-268).

Studying the pronoun system, it emerges that:

[t]he non-reciprocal power semantic is associated with a relatively static society in which power is distributed by birthright and is not subject to much redistribution. The power semantic was closely tied with the feudal and manorial system. [Instead], [t]he reciprocal solidarity semantic has grown with social mobility and an equalitarian ideology (Brown and Gilman 1960:265).

Being the Early Modern period at the centre of a variation of the societal system, as discussed in chapter 3, it is particularly complex to consider the above reported affirmation by Brown and Gilman (1960); indeed, the Early Modern period should be considered a moment of changes, in language and society, in which a stable situation might be difficult to determine.

In both the phase of the pronouns of power and solidarity, the non-customary choice of a pronoun by the speaker (for instance, *T* instead of *V*) should be thoroughly analysed: indeed, such difference may indicate changes in the attitude, which can be momentary and cause offence (Brown and Gilman 1960:277). For instance, the shift could be bound to a change of mood: when *V* is expected, *T* could be used to convey anger or contempt. In any case, the very pronoun is not sufficient to fully interpret the meaning; in fact, the actions, the uttered words and the total setting (Brown and Gilman 1960:279) are fundamental both in the real world and in the fictional ones.

Mullholland (1967/1987) confirms that while the T-forms are always singular, the Y-forms (*you* and *ye*) can be singular or plural, and argues that there is a distinction between marked and unmarked forms. The marked form indicates, a certain level of affection, especially if a Y-form is expected. Furthermore, in her study of *King Lear* and *Much Ado About Nothing*¹²,

Another reason that may have led the Quakers to adopt the *thou*-form, in addition to its religious usage (in particular in the Bible) is its associations with the lower classes.

¹² In the following table, occurrences of the second person pronouns in *King Lear* and *Much Ado About Nothing* are displayed (a more detailed statistics, including 11 categories of grammatical factors that may influence the choice of pronouns, can be found in Mullholland 1987:155-157).

	<i>MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING</i> (Total/Singular)	<i>KING LEAR</i> (Total/Singular)
THOU	87	214
THEE	73	143
YOU	403	374
YE	-	5
Y'	-	3

she contradicts previous researches, affirming that some forms that were considered formulaic – *pray you, thanke you, fare thee well* – are not (at least in *Much Ado About Nothing*) and that the verbs included in such forms “operate with systemic choice of pronoun” (Mullholland 1987:154-156). Then, the scholar provides quantitative data, trying to determine the rules behind the choice (Mullholland 1987:159-161). The (weak)¹³ evidence show that generally:

1. men of upper-class exchange Y-forms¹⁴;
2. men of upper class choose Y-forms when addressing women of the same class¹⁵;
3. men of upper class address their superiors with Y-forms¹⁶;
4. the fool of *King Lear* addresses him with T-forms¹⁷;
5. in *King Lear*, the king addresses his daughters (*i.e.*, female inferiors) mainly with Y-forms; in *Much Ado* only in a limited number of exchanges the parental-filial relationship is involved: Leonato uses T-forms to his daughter but both T-forms and Y-forms to his niece; the Prince and Benedict, instead, use mainly Y-forms¹⁸. The women always use Y-forms in response.
6. Only in *Much Ado* females address social inferior women; the two characters that find themselves in this position, behave completely differently: Hero prefers T-forms to address her servants, while Beatrice prefers T-forms¹⁹.

Based on the quantitative data provided by Mullholland (1987:159-160), it appears that the upper classes have a preference towards Y-forms; the scholar, however, does not account for the usage among the lower classes, limiting herself to affirm that previous

TH

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Mullholland (1987:155-157) includes a category named “?/ plurals not taken here” where she indicates 89 instances of “you” in *Much Ado*, 84 instances of “you” in *King Lear* and 1 instance of “ye” in *King Lear*.

¹³ Some of the data may be defined “weak” since the preference is often slight: for instance, in *Much Ado*, men of the upper-class address women of the same class 36 times using y-forms and 21 times using t-forms, while in *King Lear* they use 11 y-forms and 7 th-forms (Mullholland 1987:159). Further details are provided in the following footnotes.

¹⁴ The rule applies in 75% of cases in *Much Ado* and in 69% of cases in *King Lear*.

¹⁵ The rule applies in 63% of cases in *Much Ado* and in 61% of cases in *King Lear*.

¹⁶ The rule applies in 90% of cases in *Much Ado* and in 77% of cases in *King Lear*.

¹⁷ As affirmed by Wales (1983:120), T-forms are the ones preferred by the corrupters of words, who are allowed to say whatever they want, unless their Lord take their power away (for a detailed analysis of the character of the fool, see Mullini 1997).

¹⁸ The rule applies in 73% of cases in *Much Ado* and in 72% of cases in *King Lear*.

¹⁹ It seems nonsensical to form conclusions with such minuscule quantity of cases.

studies have shown a preference for T-forms²⁰. Furthermore, interpreting evidence from *King Lear*, a play characterized by mad characters and disguise (as many Shakespearian plays), she goes further to affirm that “the *th* forms were normally employed when the social status of the addressee was in doubt” (Mullholland 1987:160-161).

Quirk (1971/1987), in his attempt to describe the language of Shakespeare, briefly outlines his pronoun usage. First of all, the scholar refutes the idea that in the 17th century *you* was the polite form and *thou* the impolite or familiar one, claiming that they should be respectively considered the unmarked and marked form and that the shifts in pronouns usage should be object of attention (Quirk 1987:7); indeed, he affirms that “[a]lthough *you* is the general unmarked form beside which the use of *thou* is expected, *you* can likewise be in contrast and conspicuous” (Quirk 1987:8). Furthermore, he underlines the need to focus on the use of the second person pronoun with imperatives²¹: the second person pronouns with imperatives can either be subject or object or it can be absent and “all three possibilities can occur with the same verb” (Quirk 1987:9). It seems unlikely that the forms always imply a different meaning as well as that they are always synonyms. Indeed, it is possible to affirm that the imperative without pronoun is an unmarked form and the one with *thou* is emphatic. Furthermore, it seems that the use of the form *thou* and the auxiliary *do* in the same imperative is contrastive (Quirk 1987:9). The imperative with the objective form of the pronoun, which can be considered an “unstressed form of the subject pronoun”, seems to imply that the speaker desires the personal involvement of the addressee²² (Quirk 1987:10).

An interesting hint about the attitude of speakers can be found in salutations, since they reflect the hierarchical class structure²³ (Replogle 1973:172). Much research has been developed in the field, especially considering salutations in Shakespearean plays. According to Replogle, (1973:173) when addressing superiors, “the most honorific of the appropriate forms would be used together with an honorific adjective or two”. Instead, when addressing an equal, familiar reverence, positive and comparative terms, and a few

²⁰ Barber (1987) takes into account the lack of evidence in the plays studied by Mullholland, but evidence in *Richard III* points in this direction. See p. 13-15 of the present dissertation.

²¹ His statements (Quirk 1987:9-10) are based on the quantitative analysis by Millward (1966).

²² Indeed, it is common with verbs such as *look* and *hear*, aimed at summoning attention (Quirk 1987:10).

²³ In fact, salutations are “the first point of curtesie” (Cleland as quoted in Replogle 1973:175) and often include honorifics, which should be repeated as often as possible when addressing noble persons (Replogle 1973:173).

superlatives were expected. When addressing inferiors, the situation was different yet again. Indeed, the regular forms were normally used in public but they could also be omitted causing no offense, if great class disparity was involved; instead, if class disparity was slight, the addressee could take offense (Replogle 1973:174). In short, the choice and the length of the salutation differed depending on the position in the social pyramid and on the situation: in fact, while in everyday life noble persons were addressed with “just a form correspondent to their highest honor” (Replogle 1973:174), in formal contexts and official situations any title and dignity available was used²⁴. Appropriate salutation, which was automatic, allowed for the acknowledgement of the addressee’s status in public (Replogle 1973:176). Thus, if absent²⁵ or different from the norm, further (hidden) meanings should be sought²⁶. In other words, salutations might be useful to investigate the attitude of speakers when choosing a certain pronoun.

Barber (1981/1987:163) focuses his research on *Richard III*; first of all, he highlights that the two lower class men who murder Clarence address one another as *thou* and that there is the need to focus also on other forms of the second person pronoun (*ye, thee, yours, thine, yourself, thyself, your, thine* and *thy*)²⁷. In his study, he observes that “there is a clear correlation between the vocative expression used and the choice of pronoun” (Barber 1987:174): abusive vocatives (such as *beggar, cacodemon, dissembler, devil, dog, fool, hag, hedgehog, homicide, knave, slave, villain* and *witch*) collocate only with *Thou*. On the contrary, respectful vocatives²⁸ containing the term *Lord* collocate

²⁴ Examples can be found in the *incipit* of some trials for high treason.

²⁵ For instance, in *Richard II*, the Duke of Hereford offends the Duke of Norfolk at the beginning of his accusation; Hereford uses the surname (Thomas Mowbray) and not the place of the ducal title, and omits titles and honors, causing the Duke of Norfolk a great offense (Replogle 1973:179).

²⁶ Common honorifics that will be object of attention if present within the *Early Modern English Trials* and used with a form of the second person pronoun include: *sirrah* (disrespectful), *your majesty*, *your highness*, *your grace*, *most noble king/queen*, *earl*, *Madam* and *master*. Potential diminution of honor resulting from a loss of position, led to the loss of the titles. For instance, a conviction, especially of high treason, could lead to the above-described situation. Indeed, “[a] conviction of treason [...] automatically made the offender and his posterity base and ignoble, and all lands were forfeited to the crown” (Replogle 1973:178).

²⁷ For practical reasons, Barber (1987:163) uses “You” and “Thou” to refer to the whole forms of the group.

²⁸ In the table below results concerning common vocatives are displayed (Barber 1987:175):

Collocating with:	<i>You</i>	<i>Thou</i>
Madam	17	0
Sir	4	0
Brother	5	0

always with *You*, except in an exchange between Lord Hastings and Queen Margaret (it should be noticed that the latter uses *Thou* to anybody). The scholar also confirms that “both in statements and in questions, a speaker is more likely to select *thou* as the subject of a closed-class verb, and *you* as the subject of a lexical verb” (Barber 1987:175), as Mullholland’s impressions (1987) deriving from her (weak) data about *King Lear* and *Much Ado About Nothing* suggested²⁹. In any case, it does not prove that the grammatical construction influences the choice of pronoun. In fact, Barber (1987:176) suggests that social or emotional factors can determine the choice of the pronoun and, then, in turn the pronoun could determine the grammatical structure³⁰.

Generally, in *Richard III*, among the upper classes *You* is the unmarked form, and *Thou* is used to stress emotion or difference of social status; however, the data sometimes contradicts the statement above and it could be hypothesized that some people of high status as well as aged and reverend characters might use *thou* as the unmarked form and *you* to stress their being courteous or benign. Nevertheless, more data are necessary to confirm the hypothesis (Barber 1987:177).

Wales (1983) offers a “critical appraisal” of Brown and Gilman’s model (1960), trying to highlight the validity of sociolinguistics perspectives and insinuating that “theory based on universals can be too ‘powerful’, to the point, paradoxically, of crudity” (Wales 1983:108). According to the linguist (Wales 1983:108), Brown and Gilman certainly gave a great input to diachronic studies; however, they barely tried to explain the reason why in English the T-forms disappeared, while in other European countries they have survived. Furthermore, she (Wales 1983:111) strongly criticizes the terminology chosen by the scholars since the meaning of the term “solidarity” is culture dependent (for instance, in Puerto Rican and Korean solidarity and social intimacy are separate concepts) and many researches use it with different meanings (among all, see Friedrich 1972; Brown and Ford 1961). In addition, despite the symmetry and ostensible

Cousin	5	4
Lady	3	3
Fellow	0	4

As shown in the table, evidence is scarce; thus, no conclusion about these collocations can be drawn.

²⁹ No statistical significance is to be found, unless Mullholland’s (1987) and Barber (1987) data are considered together.

³⁰ In *Richard III*, it seems that when the speakers choose *thou* as subject, they tend to insert the auxiliary verb *to do* in the verb phrase; instead, when choosing *you*, they tend to omit it.

neatness of the model³¹, it appears to be problematic. Indeed, Brown and Gilman state that the “power” semantic arose in medieval Europe but do not date the “solidarity” semantic and limit themselves to affirming that it was established in England in Shakespeare’s time, without further precise indications (Wales 1983:112-113). In any case, power semantics seems to be bound to the feudal system, peculiar of the medieval time, while the solidarity semantics to the period of social mobility, which began with the translation of books aimed at teaching how to behave as aristocrats and constituting a social elevator [among them, the ones thoroughly discussed in the previous chapter: Thomas Elyot’s *The Book named the Governour* (1531), Thomas Hoby’s *The Book of the Courtier* (1561), a translation of Baldassarre Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528) and Roger Ascham’s *The Schoolmaster* (1563)] (Wales 1983:113; Del Villano 2018:75). It is in this period that the differences among the English usage and that of other European nations emerge, causing further issues in the model of Brown and Gilman (Wales 1983:113). Wales (1983:113) affirms that “‘expressive’ meanings are related to, even dependent on, the two semantic dimensions of power and solidarity” and she tries to suggest “that a deeper, semiotic dyad underlies the others, based on ‘nearness’ and ‘distance’” (Wales 1983:113). However, “the interdependence of expressive and social meanings” is problematic when discussing English usage. Indeed, the roots of the solidarity dimension should be traced in the medieval period or solidarity semantics should have always been present but latent. The latter hypothesis seems operative in small power groups, such as family: even though cases of non-reciprocal T/V are frequent, the mutual T of the ‘powerless’ seems associated with in-group camaraderie or intimacy and, thus, familiarity of affection, if considering the expressive “dimension”. This explanation

³¹ Brown and Gilman’s (1969) ideas concerning the usage of pronouns can be summarized as follows (Trudgill as quoted in Wales 1983:112):

	Stage 1		Stage 2		Stage 3		Stage 4	
	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS	S	NS
a) +P→+P	T	T	V	V	T	V	T	V
b) -P→-P	T	T	T	T	T	V	T	V
c) +P→-P	T	T	T	T	T	<i>T</i>	T	V
d) -p→+P	T	T	V	V	V	V	T	V

P = Power S = Solidarity NS = no solidarity
 Stage 1: original situation, only singular and plural distinguished
 Stage 2: introduction of the power factor, non-reciprocal usage between c) and d)
 Stage 3: introduction of the solidarity factor, points of conflict of the two factors italicized
 Stage 4: resolution today of the conflict in favour of the solidarity factor

would allow a double interpretation of master-apprentice relationships: indeed, the master's T could indicate condescension or familiarity and affection (Wales 1983:114). Certainly, the bigger problem lies in the peculiar momentary shift between the T and V singular form in English, which Wales (1983) tries to address differently from Brown and Gilman (1960). She argues that "not all switches from V forms to T and vice versa can be easily explained in the 13c and 14c and beyond in terms of shifts in social attitude or feeling; and many, moreover, occur within the same sentence, so that contextual changes are often hard to justify" (Wales 1983:114); and, then, she hypothesizes that 1) in the early medieval period this might be the result of a new fashion concerning conservative usage of language; 2) the usage of T/V did not differ much in ordinary informal speech; 3) the fluctuation could signal the informality of register; and, 4) it could indicate an emotional moment. In other words, hypothesis number 2 presupposes that the redundancy of the form *thou* could be the cause of its disappearance in standard English³². Instead, its survival in some regional dialects might be bound to the fact that outside the capital city, *thou* was the standard form of address. In any case, it seems that at the end of the 14th century and into the 15th century gentry used *thou* to signal emotion, intimacy or to address social inferiors. The singular *you*, instead, could be an influence of French, considered a fashionable and prestigious language, and mostly used in public to address (assumed) superiors. In short,

in the early stages, using T to one's inferiors would not be so remarkable as using V to one's superiors, and equals; and shifts from V to T would be commonplace. An increase in the popularity and fashionability of *you* would naturally lead to a decline in the use of *thou* in 'polite' speech, except in those functions considered socially acceptable (e.g. to recognizable or obvious inferiors); and so *thou* would be reserved for private discourse. The special association of *thou* with emotional states such as affection and anger is plausibly explained in terms of private or intimate utterance. Where necessary, feelings could well be expressed in public, but excessive use of *thou* might easily have been regarded as over-familiarity, or impoliteness. Broadly speaking, then, *you* can be associated with 'polite' usage, and *thou* with 'non-polite' (either 'familiar' or 'im-polite') (Wales 1983:116).

According to the scholar, it seems that by the 16th century it makes more sense to consider (un)marked usage instead of (im)polite usage (see Mullholland 1987; Quirk 1987). One of the main causes of the deletion of the *thou* form from common usage is the emergence of the necessity of a standardized English, which was mastered by high rank people who

³² About the economy principle in language, see Zipf 1949; Martinet 1955; Wales 1983:116; Busse 1998:33-34; Vicentini 2003.

strongly criticized dialect speakers (indeed, they were ridiculed in literary texts); it appears that at the beginning of the 17th century servants used *you* to refer to one another, except if particularly moved. This information is the result of a research on dramatic texts; thus, its reliability is unsure because dramatists may have used a more conservative language or they may have edited the usage for dramatic needs. “Nevertheless, it seems likely that *you*-forms spread down the social scale as the lower classes consciously or unconsciously imitated the habits of their superiors” (Wales 1983:117), as the translations of the previously mentioned books that served as a social elevator suggest (see paragraph 3.2 of the present dissertation). The middle class seems to have been the driving force of the change from *thou* to *you*, because of its aspirations; in particular, it seems that women had a fundamental role since they prefer using standard forms. The change could also have been helped by the fact that any person prefers being extremely³³ polite than offending (Wales 1983:119).

An archaic usage of pronouns, thus involving the T-forms, can be found in religious texts. In the 16th century, thanks to the establishment of the Church of England, translations of the Bible and other religious materials were needed [among the many that appeared in the century there are: the New Testament (1525), Coverdale’s of the Old (1535), Matthew’s Bible, the Great Bible (1539-1540) and *the Book of Common Prayer* (1549)]. In all of the translations, T-forms were used, allowing them to become customary when addressing to God³⁴ (Wales 1983:120-121).

In conclusion, it seems that between the late 16th century and the 17th century the pronoun usage is more similar to the modern one instead of the medieval one: according to Wales (1983:121), Y-forms should be considered the norm and T-forms should be part of special registers (religious speech, poetry, dialects) and, thus, the literary usage of the latter should be also part of a special register, the one of fiction, where it seems to indicate strong emotions or deep intimacy³⁵.

³³ Another hypothesis concerning this atypical behaviour could be bound to a recently introduced variable named *reflexivity*. As evidence from dramatic texts suggests, extremely polite lords, and above all kings, appeared more powerful. Indeed, the sovereigns were often described through the metaphor of the sun: its rays, like courtesy, benefit the people around them who can testify their greatness (Del Villano 2018:96). Thus, the usage of Y-forms instead of T-forms by lords when addressing people from the lower ranks of society could be bound to reflexive courtesy.

³⁴ Such forms to address to God are still used nowadays (Wales 1983:121).

³⁵ If plays are considered, V forms are more common than T forms; mutual T is infrequent; and, momentary shifts occur (the ones from V to T are more frequent than the ones from T to V) (Wales 1983:122).

A last hypothesis for the fall into disuse of T-forms can be bound to the inflectional ending *-est*, which marked the second person singular verb form in the present tense. The first changes in the inflectional endings involved the suffix *-eth*, which marked the third person singular; at the end of at the end of the 16th century, it coexisted with the suffix *-s*, that eventually substituted it during the Restoration. The suffix *-est*, instead, was not substituted but it completely disappeared because it was sometimes difficult to articulate in certain phonetic contexts and because the functions of the second person singular were redundant. Thus, it is possible that T-forms disappeared, along with the suffix *-est* (Wales 1983:122). Finally, Wales (1983:122-123) affirms that the model presented by Brown and Gilman (1960) is attractive but it underestimates the importance of individual variation and the development in “specific speech communities”; moreover, she highlights the necessity of considering the degrees of distance as fundamental.

In 1989 Roger Brown and Albert Gilman publish another pivotal research involving pronouns: *Politeness Theory and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies* (1989). The scholars, who focused their analysis on *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth* and *Othello*, believe that dramatic texts in general constitute an example of face-to-face interaction and that tragedies are particularly suitable for the study of (im)politeness since they depict the whole society (Brown and Gilman 1989:159). They take into consideration three “dimensions of contrast”, that is power (P), distance³⁶ (D) and intrinsic extremity (R), and try to analyse only the lines of pairs of characters in order to have a stable relationship between them “with respect to two out of three weightiness variables (P, D and R) but clearly different on the third” (Brown and Gilman 1989:173); naturally, in this type of analysis, attention is limited to Face Threatening Acts (FTAs). Generally, grammars of the period affirm that *you* was the polite form, and *thou* the familiar one. However, belonging to a social class determined the ordinary choice of pronoun. Upper-class people³⁷ used *you* to refer to members of the same class³⁸, lower-class people³⁹ used *thou*

³⁶ D involves both interactive closeness and affect: “affect strongly influences politeness (increased liking increases politeness and decreased liking decreases politeness); interactive closeness has little or no effect on politeness” (Brown and Gilman 1989:159).

³⁷ They include “[m]embers of the king’s court, nobility [...], country gentlemen, professionals [and] some trades people” (Brown and Gilman 1989:177).

³⁸ In the tragedies, such form is used also between upper-class spouses, adult brothers, adult sisters and “gentle born friends as Hamlet and Horatio” (Brown and Gilman 1989:177).

³⁹ They include “servants, shepherds, farmers, seamen, and lesser clergy” (Brown and Gilman 1989:177).

among themselves, and people of the upper-class addressed people of the lower ones with *thou* but received *you*. However, as Mullholland underlined (1987), the use of *thou*, when *you* is expected indicates that emotions are involved. A different reading of the matter, instead, was given by Jespersen (1972), as Brown and Gilman (1989) state; he affirmed that the shift between *you* and *thou* in the 17th century expressed mood and tone, highlighting an important difference with regard to continental languages (among them, French and German). Indeed, in English a (continuous) shift between *you* and *thou* was possible, while, in French and German, once the T-form is adopted, the V-form is not used anymore, unless the relationship comes to an end. In English, such phenomenon – which seems rare among world languages – could be called “expressive shift”. In any case, this does not account for all the shifts in the Shakespearean corpus. Thus, it can be affirmed that *thou* expresses affinity and *you* expresses more distance, but the rule doesn’t explain every occurrence of the forms (Brown and Gilman 1989-177-178).

Mausch (1993:152) delineates a history of the second person pronouns, highlighting 7 main phases:

- 12th c.: verb ceases to distinguish persons in the preterite in the North
- 13th c.: polite *ye* in address to single addressees
- 14th c.: 1st half: *ye/you* merger starts
you/thou merger may start
2nd half: *thou/thee* merger starts
- 15th c. before GVS: *you/thou* co-occur
- 16th c. 2nd half: *you* dominates over *ye* and *thou/thee*
- 17th c.: *thee* dominates over *thou*
- 18th c.: *thou/thee* eliminated.

Her reasoning suggests a “primacy of systemic features in morphology”, denying the prime importance of sociolinguistic factors in the disappearance of the T-forms: indeed, they wouldn’t be the “reason for the complex *ye/you/thou/thee*>*you* merger” (Mausch 1993:152).

Hope (1994) focuses his research on the depositions in the Durham ecclesiastical courts; more specifically, he examines the possibility that:

- characters with more power – such as “monarchs, the rich, men, parents, masters and mistresses” (Hope 1994:141) – give *thou* but receive *you* when interacting with people with less power, such as “the poor, women, children, servants” (Hope 1994:141);
- characters of equal power (or social class) exchange *you*, if part of the upper class;

- characters of equal power (or social class) exchange *you*, if part of the lower class. In other words, Hope (1994), tries to translate the hypothesis of Brown and Gilman (1960) into the Early Modern English context and analyzes, quantitatively and qualitatively, the Durham ecclesiastical court records⁴⁰. Data confirm the hypothesis of “socially-pragmatic usages encoding differentials of status, and [...] non-social, what Lass calls micro-pragmatic usages, encoding anger” (Hope 1994:146). Moreover, evidence for conscious manipulation by witnesses has been found⁴¹.

Before presenting the results of his qualitative research, Hope (1994:148) highlights that “the standard histories are not agreed on the point at which *thou* becomes marked, although most place it sometime between 1500 and 1600” and states that his research about Marlowe confirms the hypothesis of Barber (1981): as late as 1590s it seems that in drama authors do not have a marked and an unmarked form (Hope 1994:148). Instead, in court records in 1560s, *thou* is surely the marked form. The occurrences of *you* and *thou* in the Durham depositions, which are about “arguments, insults and accusations” (Hope 1994:148) is almost equal (*thou* 185, *you* 192). The markedness of *thou* is also confirmed by the fact that most shifts (9 out of 2) are from *you* to *thou*. This means that Shakespeare usage may bear little or no relationship with “real” Early Modern English: it could indeed preserve an archaic usage (Hope 1994:148).

Calvo (1996) tries to cast light on the uses of the second person pronoun comparing the differences between early texts containing *Hamlet*; more specifically, she focuses on the Quarto of 1603 (the so-called ‘bad’ Quarto), the Quarto of 1604/1605 and the First Folio of 1623⁴² since it is possible to select excerpts that differ only for the choice

⁴⁰ The records – held at the Durham University - are from the north-east of England, date back to the 1560s and were only partially published in the 19th century. The analysis by Hope focuses on the published excerpts, which he also checked against the originals (Hope 1994:142).

The excerpts object of study are the accounts of everyday life conversations, reported as uttered by witnesses, who could be unreliable. However, since most instances are included in trials for slander (*i.e.*, defamation), where the words are fundamental, and since multiple depositions about the same event often report the same pronoun forms, it is believed that the use of pronouns could mirror the one of the 1560s (Hope 1994:143).

⁴¹ Reporting a usage of the “inappropriate” form could be a strategy to give a bad impression of the defendant. It is also worth highlighting that the shifts are rare, unlike in Shakespearean plays and in the letters studied by Lass (Hope 1994:146). In 1994, when Hope published the article here examined, *The Cambridge History of English 1476-1776* by Lass was still forthcoming.

⁴² The ‘bad’ Quarto, the shortest text among the three object of study, is a “non-authoritative edition” and it is believed to be a reported text, not related with Shakespeare’s autograph. As Calvo (1996:17) affirms, it may be:

of pronoun. While the First Folio and the ‘good’ Quarto only display a few differences, many are to be found between the ‘bad’ and the ‘good’ Quarto (Calvo 1996:17). Thus, she decides to concentrate only on the versions of *Hamlet* contained in the latter. Never before such analysis was performed since most scholars focused only on a text (Calvo 1997:17). After praising the position of Quirk (1971) and Wales (1983), which (albeit partially) invalidates the theory of Brown and Gilman (1960), Calvo (1996) hypothesizes that *sometimes* the choice of the second person pronoun could be meaningless and depend only by the idiolect of the person who produces the utterance. Furthermore, she claims that, in dramatic texts, it could depend on artistic reasons or on the personal preference of the author (Calvo 1996:18-19). In her analysis, she selects 4 excerpts from Q1 and Q2 containing differences in the choice of pronouns. In 3 out of 4, the “pirates” of Q1 opt for the right pronoun according to the factors examined until this point of the present thesis, consequently improving Shakespeare’s play. Thus, probably, the issue of the choice of the pronoun should be handled with more care since “in some cases, free variation and the vagaries of speaker’s idiolect [could be] at the origin of the choice between *you* or *thou*” (Calvo 1996:21). In conclusion, Calvo invites scholars to be cautious and claims that – in the case of Shakespearian plays – differences could be the result 1) of corruption in the textual transmission, 2) of a “meaningless free variation between the two pronouns of address” (Calvo 1996:21), but she doesn’t deny that sociolinguistic factors may play a role in other cases, as previous research suggests.

Fanego (1996:5) highlights that the Middle English period was characterized by language change; such change still continued during the Early Modern period. For this reason, people had plenty of choices when speaking. She identifies the 17th century as the time frame when variant expressions were reduced, until disappearing in the 18th century, when Standard English emerged. Thus, the end of the century – which is the

the result of memorial reconstruction [...]: it may have been the work of the player who took the part of Marcellus, or it may have been put together by a company of players that was on tour and did not have the ‘Booke’, or it may have been taken down in successive performances by a hired stenographer. None of these theories have been sufficiently proved and it has even been suggested that Q1 could represent an earlier version of the play which Shakespeare later revised (Urkowitz 1986).

Instead, the ‘good’ Quarto (1604/1605), the longer text among the three, is said to have been derived from Shakespeare’s ‘foul papers’ or autograph and the First Folio (1623) may contain the play as performed in the Globe (Calvo 1996:17).

object of the present study – is considered of particular interest. Fanego (1996:6), after summarising the ideas of Brown and Gilman (1960), provides a brief review of existing literature (mainly Calvo 1992, Hope 1993, 1994 and Lass 1996). She argues that the results of previous studies are contradictory since research concerning *you* and *thou* always relies on insufficient evidence (the corpora are either unrepresentative or not large enough). Thus, she considers the possibility of analysing 44 000 words of trials (but, surprisingly, she finds them not interesting) and, then, she decides to focus on family letters (around 50 000 words) of the 16th and 17th century. Such letters were written by members of the gentry or by professionals (among them: lawyers, administrative officers, doctors and clergy)⁴³. 60 letters were written by men, 52 by women and the authors were either married or related by blood. The results show that 1) *you* is the unmarked form, 2) *thou* is used by the most powerful person in the relationship⁴⁴ and 3) some unmotivated pronominal shifts do occur in her corpus⁴⁵. Furthermore, the scholar alludes to the possibility that the lexical context or grammatical factors may influence the choice of pronouns (indeed, *thou* more often co-occurs with closed-class verbs than with open-class); the scholar also restates the need of considering the above-mentioned hypotheses when examining bigger corpora in order to obtain enough evidence (Fanego 1996:11-14).

According to Busse (1998:34), the language of Shakespeare may not mirror that of his time and, after commenting previous research on the pronoun usage, he affirms that comparing different plays may be counterproductive: indeed, some plays may include more formal scenes, while other may include more “quasi-intimate scenes”, thus, they would display different language structures. Furthermore, some authorial choices may be

⁴³ The corpus is not representative of Early Modern society since materials written by members of the lower classes are not present. The ability to read and write of the lower classes is questioned and widely discussed in Cressy (1977) and Spufford (1979).

⁴⁴ Fanego (1996:12), in her conclusion, provides a confusing explanation of the use of *thou* in the relationships mother-son, father-daughter and husband-wife. She argues that if a mother/father addresses her/his son/daughter with *thou*, such *thou* represent the power relationship. Instead, in the case of husband and wife, *thou* could be bound to sex, power or affect (*i.e.*, emotional use of pronoun). Such explanation contradicts even the example of the correspondence of Sir Thomas More to his daughter (Fanego 1996:12). In short, it would be productive to edit the conclusions, stating that in the listed relationship the choice of *thou* could depend on power, affect or sex.

It is also worth mentioning that wives “are often very affectionate to their husbands, and yet they invariably address them with *you*. “[...] [T]his marked difference [...] may have just been a convention observed in letter writing, and not in actual speech” (Fanego 1996:13).

⁴⁵ As pointed out by Calvo (1992) and highlighted by Fanego (1996:14), the shift itself – and not the choice of pronoun – might be meaningful: it could be bound to the degree of intimacy between the correspondents.

attempts to produce humorous effects or may try to mimic an archaic language use, impossible to detect by today's readers and onlookers (Busse 1998:35). In any case, the scholar confines himself to put in order the previous research and to highlight the papers that are related since "much work is isolated and fragmented" (Busse 1998:55). In addition, he invites scholars to further "link up existing theories and evidence from grammar, computational linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics" and to analyse bigger corpora (for instance, four plays from one subgenre)⁴⁶.

Jucker (2000:158-159) suggests an alternative approach; firstly, he claims that switching from Y to T in Middle English and Early Modern English – or from the use of title and last name to first name because of anger or contempt – was normal, unlike today. Then, he discusses social status, social roles and situational context: social status is rather fixed for interlocutors since it is strictly bound to origin and profession; however, age is also considered a variable part of social status and, since it changes, also social status does. Another factor that can cause change of social status is strictly related to performative speech acts⁴⁷ (for instance, receiving knighthood). Social roles, instead, are even more flexible: they depend on the interlocutor and include both family and hierarchical relationships. The situational context is strictly bound to "more temporary balances of power, which may disrupt the other two balances" (Jucker 2000:158). The scholar also refers to a paper about pronoun choices in Chaucer, which he read during the *Third International Conference on Middle English* (1999). He states that characters "make on-the-spot decisions [about pronouns] depending on the interactional status reached at a specific point in an interaction" (Jucker 1999). Thus, the form *ye* would simply indicate deference, while *thou* in that certain situation would indicate that deference is not necessary⁴⁸. Even though from Chaucer's time to Shakespeare's, language and the social background had changed, the scholar believes that it is fundamental to analyse the *you/thou* distinction "on the micro-level of individual interactions rather than as a social default with stylistic deviations" (Jucker 2000:159). Thus, Jucker (2000:159), as he himself states, strongly supports the theories by Hope

⁴⁶ The author also mentions Brainerd's computer-assisted study (1979), which demonstrated that genre and date of composition may affect the pronoun choice.

⁴⁷ See Searle 1969, 1975.

⁴⁸ The scholar highlights that married couples of higher social class use *ye* in order to indicate deference: thus, deference and intimacy/affect are not contradictions (Jucker 2000:159).

(1993, 1994)⁴⁹, Calvo (1992) and Busse (1998). In conclusion, the scholar (Jucker 2000:161) is firmly convinced that the approach by Brown and Gilman (1960, 1980) and the ones that distinguish between “a default or unmarked usage and deviations from the default turn out to be too static” (Jucker 2000:161). Instead, a more micro-pragmatically motivated perspective should be adopted: such perspective would indeed concentrate on the interactional status of the interlocutors and “on the individual progressions of specific conversations” (Jucker 2000:161).

Ulrich Busse (2003) discusses the possibility of a link between nominal and pronominal address forms, underlining that convincing studies, although on a small scale, have been published (among them Barber 1981 and B. Busse 1997⁵⁰, which data are summarized in a table in U. Busse 2003:193-194). U. Busse (2003:195), after having analysed statistical data of previous research, hypothesizes that the duo address pronouns-vocatives “mirror[s] the social or relational position expressed by title to a certain extent” (Busse 2003:195); thus, deferential vocatives would be coupled with Y pronouns and intimate vocatives and terms of abuse with T forms. U. Busse adopts the categorization of address forms by Salmon (1967)⁵¹.

Table 1. *Categorisation of address forms with examples* (Busse 2003:196)

Titles of courtesy	Terms of address indicating occupation	Terms of family relationship
Your Grace	captain	brother
Your (royal) Highness	doctor	cousin
Your Honour	esquire	coz
Your Ladyship	justice	daughter
Your Lordship	knight	father
Your Worship ⁵²	lieutenant	husband
dame	nurse	mother
goodman	parson	sister
goodwife	...	son
lady		uncle
(my) liege		wife
lord	
madam		
master		
mistress		
monsieur		
sir		

⁴⁹ The study of 1994 is a reworked and expanded version of the study of 1993.

⁵⁰ I was not able to access the thesis since, according to my knowledge, it is unpublished.

⁵¹ Busse (1998:43) also provided a table of stratification of Elizabethan society, which – making the minor changes delineated in the previous chapter – could be valid for Restoration, too.

⁵² The ones introduced by “your” are fixed expressions (Busse 2003:217).

sire
sirrah

Generic terms of address	Terms of endearment	Terms of endearment
...	bully	devil
boy	chuck	dog
friend	heart	fool
gentleman	joy	hag
gentlewoman	love	knave
lad	wag	rascal
maid	...	rogue
man		save
woman		strumpet
...		varlet
		villain
		witch
		...

Busse (2003:197) analyses all the instances of address pronouns and nominal form of address in the Shakespearean corpus (1 246 in total, 36 different address nouns⁵³ from the different groups outlined in the table above). He provides a definition of each analysed term, a quantitative study and a categorization according to genre (Comedy, Tragedy and History), to understand if there is a preponderance of a form. Such specific analysis goes beyond the scope of the present study; thus, it won't be examined in depth. However, if similar cases will emerge during the analysis, reference to Busse's research (2003) will be made. However, it is worth summarising the results of such study, since they provide interesting suggestions. Busse (2003) demonstrates that there is strong correlation between pronouns and forms of address. Furthermore, the scholar (Busse 2003:215) affirms that the model by Brown and Gilman (1960, 1989) is too static, agreeing with Jucker (2000), and adds that:

[...] for meaningful pronoun choices there is an overlap and often also a clash of permanent, or relatively stable social factors, temporary attitudes, shifts in feeling, etc. In addition to that, those vocatives which showed a mixed pronoun use, illustrate that there is ample room for social negotiation, as Calvo (1992) put it.

In any case, Busse's hypothesis is confirmed by evidence: titles of honour and courtesy, occupational titles and expressions of family relationships occur more often with Y-

⁵³ Their social-historical background can be analysed with the help of any version of the *OED* and of special case studies. If Shakespearean plays are the object of attention, it is also worth consulting the *Shakespeare Lexicon* (Schmidt and Sarrazin 1962).

forms; instead, generic terms of address, terms of abuse and of endearment occur more often with T-forms. Furthermore, literary genre could influence the choice of pronoun:

Table 2: *T- and Y-forms in Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* (Busse 2003:216).

Genre	Y forms	T forms
Comedies	68,60%	31,40%
Histories	53,60%	46,40%
Tragedies	51,50%	48,50%

The data show a majority of Y-forms in every genre. However, it should be noted that Shakespeare may have chosen a certain pronoun because it was needed by the genre, by the plot, by a peculiar scene or by rhyme and metre. Furthermore, the Bard – during his career – could have improved his knowledge of the language used by noblemen (Busse 2003:216).

In conclusion, it is clear that in Shakespearean plays there is a correlation between nominal and pronominal forms; however, its rules are difficult to determine: indeed, “pronoun use is not fully predictable, because on the micro level of analysis apart from intersocial relationships other factors have to be taken into account”⁵⁴ (Busse 2003:216).

Mazzon (2003:223-228) analyses pronouns – focusing on pronouns switching – and nominal address (albeit the latter only marginally) in *King Lear*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*: the study sees the above-mentioned elements as markers of socio-affective relationships concentrating on the mimetic genre of theatre. The scholar (Mazzon 2003:223) agrees that literary evidence can only supplement direct evidence and highlights that utterances represent our position with respect to our interlocutor: “our position with respect to our interlocutors, our ideas about our own status and theirs, our state of mind etc., besides ‘betraying’ our education, social status, provenance, etc.” (Mazzon 2003:224); the analysis of such factors is particularly difficult when focusing on the Early Modern period since “the community's social structure [was] in a state of flux [...] in Elizabethan England” (Mazzon 2003:223).

Mazzon (2003:228) thinks that the choice of pronoun is not the core of the speech act; however, it is certainly bound to face-dynamics. She also considers fundamental the

⁵⁴ Busse (2003) continuously reiterates that the language of drama may have been different from the one of real people when talking: Shakespeare may have taken some decisions on the basis of dramatical purposes.

distinction between discernment and volition: “the former is the observation of rules of social behaviour as they are enforced in a particular community at any particular time – the latter is a conscious choice of verbal forms with special communicative and/or pragmatic aims in mind”. The scholar then, hypothesizes that pronoun uses and switches are acts of volition and, thus, are used consciously and refutes the hypothesis of neutral pronouns since she believes that it couldn’t be possible in general, but especially in a society which is undergoing major changes (Mazzon 2003:228).

In the analysed husband-wife relationships⁵⁵, the most frequently used pronoun is Y, especially from wives to husbands, as women were considered subordinates. However, “T is used to signal affection, or contempt or disillusion” (Walker 2003:228).

Table 3: T and Y forms in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Othello*: husband-wife relationship (Mazzon 2003:243).

Speaker	Addressee	T	Y	Switches
Husband	Wife	33	46	24
Wife	Husband	9	56	6

Instead, the parent-child relationship seems more asymmetrical: indeed, both the variables of power vs. solidarity and distance vs. intimacy play a key role. Furthermore, gender played a role, too. The evidence about mother-son relationship is insufficient; thus, it is not possible to draw conclusions. However, Mazzon (2003:229) affirms that Queen Gertrude often uses T when addressing Hamlet (however, 6 switches over 20 occurrences are present)⁵⁶, and Hamlet uses formal Y when addressing his mother⁵⁷. Evidence about father-son exchanges is also scarce. The only samples worth mentioning are the exchanges between Edmund and Gloucester, where a predominance of Y is observed (Mazzon 2003:229).

The relationship between father and daughters also presents variation; normally, as the quantitative data displayed in the table below demonstrate, daughters show high

⁵⁵ Mazzon creates an ad-hoc category for the language of courting or “love language” (see Mazzon 2003:237-238); this type of language is not expected to be found in trials so it will not be commented in the present dissertation.

⁵⁶ It could indicate that Queen Gertrude loves Hamlet but she is also afraid by the situation (Mazzon 2003:229).

⁵⁷ Such use could suggest that Hamlet keeps distance from his mother’s betrayal (Mazzon 2003:229).

respect for fathers, while in fathers' utterances mixed uses are present in order to show tenderness or condescension (Mazzon 2003:229).

Table 4: *T and Y forms in Shakespeare's Hamlet, King Lear and Othello: father-daughter relationship* (Mazzon 2003:244).

Speaker	Addressee	T	Y	Switches
Daughter	Father	4	31	5
Father	Daughter	26	25	18

Data about siblings are also scarce, but show a predominance of Y (31 Y, 8 T) and a gender-based difference seems to be present. Data about acquired relatives and in-laws show a high level of formality, although some exceptions are present (Mazzon 2003:230-231).

The choice of pronoun among peers⁵⁸ is influenced by the social class of the interlocutor and by the degree of intimacy. Instead, when analysing the interaction between superordinate and subordinate⁵⁹, also age and gender are influential factors. In the superordinate-subordinate relationship, Y is the most used alternative and exceptions are easily motivated⁶⁰. When the couple is constituted by males, the addressing of a subordinate seems to depend from status, even though affect also plays a role. It should also be noticed that both the forms *pray you* and *prithee/pray thee* are used even when the preferred pronoun is Y; thus, it is highly probable that such forms have a redressing value. The use of Y is more consistent when a male subordinate addresses a male superordinate. Even in relationships between subordinate and superordinate of different sex, Y and formal nominal address are predominant with some exceptions⁶¹. The only couple of female superordinate and subordinate are Gertrude and Ophelia and their relationship is also dominated by Y (Mazzon 2003:232-234).

Peers can be subdivided in further categories: "high", "middle" and "low" peers: high peers are part of nobility, middle peers in the plays are mainly represented by military officers and low peers are clown, fools, servants etc. High peers show a preference for Y; data about middle peers does not show a preference, probably because

⁵⁸ Peers are characters similar in social standing, title or function. When analysing interactions among them, friendship plays a crucial role since it reduces distance (Mazzon 2003:235).

⁵⁹ The relationship master-servant is considered separately by Mazzon (2003:232) and the choice of the pronoun seems to be bound to gender (see Mazzon 2003:234-235).

⁶⁰ Reflexivity, affect and anger may influence the choice, as well as metrical reasons (Mazzon 2003:232-233).

⁶¹ Exceptions often occur when "there is a sentimental or courting dimension" (Mazzon 2003:234).

of friendship: indeed, some of the officers are friends (Horatio addresses Marcellus with T, while Francisco shows a preference for Y and receives Y); low peers show a preference for Y (it seems that at that time the pronoun was both a social and a pragmatic marker); furthermore, among low peers there is evidence of the use of T for agreement and Y for contradiction (Mazzon 2003:235-237).

Table 5: T and Y forms in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *King Lear* and *Othello*: relationship among peers (Mazzon 2003:246).

Play	Social level	T	Y	Switches
<i>Othello</i>	High	-	1	-
<i>Hamlet</i>	High	-	2	.
<i>King Lear</i>	High	33	55	19
<i>Othello</i>	Middle	30	25	19
<i>Hamlet</i>	Middle	4	7	1
<i>King Lear</i>	Middle	-	-	-
<i>Othello</i>	Low	-	1	-
<i>Hamlet</i>	Low	5	3	2
<i>King Lear</i>	Low	26	12	7

Furthermore, Mazzon (2003:238) harshly criticizes Mullholland (1967) stating that T cannot be the unmarked form since:

such use would have been negatively marked for politeness: use of Y to strangers, not only belonging to the higher classes, was now probably sufficiently widespread to make the use of T in this context felt as uncalled-for familiarity. Mulholland overlooks the fact that the characters appearing as strangers because disguised always have some mark of low status around them, which allows use of T (Mazzon 2003:238).

Mazzon (2003:238) also highlights that “socially absent” characters are not treated according to standard face rules and that the same situation seems to apply to asides, sleeping, mad or dead characters; in fact, in the above-mentioned cases, T is used. T is also used in self-address and when addressing abstract and non-human entities. Such use would be a sign of the existence of an “emotional mode”.

The scholar (Mazzon 2003:240) also states that:

the use of the unadorned Christian names seems possible from superordinate to subordinate, between spouses and other relatives, as well as between peers. The same use in addressing a superior, however, is negatively marked for politeness and usually collocates with T. A high number of "adorned" names and titles was found; of course, these score higher for politeness (noble lord is more polite than lord etc.), and we could agree with Replogle (1973) that this frequent addressing by title is a typical feature of Elizabethan English.

The Elizabethan society was undergoing many changes, thus there is the need to continuously and reciprocally highlight the standing. Indeed, multiple nominal address were used⁶²; the most frequent are displayed in the table below.

Table 6: *Most frequent nominal address in Othello, Hamlet and King Lear (Mazzon 2003:240).*

Social level	Sex	Nominal address	Further comments
High	M	Sir, Lord	Most common nominal address in “unmarked” exchanges.
High	F	Madam, Lady	Lady is less common than Madam.
Middle	M	Sir, name or surname	Sir is also used for “higher level” servants, who are often addressed with Y.
Middle	F	Mistress, name or surname	
Low	M	Fellow, friend, sirrah or abusive terms from superiors	

The scholar concludes that applying face to pronoun use, it is possible to confirm that pronoun switching is strictly bound both to mood and politeness phenomena: “[t]hey cannot thus be treated only in terms of anger/affection vs. coldness/neutrality, but must be seen as exquisitely social devices, closely reflecting the degree of distance vs. intimacy and the power vs. solidarity conveyed by any exchange” (Mazzon 2003:240). Furthermore, “strategic switching” is certainly present and probably marks the features of the relationship or of the interaction (discourse point and some specific speech acts); thus, both relevance to context and the “discernment-volition polarity” are also useful. In conclusion, both social and pragmatic factors play a key role in the choice of the pronoun (Mazzon 2003:241).

Stein (2003:251-252) hypothesizes that the alternation of *you* and *thou*, which frequency is unimaginable in contemporary European languages, is both bound to social relations and emotional states. His research tries to determine in a statistical way the unmarked form for a given social relationship⁶³ and, then, focuses on pronoun usage in *King Lear* and *As You Like It*. As Walker (2003) also underlines, it seems that at the end of the 17th century *thou* was disappearing from standard language. However, the difference between the pronouns object of study was still present: V could be considered

⁶² Kin terms and occupational terms (lieutenant, herald, soldier etc.) are the most frequent; it should be noticed that kin terms do not indicate intimacy; indeed, “they often collocate with Y” (Mazzon 2003:240).

⁶³ The first scholar to distinguish between marked and unmarked form has been Quirk (1959/1966).

the unmarked form in many cases; however, T had such role when superiors addressed their subordinates. A relationship that seems complex to determine is the one between parents and children. Children had to respect their parents; thus, they usually used *you*. However, there are many cases where the parents switch between *you* and *thou* and cases where the child has reached a higher social position or independence and is thus addressed with *you* (Stein 2003:255-256). Social equals instead chose *you*, if part of the higher and middle classes⁶⁴; *thou*, if part of the lower ones. In any case, “any misuse of address conventions would immediately be noticed” (Stein 2003:256).

Shakespearean plays show a preponderance of hypotaxis, in contrast with spoken language, which is characterized by parataxis. Furthermore, language in drama is peculiar since it is in a condensed form, causing the marked form to be more frequent than in spoken language. For the listed reasons, the study of Stein (2003:259) focuses on the semiotics of deviating. Indeed, he (Stein 2003:259) identifies 220 address relationships in *King Lear* and *As You Like It*⁶⁵ and various categories of social stratification: sovereigns and aristocrats (part of the higher classes), servants of court or noble families (members of the lower classes⁶⁶), other members of the lower classes, fools and mad characters. The scholar, who makes no distinction according to gender (Stein 2003:261), identifies connotations of the marked form: T is used to show scorn, disapproval, complicity, affection, intimacy or respect; V to show scorn, disapproval, formality, elevation and glorification⁶⁷ (Stein 2003:265).

The study (Stein 2003:295-296) shows that, concerning unmarked forms, Shakespeare’s usage mirrored the one of his times; the marked form, on the other hand, is strictly bound to emotional situations. Both T and V can be either marked or unmarked⁶⁸: T is the marked form among equals; V is marked when used towards “common servants, members of the lower classes and minor-aged children” (Stein 2003:296). In the analysed plays, where very high end and very low-end characters are present, pronominal behaviour is socially completely predictable; indeed, while the lower

⁶⁴ Even siblings, cousins, lovers and spouses of higher classes used *you*. However, lovers often switch to the marked *thou* when emotional (Stein 2003:257).

⁶⁵ Stein (2003:259) specifies that “[i]f an earlier addressee later addresses the same person who talked to him before, this counts as a new address relationship”.

⁶⁶ It should be highlighted that stewards were of noble origin and were considered part of the middle class (Stein 2003:259).

⁶⁷ Some connotations overlap.

⁶⁸ *Prithee, pray you, fare thee well, fare you well* follow the same rule (Stein 2003:296).

classes use T among themselves⁶⁹, the middle and higher classes often show an emotional usage of pronouns: in other words, they often use the marked form (Stein 2003:202-203), as the following quantitative data confirm.

Table 7: *Dyads in As You Like It* (Stein 2003:297)

to from	sovereigns		aristocrats		servants		members of the lower classes		court jesters/ fools		the insane	
	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V
sovereigns	—	—	42	32	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
			56%	44%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
aristocrats	—	39	82	177	42	12	10	19	13	20	—	—
		100%	31%	69%	77%	23%	34%	66%	39%	61%	—	—
servants	—	3	1	50	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
	—	—	2%	98%	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
members of the lower classes	—	7	—	129	—	—	68	102	—	13	—	—
	—	—	—	100%	—	—	40%	60%	—	100%	—	—
court jesters/fools	—	4	—	25	—	—	43	19	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	100%	—	—	69%	31%	—	—	—	—
the insane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 8: *Dyads in King Lear* (Stein 2003:299)

⁶⁹ It might be an archaic usage (Stein 2003:302).

to	sovereigns		aristocrats		servants		members of the lower classes		court jesters/ fools		the insane	
	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V	T	V
sovereigns	62 35%	115 65%	46 46%	52 54%	24 32%	51 68%	11 100%	—	4	5	—	—
aristocrats	36 37%	60 63%	75 34%	140 66%	43 79%	11 21%	2 —	5 —	—	—	13 86%	2 14%
servants	3 11%	24 89%	4 8%	41 92%	26 52%	24 48%	6 —	—	3	1	—	—
members of the lower classes	—	3 —	9 24%	28 76%	—	6 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
court jesters/fools	64 88%	8 12%	—	—	14 94%	1 6%	—	—	—	—	—	—
the insane	—	—	25 62%	15 15%	—	2 —	—	1 —	2	—	26 78%	7 22%

Walker (2003:309-311) focuses her study on the choice of the second person pronoun both in authentic and constructed dialogues; she believes that in the selected years (1560-1600 and 1680-1720) both sex and genre (trials, depositions, handbooks and comedy drama) are influential factors. Indeed, she affirms that, in the hierarchical society of those times, politeness strategies of women remarkably differed from the ones of men. Furthermore, she hypothesizes that also linguistic factors, among them the syntactic function of a pronoun and verb collocation, may also be influential.

The material object of study is part of the *CED (Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760)* and consists of about 217 566 words of running text. For each genre, 3 texts were selected, for a total amount of 24⁷⁰. Walker (2003:311) underlines that between 1560 and 1720 there is clearly a decline of *thou*: indeed, at the beginning of the 18th century *thou* was marginally used in standard language, as also Barber (1976) suggested.

⁷⁰ For details about the chosen material and a list of primary sources, see Walker 2003:210.

In the sub-corpus built by Walker (2003), 5694 instances⁷¹ of *you* and *thou*⁷² are present (if plural *you* and *you* with the meaning of *one* as well as *thou* as part of quotes from religious texts are excluded). When more versions of the same document are available, they were included and considered different examples. The scholar (Walker 2003:313) also highlights the difficulties in categorizing the *thou*-forms since they can indicate 1) emotion, 2) the inferiority of the addressee, 3) solidarity (among the lower ranks). Thus, Walker (2003:313) decided to provide a qualitative analysis, considering the importance of text type and gender of speaker and addressee.

In trials, *thou* indicates negative emotion or the social superiority of the speaker. Furthermore, it is common in formulaic forms and its frequency, if compared with *you*, is low. The scholar, comparing the two periods object of study, also individuated a decrease in the usage of *thou* (Walker 2003:338).

In depositions, *thou* is used 1) to show social superiority, 2) reciprocally among the lower ranks; furthermore, instances of the 3) expressive *thou* are present. Even in depositions, formulaic usage is present. Of such documents, however, it is not possible to provide a diachronic study since the text type is particularly problematic: in some depositions more witnesses of the same rank are given voice, while in others, people of different ranks speak; moreover, depositions contain a very different amount of reported speech (Walker 2003:38).

In comedy dramas, the 3 uses of *thou* discussed in depositions are present and the *thou* of affection or intimacy is frequent. An evident decrease in the use of the form is shown by quantitative data (Walker 2003:339).

⁷¹ Distribution of *you* and *thou* in Walker's subcorpus (Walker 2003:314):

Period	<i>thou</i>	<i>you</i>	Total
1560–1600	574 (21.1%)	2,142 (78.9%)	2,716
1680–1720	488 (16.4%)	2,490 (83.6%)	2,978
Total	1,062 (18.7%)	4,632 (81.3%)	5,694

⁷² The analysed forms are: *thou, thee, thy, thyself, thine, you, ye, your, yourself* and *yours*, including variant spellings (Walker 2003:340).

The handbooks constitute a peculiar category. In the texts, which are of didactic nature:

[t]he expressive use of *thou* is rare, as is the reciprocal *thou* of the lower ranks. Where the speakers have the role of instructor and instructed one might expect the former to employ *thou*, but usually reciprocal *you* is used. A change over time can be seen in the English language handbooks, which should be expected to reflect the "correct" usage of their time: *thou* is no longer automatically used to address servants in the later period (Walker 2003:339).

In conclusion, generally, *thou* is mostly used to address social inferiors, “but [...] less consistently in the period 1680-1720” and the “expressive *thou* is the most persistent in the texts across time” (Walker 2003:339).

In any case, *you* is the preferred pronoun in general, even when gender differences are considered and there is an evident decrease of *thou* in the second period object of study. In such period, there is evidence of “a more marked decrease in *thou* usage by female speakers (Walker 2003:339). Male speakers, instead, tend to use *thou* to show contempt more than women and they use such form even as an in-group marker. This could be the reason why men use more *thou* forms to men than women, in both periods⁷³. Women, instead, show a preference for the safe pronoun *you*. There is no evidence of women promoting the use of reciprocal *thou*, and both men and women in the periods object of study preferred the reciprocal *you*.

Walker in 2007 published the pivotal work *Thou and You in Early Modern English dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy*, which constitutes the development of her 2003 research. According to the scholar, who has drawn her hypothesis from previous research, 3 parameters can influence the choice of the speaker: 1) age, 2) sex⁷⁴ and 3) rank. Thus, historical studies of Early Modern English society have been fundamental to investigate the above-mentioned hypothesis (Walker 2007:21-37).

Walker (2007) opts for the following categorizations for the age and rank parameters:

Table 9: Walker’s classification for the age parameter (Walker 2007:22)

⁷³ Another reason could be that men are better represented in Walker’s subcorpus (Walker 2003:340).

⁷⁴ In this phase of the study, Walker decides to avoid the term “gender” since it can be bound to social roles and behaviour associated with a certain sex (Walker 2007:22).

Code	Stage of life	Explanation	Typical age range
C	child	dependent on parents	0–13
Y	youth	usually apprentice, servant or student	14–26
A	adult	after period of service, or education, usually coinciding with marriage and child-rearing	27–early 40s
O	old adult	with adult children, described as ‘old/older’	mid 40s+

Table 10: Walker’s classification for the rank parameter (Walker 2007:25)

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

She provides a quantitative and qualitative diachronic analysis of her corpus considering both text type and 5 periods (1560-1599, 1600-1639, 1640-1679, 1680-1719 and 1720-1760). Her results show that depending on the genre, the situation remarkably differs (Walker 2007:288).

Trials show the lowest number of occurrences of *thou*, which was uncommon in the 17th century and absent after 1719. *Thou* constitutes only the 8% of pronouns (168 out of 2 187) and 73% of its occurrences are in the first period. *Thou* was particularly common in formulaic legal expressions and the non-formulaic use of *thou* is primarily present in a 1585 text, where it is referred to a defendant of inferior rank⁷⁵. If the above-

⁷⁵ He is addressed with 36 *you*-forms and 106 *thou*-forms, mostly used when he is addressed personally as a traitor (Walker 2007:289).

mentioned trial is not considered, proceedings show a sporadic use of *thou*, often encouraged by rank superiority, courtroom role, sex and/or age. Switches to *thou* seem also to indicate the desire to manipulate witnesses, expressing “negative or positive emotion [...] to either encourage or bully the witness” (Walker 2007:289).

Depositions show the highest percentage of *thou* and an “unsteady decline” of such forms in the five selected periods⁷⁶ (Walker 2007:288). The instances of pronouns are 274 and 44% of them are examples of *thou* (formulaic uses are to be found only in through-plighting cases of the late 17th century). Most depositions are about making and breaking business contracts and *you* seems the preferred pronoun. Even though many exchanges are emotional and, thus, *thou* would be expected, both pronouns are used; however, *you* is more frequent when negative feelings are involved. Rank appeared to be a significant influence on pronoun choice. It seems that gentry and professionals show a preference for *you*, even though quarreling; instead, upper commoners used *thou* to express emotion in period 1, 2 and 3 and anger in period 4 and 5, when the forms appear to be restricted to family usage. *You* was used by commoners in unemotional⁷⁷ and business contexts. Gentry used *thou* to address commoners when emotional but commoners always chose *you*. On the other hand, professionals (clergymen) could receive *thou* from angry commoners. Furthermore, women appear to use more *thou*-forms than men; however, this situation might be bound to their rank, which is lower (Walker 2007:290). Surprisingly, another parameter that seems influential in depositions is region:

In regions where THOU may still occur in the dialect today, which supplied the major part of the Depositions data, THOU was more prevalent in the data for 1560-1760. In the data for the mid-seventeenth century, THOU was found in these regions in contexts in which you was used in the regions where THOU does not occur today. Nevertheless the decline of THOU across time, with *you* found in contexts where THOU was used earlier, was attested in the data for all regions (Walker 2007:291).

As affirmed by Walker (2007:291), pronoun usage in drama comedy has received a lot of scholarly attention. In her selection of texts, 6 087 pronouns were present and *thou* was 15% of the instances. It appears that *you* was used in formulaic usage (*i.e.*, in greetings) and honorific styles; on the other hand, *thou* was used to depict characters as boastful, coarse, mad etc. Higher ranks are better represented in drama comedy; thus, evidence

⁷⁶ However, evidence about period 5 shows 21% of T-forms (Walker 2007:288).

⁷⁷ Evidence shows that also *thou* could be used in unemotional contexts.

must be interpreted according to this piece of information. All ranks seem to exchange *you* with people of the same social status, when they don't mean to express emotions. Instead, *you* was used when anger, intimacy or affection are involved. Superiors receive *you* from inferiors, who received *thou* or "an ironic *you* before 1600, a sharp or ironic *you* in the first half of the seventeenth century, and *you*, with or without such overtones, after this time" (Walker 2007:291). Servants were addressed with *thou* also in period 5; however, such form – from 1600 onwards – was particularly used by people of higher ranks, when addressing other people's servants in order to ask for help. Children addressed parents with *you* and received *you* or "a patronizing *thou*" (Walker 2008:291). In couples, *you* was the standard form; however, husbands could use *thou* to express affect or patronize. The use of *thou* by wives is rare but evidence show that when a person is addressed with *thou* and answers with *you*, intimacy/affection is rejected. The majority of *thou*-forms are used by men and women choose such forms when "they had lost control" (Walker 2007:292).

In conclusion, extra-linguistic factors definitely played a role in the pronoun choice: in depositions, it was region; in drama comedy, it was characterization. In depositions and trials, *you* was encouraged and it was also common in the language of business, both in drama comedy and depositions (in this case, the reason could be the distance that there is between sellers and clients). Evidence has also shown that changes can be observed if "the addressee was seen from a personal or business perspective" (Walker 2007:292). It appears that *you* is the "reciprocal pronoun of unemotional *familiar* address among all ranks in Depositions and Drama Comedy [...]" (Walker 2007:293). The presence of *thou* between intimates is not constant after 1600, normally it was not used reciprocally and it showed the positive or negative emotions of the speaker. Age seems not very influential in pronoun choice, on the contrary of superior power. Because of the scarce evidence, it was not possible to draw any conclusions about the influence of the age factor. Emotion and superior power are certainly the most influential factors that lead to the use of *thou*. All three genres show "*you* with an icy, bitter, or ironic tone, often a demonstration of controlled emotion (or sometimes a cold rejection of intimacy, in Drama Comedy)" (Walker 2007:293). The research also showed a decline of *thou* (Walker 2007:293).

Little evidence of the influence of linguistic factors was found: indeed, most expressions do occur both with *you* and *thou*. The only exceptions were “legal formulae in Trials, honorific styles in both Trials and Drama Comedy, and greeting formulae in Drama Comedy” (Walker 2007:293) but the scarce occurrences of such forms relatively influence the results. No evidence of the influence of syntactic function or of cooccurrence of *thou* with closed-class verbs or private verbs was found (Walker 2007:293).

Another pivotal research concerning pronoun usage is *Power and Passion in Shakespeare’s Pronouns: Interrogating ‘you’ and ‘thou’* (Freedman 2017). The study revealed that the chronology of Shakespearean plays has no influence on pronoun choice; however, a change in usage is suggested: the early history plays may report a conscious archaic usage of T and the evolution of the usage may simply mirror the maturity of the Bard, instead of a change in language. It seems that pronoun usage is somehow related to genre, even though “no convention is actually genre specific”⁷⁸ (Freedman 2017: Conclusions) and setting, situation, character, relationship, mood, tenor and rhetoric play definitely a role. The scholar does not fail to highlight that the patterns are multi-layered: there is a norm and when the usage is different from it, there may be hidden meanings, which is worth investigating (Freedman 2017).

Freedman (2017) is convinced that pronoun choice enriches meaning; however, the “conditions for the use of T or V must be sufficient, but they are very rarely necessary” (Freedman 2017: Conclusions). Pronouns are definitely a hint for directors and actors, who are guided to gain better understanding of obscure passages. Such hints might be unnoticed by younger audiences or they could read them as highly formal archaisms, when they might mark the contrary. Instead, in Shakespearean times, their meaning was clear to the audience; today, the responsibility is fully on the actors and directors (Freedman 2017).

The research of van Dorst (2019) aims at creating a prediction model to understand the linguistic and extra-linguistic features that determine the pronoun choice in Shakespeare. Thus, the study is empirical and involves a computational approach (van Dorst 2019:33). The scholar selected 23 features⁷⁹, tried three different algorithms (Naive

⁷⁸ Such statements by Freedman (2017) are definitely contradictory.

⁷⁹ Features used in Van Dorst’s study (2019:35):

Bayes, decision tree and support vector machine), determined that the support vector machine is the best choice and examined both the *you/thou* and the *you/thou/thee* distinction.

Van Dorst (2019:31) extracted all occurrences of *thou*, *thee* and *you* from 38 Shakespearean plays⁸⁰ and coded every instance manually for the above-mentioned 23 features. Before providing a detailed analysis, she feels essential to highlight that only *you* survived the Early Modern English period; furthermore, *thou* disappeared less than 100 years after Shakespeare’s plays were written, “surviving in dialects and archaicized registers, such as pious addresses to divinity” (van Dorst 2019:31-32). Her research can be considered groundbreaking since most previous studies have focused only on a selection of Shakespearean plays and are not quantitative (if they are data-based, they only examine “basic” features such as raw frequency). However, the results of such studies have been useful for van Dorst (2019:32), who was able to develop her model and formulate her hypotheses from their results.

The scholar (van Dorst 2019:33-34) hypothesizes that:

- 1) No single model will be able to predict the pronominal address term solely based on linguistic and extra-linguistic features.
[...]
- 2) The features of social status, age and sentiment will be better predictors of the pronoun choice than other features.
[...]

Feature	Acronym	Annotation
Genre	Genre	Pre-annotated
Play name	Play	Pre-annotated
Play, act, scene	Scene	Pre-annotated
Speaker ID	S_ID	Pre-annotated
Speaker gender	S_Gender	Pre-annotated
Speaker status	S_Status	Pre-annotated
Production date	Prod_Date	Pre-annotated
N-gram	LW1-3, RW1-3	Automatic
Positive sentiment	Pos_Sent	Automatic
Negative sentiment	Neg_Sent	Automatic
Speaker age	S_Age	Manual
Location	Location	Manual
Addressee ID	A_ID	Automatic
Addressee gender	A_Gender	Pre-annotated
Addressee status	A_Status	Pre-annotated
Addressee age	A_Age	Manual
Status differential	Stat_Diff	Automatic
No. of people addressed	A_Number	Pre-annotated

⁸⁰ The plays are part of the *Encyclopaedia of Shakespeare’s Language*, a project of the Lancaster University, which includes a rich annotation system, further integrated by Van Dorst. Such corpus encompasses the plays published in the First Folio as well as *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Pericles: Prince of Tyre* (van Dorst 2019:34).

- 3) The best performing algorithm will combine features both dependently and independently.

Van Dorst (2019:40) affirms that the state of the art as well as the results of her research confirm that the difference between *thou* and *thee* is grammatical. Thus, the binary classification is the correct choice. The algorithm that performed best – as anticipated – is the support vector machine (SVM): despite the scores for the Naïve Bayes algorithm being similar to the ones of the SVM, the SVM⁸¹ includes more features⁸² and its usage is thus beneficial (van Dorst 2019:40).

The best predicting features are words occurring on the left and on the right, especially *the first word occurring on the left has a strong influence on the pronoun choice*. Other particularly influential features are:

the speaker's name, addressee's name, status differential, positive sentiment and negative sentiment, with additional support from the speaker's gender, addressee's status, addressee's age, speaker's age, and number of people addressed (Van Dorst 2019:40).

In conclusion, according to van Dorst (2019:40), the main predictor of pronoun choice is the immediate co-text; however, social status, age and sentiment definitely play also a role.

4.2. A critical appraisal of the state of the art

Most of the examined studies focus on the period between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, when many literary works were published. As previously stated, the literary usage may be similar to the everyday one; however, traces of artistic exaggeration are surely present, as Wales (1983:108) underlined.

Previous research focused mainly on 5 text types: 1) plays - mostly Shakespearean works, 2) letters, 3) trials, 4) depositions⁸³ and 5) (English) historical grammars. The results of the above-mentioned studies can be summarized in five main groups, that is, research that:

⁸¹ Its accuracy is 87,3% (van Dorst 2019:41).

⁸² This implies that it combines both dependent and independent features (van Dorst 2019:37).

⁸³ Such texts are speech-purposed (1), speech-like (2) or speech-based (3; 4), as Culpeper and Kytö (2014:17) highlight.

1. distinguishes between marked and unmarked pronoun usage;
2. finds evidence of the influence of sociolinguistic factors and/or (im)politeness on pronoun choice;
3. highlights the influence of the linguistic context on the pronoun choice;
4. sees the pronoun forms almost as interchangeable (no specific rule is observed);
5. finds evidence of two, or more, of the above-mentioned influence factors.

The distinction between marked and unmarked usage, which is promoted by some studies (among them: Brown and Gilman 1960; Mullholland 1967; Quirk 1971; Wales 1983) seems a rather outdated concept, thus, the issue won't be treated in such terms in the present study. Furthermore, it is believed that the interchangeability of pronoun forms is unlikely, if not impossible, because of the economy principle that governs any language. Therefore, the influence of a) (im)politeness and b) sociolinguistic factors will be considered. More specifically, four social variables – which are fundamental in the (im)politeness theory as delineated by Brown and Levinson (1987:74) and implemented by Culpeper (1996; 2011) and Del Villano (2018) – will be considered: social distance (D), relative power (P), ranking of imposition (R) and reflexivity (RF). Social distance can be defined as the degree of familiarity between speaker and hearer; relative power is the level/degree of imposition that the speaker can have on the hearer; ranking of imposition is strictly bound to culture and it refers to “the degree of external social imposition” on the speaker or hearer (Del Villano 2018:38); reflexivity, instead, is a specific Renaissance variable, which could be useful to address exceptions in pronouns usage, indeed, “people of high rank [could use] positive politeness as a form of reflexive courtesy: the more polite a lord, the more powerful he [could appear] to those around him and this was all the more true for a king” (Del Villano 2018:96).

Sociolinguistic factors may also play a role. Therefore, sex, age, rank, kinship and origin of the speaker (place of birth or place where the person has lived most of their life)⁸⁴ will be considered. Such information will be mainly drawn from the *Oxford English Dictionary of Bibliography*.

⁸⁴ Some information might not be available.

5. Towards a *Corpus of Early Modern English Trials (1650 - 1700)*

The corpus of *Early Modern English Trials (1650-1700)*, henceforth *EMET*, has been created specifically for the purposes of this research and it is a highly specialized historical corpus of trial proceedings. The main purpose of the creation of the above-mentioned corpus is to shed light on the pragmatic aspects of Early Modern spoken English, since trial proceedings are considered records of authentic dialogues (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:17).

The initial part of this chapter will illustrate the phase of corpus compilation, which involves designing the corpus through archives consultation and collecting trials through defined criteria; furthermore, it will discuss the technical stages that are necessary to the uploading of a corpus on #LancsBox, and to its study. Afterwards, the *EMET* itself will be presented.

The corpus building stage has taken almost two years as the choices made in this phase of the research affect its quality. In fact, as Gablasova, Brezina and McEnery (2019:127) underline:

The properties of a corpus, such as representativeness, structure and amount of evidence, directly affect the ability of researchers to interpret findings and generalise to contexts outside of the corpus (Leech 2007; Gablasova, Brezina & McEnery 2017). Decisions made at the corpus-building stage can thus have far-reaching consequences for the quality of research studies based on them; this is especially true of large-scale corpus-building projects, with their products expected to be used in a large number of research studies [...].

For this reason, the first phases of the research requested a series of informed decisions, which will be motivated in the present chapter. More specifically, the corpus building stage involved four phases, the last one of secondary importance for the present research: i) the archives consultation and the selection of the trials; ii) editing [phase A]; iii) normalisation and editing [phase B]; iv) linguistic annotation.

5.1. The archives consultation

The first phase comprised a query of databases; initially, the chosen time span was from 1650 to 1750 and the involved databases were:

- *Archive.org*;
- *the Oxford Text Archive (OTA)*;
- *the Eighteenth Century Collection Online (ECCO)*;
- *the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*;
- *Old Bailey Online*;
- *Early English Books Online (EEBO)*.

In each of them the query was conducted using the early modern variants⁸⁵ of the word “trial” (*i.e.*, *trial*, *triall*, *tryal* and *tryall*), which were determined with the help of *Lexicons of Early Modern English (LEME)*⁸⁶ and of *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Onions, Friedrichsen and Burchfield 1966); because of the nature of the research question – which involves an analysis of face-to-face interaction – accounts of trials, in running prose which was “the form traditionally used for official records” (Culpeper and Kytö, 2014:50) were excluded and only trials in the dialogue format were selected because of the high frequency of the second person pronoun (Walker 2007:12). After the scrutiny of all the chosen materials, the time span of the research was narrowed, excluding both the editions of trials held in the 17th century but published at a later time⁸⁷, and all the documents concerning trials held in the 18th century. The reason behind this choice lies in the problematic nature of the texts printed in the 18th century. In fact, from 1695,

⁸⁵ The phenomenon of variants in Early Modern English will be discussed with normalization in Section 5.3.

⁸⁶ *LEME (Lexicons of Early Modern English: introduction)* is a historical database comprising various types of useful printed or manuscript sources from about 1475 to 1755 (monolingual, bilingual, and polyglot dictionaries, lexical encyclopedias, hard-word glossaries, spelling lists, and lexically-valuable treatises).

⁸⁷ The decision was made observing the *State Trials*, a series of 33 volumes that aimed at collecting most of the important criminal and constitutional cases “from Norman down through Stuart and (in later editions) Georgian times” (Langbein 1978:264). The new edition of the above-mentioned trials was projected by William Cobbett, who chose Thomas Bayly Howell as editor. While T. B. Howell edited the first 21 volumes (1809-1814), his son - Thomas Jones Howell - edited the following 12 (Goodwin 2004). Since it was not possible to check at least the “extracts from these texts against the extant manuscript material”, as suggested by Culpeper and Kytö (2014:51), the *State Trials* – as well as sources presenting similar characteristics – were excluded as it is believed that the editor could have made choices that may influence the results of the present research. This is particularly true in the case of the *State Trials* because the collection includes a large amount of data; however, it would also be relevant if the corpus included several proceedings, not part of the same collection, but printed many years after the trial was held (Archer 2005:12-13). In fact, in the above-mentioned case, language change could have played a significant role. For these reasons, only materials printed within 10 years after the trial were selected so that later language use could not influence the data [a similar case is presented by Culpeper and Kytö (2014:112) when discussing *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* (1966) and its status as “Present-day”].

the year of the licensing of the Press Act 1662 that marks the beginning of freedom of press in England, the book trade lived various troublesome phases, including a thorough battle against piracy (Feather 1988:63; Maruca 2007:121). The above-mentioned phases, which are essential for the path towards the freedom of press, are considered controversial; thus, the time span was narrowed to 1650-1700. In other words, the *Eighteen Century Collection Online* was excluded from the databases object of the query and a selection of materials from other databases was also carried, according to the established criteria. Since some of the documents were included in many databases, it was decided that the main source would be *EEBO*, followed in order by *Old Bailey Online*, *Oxford Text Archive*, *the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* and *Archive.org*.

The selection resulted in a highly specialized historical corpus, that is the *EMET*, which contains 59 trials and over 1.8 million words⁸⁸. In other words, the “focus [of the present research is] on a specialized type of discourse used by a relatively restricted group of speakers” (Paquot and Gries 2020:3), as in most small-scale projects. The chosen trials are believed to be “samples”, which statistically can be defined as “a group of cases” representative of a population; because of representativeness⁸⁹, the results concerning the above-mentioned samples can be generalized to the population living in the Early Modern Period, whom was given voice during trials (McEnery and Hardie 2012:250). Metadata about the speakers has been collected and it will be included in chapter 6. However, it is worth noting and acknowledging that most of the speakers in the *EMET* are part of the higher ranks of society. This is probably because trials about personalities were easier to sell and often showed the power of the monarch. In fact, high treason is the most common accusation in the *EMET*: while acquittals in the above-mentioned cases are rare, in the ordinary criminal prosecution were frequent (Langbein 1978:267).

⁸⁸ The exact number of tokens after editing and normalisation is 1 847 699.

⁸⁹ No precise rules to determine representativeness and balance in a corpus are definable because of the vagueness of the above-mentioned notions (Paquot and Gries 2020:5). Since the compilation of historical corpora is particularly challenging because of the limited amount of information available, in the compilation of the *EMET* the discourse of the speakers of every age, rank and sex has been taken into consideration and the aforementioned factors are believed to be useful to determinate potential difference in their speeches.

5.2. Editing (phase A)

The texts were edited before the count; more specifically, information about retrieval, which was often automatically included in the files⁹⁰, dedications⁹¹, advertising⁹², warnings and disclaimers to the readers⁹³ were deleted. Letters and depositions were also deleted if they were not read during the trials⁹⁴: in fact, it was customary for publishing houses to include additional documents at the end of the texts, for entertainment purposes. Any deletion was indicated within the text with square brackets [...], and it is thus

⁹⁰ The files often included the URL, an abstract, page numbering (often including the word “page”) information about publication, author and manuscript (or book); furthermore, the title was often listed twice.

⁹¹ The dedication that was present at the beginning of the *The Proceedings and Tryal in the Case of the Most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Right Reverend Fathers in God, William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, Francis, Lord Bishop of Ely, John, Lord Bishop of Chichester, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, and Jonathan, Lord Bishop of Bristol* is partially reproduced here:

TO HIS Most Illustrious HIGHNESS WILLIAM HENRY, Prince of Orange. May it please Your Highness,
HOW deeply the Design was laid, and with what Violence carry'd on by those who lately Steer'd the Helm of this State, for the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion and Government of these Three Kingdoms, is already sufficiently well known to Your Highness. [...].

⁹² Early Modern Courts were venues for entertainment, especially if notorious individuals were involved in the trials (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:119); for the same reason, accounts of trials and “verbatim” records were a form of written entertainment. Thus, it was customary to include information concerning the next publications at the end of the pamphlet or book. For instance, the following advertisement, which was placed at the end of *The Tryal and Condemnation of Dr. Oliver Plunket*, was deleted: “ADVERTISEMENT. Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester, who died the 26. of July, 1680. By Gilbert Burnet, D. D. Are to be sold by Eliphaz Dobson Bookseller on Cork-Hill, 1681”.

⁹³ For instance, here is partially reported a disclaimer that was part of *The Tryal of John Giles*:

To the Reader. Certain it is, that by the Fall of Adam the General Peace establish'd through the whole Creation betwixt Man and Man, and even among the Beasts themselves, was universally-broken. Nature could never restore that Peace to the Brute Animals, but that they still devour and prey one upon another. But Heaven provided for Rational Man a Sacred Means to regain and preserve that Blessed Unity, which would have always accompany'd his State of Innocency, which was the Observance of Religion; which as it binds us to God, so ought it to tie us one to another in the strict bonds of Heavenly Example. To this intent, at length Christ himself brought down from Heaven a Gospel of Love and Charity; so that, as it is the True Character of a True Religion to Unite and Preserve, so it is the most certain Sign of a False and Counterfeit Religion, to disunite and destroy Mankind. [...].

⁹⁴Cusack (as quoted in Culpeper and Kytö 2014:54) affirms that “[t]he regular procedure was for depositions to be read aloud in court, the witness being present to confirm his or her evidence and to answer any questions that might arise.”

excluded from the final word count. Then, every document was converted into plain text and normalized because of the presence of a large amount of spelling variation in Early Modern English⁹⁵ texts, despite the gradual standardization⁹⁶ that took place between 1500 and 1700 (Görlach 1991; Nevalainen 2006). Concisely, language in the Early Modern period underwent continuous changes and by 1700 was considerably homogenous (Baron 2011:55). As the following graphs underline (Baron 2011:55), which considers the average variant percentage over 6 corpora (*ARCHER*, *EEBO*, *Innsbruck*, *Lampeter*, *EMEMT* and *Shakespeare*), spelling variation decreased markedly between 1400 and 1800:

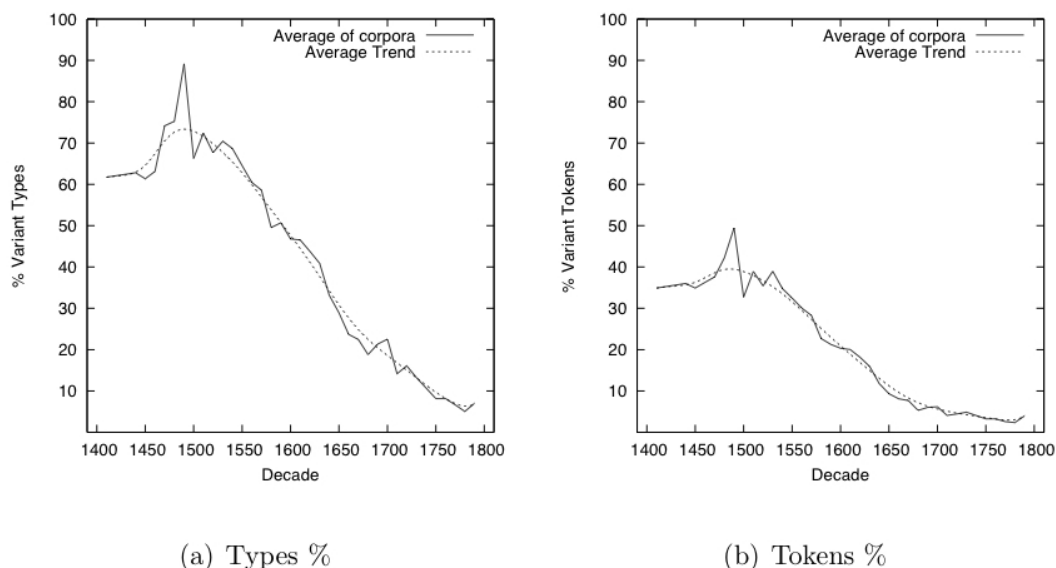


Figure 2. Comparison of variant counts in EEBO corpus samples with (=original) and without initial capital words (Baron 2011:55).

⁹⁵ Early Modern English is of a particular research interest because it influenced the standard modern English spoken nowadays and much materials, handwritten or printed in the period, can be easily retrieved and used to build corpora [this possibility is strictly bound to the figure of William Caxton, who introduced the printing press in 1476, to the spread of London and Chancery English, to the introduction of dictionaries in the 18th century and to the growth of literacy among people (Baron 2011:2-9)].

⁹⁶ Standardization is a sociolinguistic process, “which expands the range of the uses to which a language is put, but restricts its internal variability” (Nevalainen 2006:8). More specifically, scholars refer to standardization as the process that see a certain usage, peculiar of a given region or group of people, becoming the norm in writing and being codified in grammar books and dictionaries (Nevalainen 2006:8).

The standardization of English began in the late Middle Ages when the vernacular substituted Latin and French in some functions; the process came to an end only after a long phase of codification between 1700 and 1800, when the first dictionaries were published (Nevalainen 2006:8; Baron 2011:3). The present-day English is a sort of development of the southern dialects since the royal writing offices and early printing presses, which were the first national models for spelling, “referred to the southern rather than northern dialects for spelling norms” (Nevalainen 2006:32) and were also located in the capital (Nevalainen 2006:32).

As Baron (2011:18) affirms, the search in any Early Modern corpus is particularly problematic:

[in fact,] using a simple search algorithm would only return the occurrences of the word when it is spelt exactly the same as the search query – spelling variants of a word would not be returned. One option is to search for both the word and its variants, however, it is often difficult to know all of the possible spelling variants for a word and the lists can be very long, substantially increasing processing time.

The trials object of the present study can be considered particularly “noisy” texts; indeed, “the spelling of a word might change depending upon the author, scribe or publisher – as well as numerous other factors” (Baron 2011:2); considered the above discussed issue and the option for the search in any Early Modern corpus, normalization⁹⁷ is a fundamental phase of any corpus linguistics research concerning historical texts and, thus, of the present one. In other words, spelling variation appears as a barrier to corpus linguistics analysis and it is an issue that must be handled accurately, using normalized texts when available⁹⁸ or normalizing the documents at issue (Baron 2011:17).

⁹⁷ In the following table, examples of spelling variants are reported:

WORD (2022) / POS	Early Modern Variant n. 1	Early Modern Variant n. 2	Early Modern Variant n. 3	Early Modern Variant n. 4	Notes
To be / _V	To be	To bee	n.a.	n.a.	Bee_N (insect)
To do / _V	To do	To doe	n.a.	n.a.	Doe_N (adult female cervid)
Trial / _N	Trial	Triall	Tryal	Tryall	-

Common spelling variations were the doubling of consonants, the addition of “e” at the end of the word, the insertion of apostrophe and omission of “e”, the interchangeability of vowels and the interchangeability of “u” and “v” (Baron 2011:12). The last characters of the variant are the most common position for rule edit in Early Modern English, followed by the middle of variants; the beginning of the word is the least common position. Indeed, “the first character, in the majority of cases, does not need to be edited for normalization (Baron 2011:82). For a detailed study of the topic, see Baron 2011:71-82.

Today, it is considered a mistake to use different spellings of the same word (indeed, it is forbidden to use both American and British spelling in the same document); in Early Modern England, instead, the practice was common and not criticized: albeit sporadically, a word could appear in different spellings in the same document. The reasons behind this process are mostly related to 1) layout issues (*e.g.*, justification), 2) change of scribe (each scribe had their preference concerning spelling), 3) influence of the manuscript that was being copied and retained a word spelled differently from the habits of the scribe, and 4) influence of a local dialect (Baron 2011:13).

⁹⁸ Modern editions of most fiction texts, such as Shakespearean plays, are in circulation already normalized.

5.3. Normalisation and editing (phase B)

The software used for normalisation is the Variant Detector (VARD, version 2.5.4), which is customisable and trainable and, thus, it can “tune the normalisation process for a specific corpus and the individual properties of its spelling variation” (Baron 2011:140). The software was developed thanks to the manual compilation of a large “Early Modern regularization list”, realized through the manual inspection of words tagged as Z99 by USAS⁹⁹. USAS relies on a modern dictionary, thus, if it fails to tag a word, the term could be a spelling variant (Baron 2011:28).

VARD is aimed at standardizing spelling variation in historical corpora in order to allow an easier analysis with the computational linguistics tools; texts can be either processed manually or automatically (“batch normalisation”). More specifically, the tool helps to individuate spelling variants and, if used manually offers “appropriate modern equivalents”, if used automatically, selects that type of equivalents (Archer, Kytö, Baron and Rayson 2015:11). The tool, which was developed drawing on “methods from modern modern spellchecking”, gives the scholars the choice to either retain, within the corpus, the original spelling signaling it with an XML tag surrounding the replacement ([“h]ence: <normalised orig="charitie">charity</normalised>”) (Archer, Kytö, Baron and Rayson 2015:11) or to simply use the plain version of the corpus, without any signal of the normalisation, which took place.

Since the *EMET* was specifically designed to investigate the pragmatic difference in the use of the Y- and T-forms, every term object of study was searched in the various hypotheses of normalisation as well as in the non-normalized corpus. Since the manual normalization of a 1.8 million words corpus is time-consuming, batch normalization was performed and, after quickly comparing more versions of the batch normalized corpus, two different combinations of parameters were selected and thoroughly compared in order to select the most appropriate:

⁹⁹ “The UCREL semantic analysis system is a framework for undertaking the automatic semantic analysis of text” (for more information, visit: <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/>).

- a. f-score weight: 1.0; threshold: 50%;
- b. f-score weight 1.0; threshold: 75%.

The parameter named “f-score weight” is strictly bound to confidence scores for methods and replacements; it is calculated considering both the precision and recall scores. Since precision and recall are believed to have the same relevance in the *EMET*, the f-score weight was set on 1¹⁰⁰, avoiding weights to bias towards precision (f-score weight <1) or towards recall (f-score weight >1) (VARD User Guide 2013).

Setting the threshold, instead, required a slower process because the process is strictly bound to the concept of confidence score. More specifically, at every potential normalisation for a given variant corresponds a confidence score and the tool, when using the batch processing mode, automatically selects the normalisation with the highest confidence score to replace the variant at issue (VARD User Guide 2013). Thus, the threshold is essential to determine the minimum confidence score that is necessary for a normalisation to be allowed and “if the threshold¹⁰¹ is not met by the top normalisation suggestion the word is left as a variant” (VARD User Guide 2013).

Observing the following table, it is immediately apparent that the *corpus* (and thus, the research question itself) significantly benefits from the normalisation process.

Table 11. Comparison among different versions of the EMET.

Threshold	Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thy self Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself Your self	Yours	Pray you
Non normalized	523	146	13	17	350	38 0	0	29 090	57	8 606	11 480	68	30
50%	523	155	25	6	355	38 0	0	29 096	62	8 607	11 482	69	30
75%	523	155	25	6	350	38 0	0	29 095	62	8 607	11 482	68	30

Setting the a) parameters (*i.e.*, f-score weight: 1.0 and threshold: 50%), the results are unusual; in fact, it appears that the form of the second person singular pronoun thy and

¹⁰⁰ The modification of the parameter could lead to a difference in the ranking of the available variants or some variants presenting “a score above the current automatic replacement threshold” (VARD User Guide 2013).

¹⁰¹ Threshold can be set in the range between 0% and 100% (VARD User Guide 2013).

thy self are 355, while in the non-normalized corpus were 350. This difference is due to the normalisation process; in fact, some forms – which in the files lacked the final letter(s) because their manuscripts were not completely readable – were incorrectly emended by the normalisation software when the parameters threshold 50% and f-score weight 1 were set.

Setting the b) parameters (*i.e.*, f-score weight: 1.0 and threshold: 75%), instead, solved the issue. However, another one arose. More specifically, in *The Trial of Thomas White alias Whitebread* (1679) a form was incorrectly left as “prithe” and, thus, it was manually emended to “prithee”:

Table 12. *Manual emendation of the word “prithe” in The Trial of Thomas White alias Whitebread (1679).*

Normalized version	Manually emended version
No Simpson said I, well said he <i>prithe</i> come to us. So I was with him walking a little while, and then this Blunt and one Henry Howard were playing one with another, throwing stones at one anothers Shins.	No Simpson said I, well said he <i>prithee</i> come to us. So I was with him walking a little while, and then this Blunt and one Henry Howard were playing one with another, throwing stones at one anothers Shins.

Setting a high threshold ensured that terms are normalised only when the software is “highly confident of its top ranked candidate normalization” (Baron 2011:141) and, thus, precision is high.

Before discussing the decisions behind the attribution of the file names, the statistics concerning the normalisation process will be briefly presented in table 13. The table is divided in two main sections, the first concerning words and the second concerning tokens. In both sections, the data concerning the total number of words or tokens, variant forms, normalized, originally variants, variants normalized and not variants are reported. Furthermore, at the bottom of each section, the totals are calculated in order to give an overview of the entire process.

Table 13. *Statistics concerning the normalisation of the EMET with the b) parameters.*

File	Words											
	Total Words	Variant Forms		Normalised		Originally Variants		Variants Normalised		Not Variants		
/1651JohnGibbons.txt	1421	83	5,84%	+	129	9,08%	=	212	14,92%	60,85%	1209	85,08%
/1655ColonelJohnPenruddock.txt	922	78	8,46%		85	9,22%		163	17,68%	52,15%	759	82,32%
/1658MrMordaunt.txt	1486	72	4,85%		127	8,55%		199	13,39%	63,82%	1287	86,61%
/1658Sir Henry Slingsby,Kt., ohn Hewet,.txt	1948	179	9,19%		157	8,06%		336	17,25%	46,73%	1612	82,75%

/1660PretendedJudges.txt	578	58	10,03 %	45	7,79%	103	17,82 %	43,69%	475	82,18 %
/1660ThomasHarrison.txt	650	60	9,23%	52	8,00%	112	17,23 %	46,43%	538	82,77 %
/1663JamesTurner.txt	2521	329	13,05 %	288	11,42 %	617	24,47 %	46,68%	1904	75,53 %
/1663Mary Moders.txt	842	49	5,82%	49	5,82%	98	11,64 %	50,00%	744	88,36 %
/1678Edward Coleman.txt	3566	262	7,35%	319	8,95%	581	16,29 %	54,91%	2985	83,71 %
/1678Philip Earl of Pembroke.txt	1640	71	4,33%	78	4,76%	149	9,09%	52,35%	1491	90,91 %
/1678RDUVWilliam Ireland,Thomas Pickering.txt	2926	431	14,73 %	270	9,23%	701	23,96 %	38,52%	2225	76,04 %
/1678Robert Green, Henry Berry.txt	2678	222	8,29%	260	9,71%	482	18,00 %	53,94%	2196	82,00 %
/1678William Stayley.txt	872	47	5,39%	43	4,93%	90	10,32 %	47,78%	782	89,68 %
/1679Andrew Brommich and William Atkin.txt	235	20	8,51%	9	3,83%	29	12,34 %	31,03%	206	87,66 %
/1679John Tasborough and Ann Price.txt	1853	159	8,58%	127	6,85%	286	15,43 %	44,41%	1567	84,57 %
/1679Lionel Anderson, alias Munson.txt	1994	142	7,12%	127	6,37%	269	13,49 %	47,21%	1725	86,51 %
/1679RDURichard Langhorn Es.txt	2829	379	13,40 %	213	7,53%	592	20,93 %	35,98%	2237	79,07 %
/1679RDU Sir George Wakeman Baronet.txt	3410	531	15,57 %	298	8,74%	829	24,31 %	35,95%	2581	75,69 %
/1679RDUThomas White alias Whitebread.txt	3305	387	11,71 %	266	8,05%	653	19,76 %	40,74%	2652	80,24 %
/1679Sr Thomas Gascoyne Bar.txt	2540	316	12,44 %	200	7,87%	516	20,31 %	38,76%	2024	79,69 %
/1679Thomas Knox and John Lane.txt	2054	172	8,37%	130	6,33%	302	14,70 %	43,05%	1752	85,30 %
/1680Elizabeth CellierJune.txt	873	53	6,07%	58	6,64%	111	12,71 %	52,25%	762	87,29 %
/1680Elizabeth CellierSept.txt	1730	94	5,43%	97	5,61%	191	11,04 %	50,79%	1539	88,96 %
/1680John Giles.txt	1693	105	6,20%	99	5,85%	204	12,05 %	48,53%	1489	87,95 %
/1680RDUWilliam Viscount Stafford.txt	5492	776	14,13 %	403	7,34%	1179	21,47 %	34,18%	4313	78,53 %
/1680Roger Earl of Castlemaine.txt	986	62	6,29%	52	5,27%	114	11,56 %	45,61%	872	88,44 %
/1681Edw. Fitz-Harri.txt	3072	395	12,86 %	248	8,07%	643	20,93 %	38,57%	2429	79,07 %
/1681George Borosky alias Borotzi.txt	2369	167	7,05%	166	7,01%	333	14,06 %	49,85%	2036	85,94 %
/1681RDU Dr. Oliver Plunket.txt	2172	189	8,70%	121	5,57%	310	14,27 %	39,03%	1862	85,73 %
/1681Sr. Miles Stapleton Bar.txt	1494	178	11,91 %	140	9,37%	318	21,29 %	44,03%	1176	78,71 %
/1681Stephen Colledg.txt	3804	324	8,52%	281	7,39%	605	15,90 %	46,45%	3199	84,10 %
/1682George-Busby_.txt	1906	173	9,08%	130	6,82%	303	15,90 %	42,90%	1603	84,10 %
/1682Nathanael Thompson.txt	908	52	5,73%	42	4,63%	94	10,35 %	44,68%	814	89,65 %
/1682Tho. Pilkington, Esq.txt	2048	167	8,15%	103	5,03%	270	13,18 %	38,15%	1778	86,82 %
/1683Algernon Sidney.txt	2889	218	7,55%	188	6,51%	406	14,05 %	46,31%	2483	85,95 %
/1683Lord Russel.txt	2555	177	6,93%	164	6,42%	341	13,35 %	48,09%	2214	86,65 %
/1683RDU William Hone.txt	762	33	4,33%	26	3,41%	59	7,74%	44,07%	703	92,26 %
/1683Sam. Barnardiston.txt	1408	99	7,03%	76	5,40%	175	12,43 %	43,43%	1233	87,57 %
/1683Walcot,Hone, Lord Russell,Rous,Blagg.txt	4114	486	11,81 %	325	7,90%	811	19,71 %	40,07%	3303	80,29 %
/1685Henry Baron Delamere.txt	2968	244	8,22%	191	6,44%	435	14,66 %	43,91%	2533	85,34 %
/1685Henry Cornish, Esq.txt	2357	187	7,93%	185	7,85%	372	15,78 %	49,73%	1985	84,22 %
/1685John Hambden.txt	2670	186	6,97%	165	6,18%	351	13,15 %	47,01%	2319	86,85 %
/1685Titus Oates.txt	3742	445	11,89 %	352	9,41%	797	21,30 %	44,17%	2945	78,70 %
/1688Rowland Walters, Dearing Bradshaw.txt	778	42	5,40%	26	3,34%	68	8,74%	38,24%	710	91,26 %
/1688William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.txt	4043	585	14,47 %	273	6,75%	858	21,22 %	31,82%	3185	78,78 %
/1690Sir Rich. Grahme and John Ashton.txt	3214	370	11,51 %	226	7,03%	596	18,54 %	37,92%	2618	81,46 %
/1692Henry Duke of Norfolk.txt	1095	108	9,86%	53	4,84%	161	14,70 %	32,92%	934	85,30 %
/1692Henry Harrison.txt	1863	176	9,45%	128	6,87%	304	16,32 %	42,11%	1559	83,68 %
/1695Capt. Henry Wickham.txt	912	48	5,26%	38	4,17%	86	9,43%	44,19%	826	90,57 %
/1695Sir John Friend.txt	1930	114	5,91%	120	6,22%	234	12,12 %	51,28%	1696	87,88 %
/1695Sir William Parkin.txt	2479	209	8,43%	225	9,08%	434	17,51 %	51,84%	2045	82,49 %
/1696 Peter Cooke.txt	2960	285	9,63%	244	8,24%	529	17,87 %	46,12%	2431	82,13 %
/1696AmbroseRookwood.txt	2884	376	13,04 %	258	8,95%	634	21,98 %	40,69%	2250	78,02 %
/1696Capt. Thomas Vaughan.txt	2117	204	9,64%	180	8,50%	384	18,14 %	46,88%	1733	81,86 %
/1696Charles Cranburne.txt	2996	548	18,29 %	255	8,51%	803	26,80 %	31,76%	2193	73,20 %
/1696Dawson,Forseith,May,Bishop,Lewis, Sparkes.txt	1954	163	8,34%	139	7,11%	302	15,46 %	46,03%	1652	84,54 %
/1699Edward, Earl of Warwick and Holland.txt	3704	1042	28,13 %	329	8,88%	1371	37,01 %	24,00%	2333	62,99 %
/1699Mary Butler.txt	928	83	8,94%	31	3,34%	114	12,28 %	27,19%	814	87,72 %
/1699Spencer Cowper.txt	3223	299	9,28%	308	9,56%	607	18,83 %	50,74%	2616	81,17 %

	Total Words	Variant Forms		+	Normalised		=	Originally Variants		Normalized	Not Variants	
SUM	129362	13509			9717			2322			106136	
AVERAGE	2192,58	228,966	10,44%		164,7	7,51%		393,7	17,95%	41,84%	1798,9	82,05%
MAX	5492	1042	28,13%		403	11,42%		1371	37,01%	63,82%	4313	92,26%
MIN	235	20	4,33%		9	3,34%		29	7,74%	24,00%	206	62,99%

Tokens												
File	Total Tokens	Variant Forms		+	Normalised		=	Originally Variants		Normalized	Not Variants	
/1651JohnGibbons.txt	10338	157	1,52%		313	3,03%		470	4,55%	66,60%	9868	95,45%
/1655ColonelJohnPenruddock.txt	3620	99	2,73%		132	3,65%		231	6,38%	57,14%	3389	93,62%
/1658MrMordaunt.txt	9131	303	3,32%		258	2,83%		561	6,14%	45,99%	8570	93,86%
/1658Sir Henry Slingsby,Kt., ohn Hewet.,txt	18600	584	3,14%		309	1,66%		893	4,80%	34,60%	17707	95,20%
/1660PretendedJudges.txt	3283	203	6,18%		144	4,39%		347	10,57%	41,50%	2936	89,43%
/1660ThomasHarrison.txt	2456	120	4,89%		85	3,46%		205	8,35%	41,46%	2251	91,65%
/1663JamesTurner.txt	26182	774	2,96%		583	2,23%		1357	5,18%	42,96%	24825	94,82%
/1663Mary Moders.txt	4343	90	2,07%		89	2,05%		179	4,12%	49,72%	4164	95,88%
/1678Edward Coleman.txt	39767	769	1,93%		737	1,85%		1506	3,79%	48,94%	38261	96,21%
/1678Philip Earl of Pembroke.txt	16480	304	1,84%		302	1,83%		606	3,68%	49,83%	15874	96,32%
/1678RDUVWilliam Ireland,Thomas Pickering.txt	30623	1155	3,77%		710	2,32%		1865	6,09%	38,07%	28758	93,91%
/1678Robert Green, Henry Berry.txt	33861	833	2,46%		881	2,60%		1714	5,06%	51,40%	32147	94,94%
/1678William Stayley.txt	4195	78	1,86%		67	1,60%		145	3,46%	46,21%	4050	96,54%
/1679Andrew Brommich and William Atkin.txt	503	31	6,16%		15	2,98%		46	9,15%	32,61%	457	90,85%
/1679John Tasborough and Ann Price.txt	21592	851	3,94%		426	1,97%		1277	5,91%	33,36%	20315	94,09%
/1679Lionel Anderson, alias Munson.txt	25959	634	2,44%		539	2,08%		1173	4,52%	45,95%	24786	95,48%
/1679RDURichard Langhorn Es.txt	37064	960	2,59%		1015	2,74%		1975	5,33%	51,39%	35089	94,67%
/1679RDUWilliam George Wakeman Baronet.txt	49563	1705	3,44%		935	1,89%		2640	5,33%	35,42%	46923	94,67%
/1679RDUThomas White alias Whitebread.txt	54728	1877	3,43%		1025	1,87%		2902	5,30%	35,32%	51826	94,70%
/1679Sr Thomas Gascoyne Bar.txt	33262	1752	5,27%		531	1,60%		2283	6,86%	23,26%	30979	93,14%
/1679Thomas Knox and John Lane.txt	25171	884	3,51%		606	2,41%		1490	5,92%	40,67%	23681	94,08%
/1680Elizabeth CellierJune.txt	4743	134	2,83%		91	1,92%		225	4,74%	40,44%	4518	95,26%
/1680Elizabeth CellierSept.txt	13311	264	1,98%		163	1,22%		427	3,21%	38,17%	12884	96,79%
/1680John Giles.txt	16220	294	1,81%		194	1,20%		488	3,01%	39,75%	15732	96,99%
/1680RDUWilliam Viscount Stafford.txt	123899	3034	2,45%		1359	1,10%		4393	3,55%	30,94%	11950	96,45%
/1680Roger Earl of Castlemaine.txt	7659	218	2,85%		245	3,20%		463	6,05%	52,92%	7196	93,95%
/1681Edw. Fitz-Harri.txt	36086	1634	4,53%		733	2,03%		2367	6,56%	30,97%	33719	93,44%
/1681George Borosky alias Borotzi.txt	33933	955	2,81%		497	1,46%		1452	4,28%	34,23%	32481	95,72%
/1681RDUOliver Plunket.txt	24108	1007	4,18%		344	1,43%		1351	5,60%	25,46%	22757	94,40%
/1681Sr. Miles Stapleton Bar.txt	12299	690	5,61%		348	2,83%		1038	8,44%	33,53%	11261	91,56%
/1681Stephen Colledg.txt	79973	2217	2,77%		1799	2,25%		4016	5,02%	44,80%	75957	94,98%
/1682George-Busby_.txt	13224	339	2,56%		246	1,86%		585	4,42%	42,05%	12639	95,58%
/1682Nathanael Thompson.txt	4834	105	2,17%		97	2,01%		202	4,18%	48,02%	4632	95,82%
/1682Tho. Pilkington, Esq.txt	33085	1080	3,26%		297	0,90%		1377	4,16%	21,57%	31708	95,84%
/1683Algernon Sidney.txt	34701	642	1,85%		517	1,49%		1159	3,34%	44,61%	33542	96,66%
/1683Lord Russel.txt	30088	774	2,57%		417	1,39%		1191	3,96%	35,01%	28897	96,04%
/1683RDUWilliam Hone.txt	3580	80	2,23%		53	1,48%		133	3,72%	39,85%	3447	96,28%
/1683Sam. Barnardiston.txt	10542	308	2,92%		147	1,39%		455	4,32%	32,31%	10087	95,68%
/1683Walcot,Hone, Lord Russell,Rous,Blagg.txt	69883	2077	2,97%		960	1,37%		3037	4,35%	31,61%	66846	95,65%

/1685Henry Baron Delamere.txt	42083	1111	2,64 %	496	1,18 %	1607	3,82%	30,86%	40476	96,18 %
/1685Henry Cornish, Esq.txt	33979	983	2,89 %	486	1,43 %	1469	4,32%	33,08%	32510	95,68 %
/1685John Hambden.txt	37576	923	2,46 %	419	1,12 %	1342	3,57%	31,22%	36234	96,43 %
/1685Titus Oates.txt	75405	2148	2,85 %	2163	2,87 %	4311	5,72%	50,17%	71094	94,28 %
/1688Rowland Walters, Dearing Bradshaw.txt	4864	154	3,17 %	68	1,40 %	222	4,56%	30,63%	4642	95,44 %
/1688William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.txt	73392	1560	2,13 %	903	1,23 %	2463	3,36%	36,66%	70929	96,64 %
/1690Sir Rich. Grahme and John Ashton.txt	43243	1496	3,46 %	707	1,63 %	2203	5,09%	32,09%	41040	94,91 %
/1692Henry Duke of Norfolk.txt	10006	581	5,81 %	208	2,08 %	789	7,89%	26,36%	9217	92,11 %
/1692Henry Harrison.txt	20957	802	3,83 %	320	1,53 %	1122	5,35%	28,52%	19835	94,65 %
/1695Capt. Henry Wickham.txt	5724	266	4,65 %	80	1,40 %	346	6,04%	23,12%	5378	93,96 %
/1695Sir John Friend.txt	23390	485	2,07 %	350	1,50 %	835	3,57%	41,92%	22555	96,43 %
/1695Sir William Parkin.txt	37123	1046	2,82 %	960	2,59 %	2006	5,40%	47,86%	35117	94,60 %
/1696 Peter Cooke.txt	43701	1618	3,70 %	785	1,80 %	2403	5,50%	32,67%	41298	94,50 %
/1696AmbroseRookwood.txt	43976	1342	3,05 %	857	1,95 %	2199	5,00%	38,97%	41777	95,00 %
/1696Capt. Thomas Vaughan.txt	23984	870	3,63 %	476	1,98 %	1346	5,61%	35,36%	22638	94,39 %
/1696Charles Cranburne.txt	39181	2017	5,15 %	759	1,94 %	2776	7,09%	27,34%	36405	92,91 %
/1696Dawson,Forseith,May,Bishop,Le wis, Sparkes.txt	16998	584	3,44 %	406	2,39 %	990	5,82%	41,01%	16008	94,18 %
/1699Edward, Earl of Warwick and Holland.txt	62413	4490	7,19 %	1219	1,95 %	5709	9,15%	21,35%	56704	90,85 %
/1699Mary Butler.txt	7013	190	2,71 %	52	0,74 %	242	3,45%	21,49%	6771	96,55 %
/1699Spencer Cowper.txt	43518	1300	2,99 %	1145	2,63 %	2445	5,62%	46,83%	41073	94,38 %
		Total tokens		Variant Forms	+	Normalised	=	Originally Variants	Variants Normalised	Not Variants
SUM		169141 5		53981		3106 8		8504 9		16063 66
AVERAGE		28668,0 5		914,93 22		3,19 %		526, 6		1,84 %
MAX		123899		4490		7,19 %		2163		4,39 %
MIN		503		31		1,52 %		15		0,74 %
										1442
										5,03 %
										36,53%
										27226, 5
										94,97 %
										11950 6
										96,99 %
										46
										3,01 %
										21,35%
										457
										89,43 %

As shown in table 13, the names of the files are composed by the year when the trial was held and name of the (main) defendant(s), with the exception of the documents (re)printed in Dublin. In fact, in the above-mentioned documents, the name of the (main) defendant(s)¹⁰² is preceded by the acronym (R)DU, which stands for “(reprinted in) Dublin”. The choice was made in order to possibly divide the *corpus* into two *sub-corpora*, depending on the place where the record was printed. In other words, the file names are not constituted by an acronym; the reasons behind this peculiar choice lie in the normalisation process. In fact, VARD struggles with some proper names and surnames, which are not recognised as such and are oddly normalised¹⁰³. Despite the seriousness of the errors that were introduced during normalisation, the low levels of real-

¹⁰² Two exceptions to the rule are present: 1682Tho.PilingktonEsq where 14 defendants are present, and 1663JamesTurner where the trials and examinations of John Turner, William Turner, Mary Turner, and Ely Turner (“confederates”) are also present.

¹⁰³ This is the case of the surname “Moders”; in fact, its 14 occurrences were wrongly normalised as “Motors”.

word errors that were observed should not pose a problem for the present analysis¹⁰⁴ (Baron 2011:158). Furthermore, most of the erroneously normalised instances were manually emended but, since the process was manual, some instances may have not been detected. Thus, the presence of the (main) defendant(s) name(s) and surname(s) in the file name is useful in order to pinpoint any deficiencies in the manual emendation.

Criticalities in the normalization process comprehend any term that may not be in the dictionary: proper nouns, encoded words, words in other languages (for instance, in the *EMET*, words in Latin are frequent) and words that are not in the modern list, such as *betwixt* and *howbeit* (Baron 2011:56). It is believed that the huge normalization ranges displayed in table 13 are caused by the large number of proper nouns that are included in the trials: as already affirmed in section 5.1, only trials in the dialogue format – that is play-like – were selected for the present research and, because of their form, nouns have a high number of occurrences. In any case, while the normalised corpus produced is a reasonable substitute for corpus analysis, only a fully normalized and manually checked corpus would be ideal for publication (Baron 2011:170).

5.4. Linguistic annotation

Despite the existing various types of annotation, everyone of each capable of enhancing the value of a corpus (Paquot and Gries 2020:25), it was decided that at this stage of the research only linguistic annotation would be added. The main reason of this choice is practical; in fact, the automatic process of tagging¹⁰⁵ is particularly helpful when managing large corpora such as the *EMET*.

The present study focuses on pragmatic influences on the second person pronoun, thus, the benefits of corpus annotation are minimal, if not absent. However, since other researchers may find phenomena of interest that benefit from annotation (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015:6), POS tagging was added to the corpus. Probably, the “annotated [*EMET*] corpus is unlikely to meet all the expectations of a researcher in terms of its

¹⁰⁴ It should be noticed that high normalization threshold prioritises precision and, thus, only few errors – mostly concerning Latin words, names and surnames – should have been introduced (Baron 2011:159). In any case, as previously stated, it was tried to correct most of them through manual emendation.

¹⁰⁵ Lately, corpus linguistics is focusing on the development of new methods to automatically annotate corpora (Paquot and Gries 2020:26).

categories of annotation, [but] it can still be an invaluable resource” (Paquot and Gries 2020:26) and, thus, a great help.

The process was conducted automatically; the role of VARD 2.5.4 has been fundamental since it is a “pre-processor to other corpus linguistic tools”, among them POS tagging, which aims to improve their accuracy (VARD User Guide 2013). In short, POS tagging consists in labelling (or tagging) “each word of a corpus with information about the grammatical category of the word at issue (*e.g.*, noun, verb, adjective, etc.)” (Paquot and Gries 2020:26). However, POS tagging is strictly bound to tokenization and, thus, to the concept of token. The term “token” is sometimes considered a synonym of “word”. Nevertheless, this simplification may induce to think that tokenization is an absolute concept and that there is one and one only tokenization possible. Instead, depending on the decisions, the results vary and the term should not be considered a synonym of “word”. Indeed, a token can be defined as “an instance of a sequence of characters in some particular document that are grouped together as a useful semantic unit for processing” (Manning et al. 2008:22). For instance, “aren’t” could be tokenized in the following ways (Manning et al. 2008:22):

```

|aren't|
|arent|
|are| |n't|
|aren| |t|

```

The discussion around tokenization is not the focus of the present study; consequently, since #LancBox allows an easy change of tokenization if the corpus is reloaded on the software, the standard parameters were set and POS tags were automatically added to the corpus.

Table 14. *Standard tokenization parameters in #LancsBox*

Token delimiters:	\t\n\r
Lemma:	Include POS groups
POS:	tagging
Punctuation:	.,;? " !° , ; : ? ! ,;i... ""'`“” „()<=>[]{}«»<> «» — — *
Sentence delimiters:	(?s).*[. \! \? ° ? !].*

5.5. From justice to entertainment: the Early Modern Trials and the influence of the scribe

Early Modern English trials, as previously mentioned, were published as a form of entertainment and, thus, “devoured by an eager public” (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:119; Shoemaker 2008)¹⁰⁶. In order to provide more context, the English courts and the Early Modern English procedural system are to be briefly discussed in the present section.

The Early Modern English court remarkably differs from present-day courts¹⁰⁷, despite the fact that even in Early Modern English trials prosecution took place in the name of the community (Geng 2021:27). First of all, sexual intemperance constituted a sexual crime, which was not punished with the death penalty but with what may be generally defined as public humiliation. More specifically, “for the ordinary subject of law, the juridical consequences of fornication were of a highly visible temporal nature, involving ritualised public humiliation, the performance of penance in a public place, and excommunication from the parish community” (Raffield 2014:70). The most common form of punishment was the “penance in a white sheet¹⁰⁸ before the congregation during the Sunday church service” (Raffield 2014:70). Adultery, instead, if committed by the Queen of England and proven, was punished with the death penalty (Raffield 2014:71).

¹⁰⁶ Shoemaker (2008) focuses his research on the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, that is “accounts of felony trials at London’s central criminal court” (Shoemaker 2008:559). The first publication of the *Proceedings* dates back to 1674 and shortly they began to be published regularly eight times a year, each one after the germaine session of the Old Bailey (Shoemaker 2008:559). More specifically, the scholar analyzes the eighteenth-century *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*.

¹⁰⁷ However, in criminal cases a similarity with the majority of nowadays trials is present; in fact, “in accordance with juridical procedure in criminal cases”, the indictment was read in presence of the defendant (Raffield 2014:69)

¹⁰⁸ For instance, in May 1606, Anne Browne alias Watton was tried by the church court of Stratford-upon-Avon on a charge of suspicion of incontinence with John Sadler. The defendant admitted to be pregnant by John Sadler and she was thus condemned 1) to appear in a white sheet in the parish church twice, 2) to appear in a white sheet in the in the market place twice, and 3) to certify on the next court day after child-birth (Raffield 2014:70).

Furthermore, many legal processes – which nowadays are forbidden or unfair – were tolerated, if not allowed. For instance, treason trials¹⁰⁹ were often staged. Moreover, there are several cases in which the judge or the jury were not present. In addition, the jury was often formed by members of the gentry, who had no legal training and often almost no tools to understand the cases¹¹⁰. The jury, if present, had an active role during the trial: more specifically, they made comments and “ask[ed] questions of the judge and/or the witnesses as they gave their testimony” (Archer 2005:86).

The proceedings themselves were controversial due to the presence of corruption and manipulation in general (Leubsdorf 2020:7-8). Furthermore, legal help has not been available until 1730s¹¹¹; in fact, the defense counsel was introduced in the above-mentioned decade and, until that moment, defendants were supposed to speak for themselves since it was believed that “a prisoner’s best defence was their own natural and unprepared response to the charges as they were asserted by the prosecution in court” (Archer 2005:88). In other words, they were responsible for their own defense and, thus, could question witnesses¹¹²; however, even though they could pretend an answer, they were not masters of rhetorics and “[c]onsequently, they often struggled/failed to procure the relevant information/clarification/confirmation/action to secure their freedom”¹¹³ (Archer 2005:2). Furthermore, in the courtroom between 1640 and 1760, defendants were believed to be guilty until proven innocent (Archer 2005:1). Because of the aforementioned reasons, death sentences and corporal punishments were often the epilogue of the proceedings (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:53-54; Leubsdorf 2020:9-11).

¹⁰⁹ High treason was a heinous criminal offence against nature, often dramatised during the trial (Raffield 2014:69-72). It was particularly problematic since it constituted both a form of betrayal and “an offence against *natural* law” (my italics), since the monarchs were believed to be appointed by God (Raffield 2014:72-73).

High treason trials were peculiar: in fact, from 1696, defense counsel was often granted; however, the judge remained the leading figure during the trial and he often mocked and insulted prisoners (Archer 2005:87).

¹¹⁰ In fact, the judge could easily influence the jurors, commenting upon the depositions and shaping them, if he so wished (Archer 2005:87).

¹¹¹ More specifically, “prosecution and defense counsel cannot be called regular until the second half of the eighteenth century” (Langbein 1978:263).

¹¹² Since the defendant had the opportunity to interrogate witnesses and provide a defense for oneself, the Early Modern English court was believed to be particularly human (Archer 2005:87), as confirmed by the writing of Sir Thomas de Veil (1748).

¹¹³ It should also be considered that defendants often spent a great amount of time in prison; thus, they often arrived exhausted and hungry at the trial (Archer 2005:88-89).

Most Early Modern trials, where a jury was present, began with an account of the facts by the victim of the offence; then, the witnesses, firstly the ones of the Crown, were given the floor (Archer 2005:86) [they often had previously testified, as it was customary (Culpeper and Kytö, 2014:54)]. The judge¹¹⁴, who was alone on rare occasions, had also an active role during the depositions of the witnesses, as it is demonstrated by the “verbatim” accounts: the leading judge took both the role of “examiner” and “cross-examiner” and he stopped asking questions only when he believed that the majority of the case had been presented (Archer 2005:86). Furthermore, the judges did not face consequences, if they browbeat prisoners or witnesses since appeals did not exist (Archer 2005:87; Beattie 1986:345). After hearing the witnesses, the defendant had the chance to defend himself/herself from the accusations, clarifying why the case against him/her was false. Silence was considered a sign of guilt: more specifically, it was believed that the defendant couldn’t deny the truth of evidence (Archer 2005:88). According to the scribal comments contained in the accounts of the Surrey assizes (as quoted in Archer 2005:89), most defenses were insufficient: defendants had “little to say in defence”, “frivolous defence”, “trifling defence” etc. (in other words, they often simply denied the accusations). Even the defendants who could provide an alibi or counter-evidence in general had little chances to succeed in proving themselves innocent since they had no clues about the evidence against them and, thus, could not organize their defense (Archer 2005:89).

As Culpeper and Kytö (2014:65) underline, trial proceedings comprised 8 phases:

1. reading of the indictment;
2. pleading of guilt/non-guilt;
3. swearing in of witnesses;
4. witness accounts;
5. cross-examination;
6. summing-up;
7. verdict;
8. sentencing.

¹¹⁴ Judges were selected from “the same tiny pool”, whether the trial was held at the ordinary assizes or whether it was a State Trial (Langbein 1978:266).

The Elizabethan era was notably a “litigious age” and has had a significant role in the development of the legal system. During the era, the rivalry of the coexisting courts was particularly high, as it is evident from the documents concerning the Court of King’s Bench and the Court of Common Pleas (*i.e.*, the principal courts of the common law) in the 1590s (Raffield 2014:53). Furthermore, other courts professed the expertise to determine legal action, among them the Court of Chancery and the ecclesiastical courts, whose jurisdiction overlapped with the courts of common law (Raffield 2014:53). The case of the Court of High Commission, an ecclesiastical court, is particularly representative of the litigiousness of the Elizabethan age. In fact, it was so pugnacious that the Monarchy sequestrated it (Raffield 2014:54).

The court of chancery constituted “the supreme court of the king’s prerogative (Raffield 2014:69). A fundamental distinction between the powers that pertained “to the judicial role of Lord chancellor as head of the chancery” (Raffield 2014:69) was made by the Jacobean chancellor, Lord Ellesmere; according to him, it is possible to distinguish between “ordinata potentia”, an ordinary power, and “potential absoluta” (Raffield 2014:69). “*Ordinata potentia*, is where a certain order is observed, and so it is used in positive Law;” *Potentia absoluta*, instead, is *lex naturae* “*quae non habet certam ordinem*, but useth all meanes to know the verity” (Egerton 1651:44).

5.6. The reliability of the Early Modern English (written) trials

The documents included in the *EMET* are believed to be “speech-based” since they represent real life face-to-face interaction (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:16-17); furthermore, they may be considered authentic dialogues, since they are “written records of real speech events taken down at the time of the speech event” (Culpeper and Kytö, 2014:23). However, they cannot be considered “verbatim” transcriptions since no electronic devices existed and stenography was at its dawn (Aliprandi and Pigò 1936; Culpeper and Kytö 2014:17). More specifically, no full systems of shorthand existed and “most speech-based texts are reconstructions assisted by notes” (Culpeper and Kytö 2014; Shoemaker 2008:560). For these reasons, an exact copy of what was said in the courtroom is

impossible to obtain¹¹⁵. Thus, it is more appropriate to adopt the notion of *faithfulness* and to consider the factors of influence pinpointed by Short, Semino and Wynne (2002 as quoted by Culpeper and Kytö 2014:79-81):

- *anterior discourse accessibility*: if no recordings are available, as in the present study, spoken language is accessible only at the moment of the utterance and, thus, the collected data is to be considered only partially accessible.
- *Posterior discourse accessibility*: report and reported speech are to be compared in order to verify the level of faithfulness.
- *The importance of (the wording of) what is being reported*: the exact word uttered are of fundamental relevance in witchcraft, libel and slander cases).
- *The memorability of the original*: replicability is a fundamental notion within trial proceedings and it is strictly bound to the notion of memorability: if a deposition cannot be repeated because, for instance, the witness is dying, his/her words become more memorable and more efforts will be made in order to remember them precisely.
- *The status, social role and personality of the producer of the original discourse*: it is believed that, when reporting the utterances of powerful personalities, the scribes may have been more punctilious.
- *The social role, personality and attitude of the reporter*: even though information about the scribe is often not available, his attitude towards what happens in the courtroom inevitably influences what is reported.
- *Text-type or speech context*: despite Short, Semino and Wynne (2002 as quoted in Culpeper and Kytö 2014:80) considering courtroom speech extremely faithful, for the above-mentioned reasons concerning the historical texts object of the present study, it must be argued that historical trial proceedings cannot be considered as faithful as the contemporary ones.
- *The part of text in which reporting occurs*: utterances between inverted commas or texts in the dialogue format are believed to be more faithful to the exact words that were uttered.

¹¹⁵ An additional reason lies in the diamesic variation from speech to writing (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:79).

As Shoemaker (2008:560-562) points out, when discussing the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* and considering the pivotal researches of Langbein (2005 [1980]), the published trials constituted abbreviations of what happened in the courtroom: in fact, the scribes (*i.e.*, shorthand writers) as well as the publishers had the power to decide which parts to include and exclude and, thus, to shape the content of the publications, even according to their need to sell copies to a wide audience, who desired entertainment (Shoemaker 2008:564). Therefore, with respect to the scribes, it can be affirmed that despite having a limited explicit role in the dialogues of the trial proceedings¹¹⁶ (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:23), their implicit role was extremely influential¹¹⁷. Other influential factors were certainly noise and problems concerning stationery; in fact, courtrooms “were crowded and noisy, making it difficult to hear what was being said” and the writing equipment constantly needed maintenance: ink had to be re-applied, pens had to be resharpened etc. (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:52). Despite the difficulties, it is believed that scribes aimed at reporting as faithfully as possible the words uttered during the trials (Walker 2007:15) and occasionally provided explanatory comments about the trials and non-verbal communication (Walker 2007:12).

It is only at the end of the 18th century that the publications of the proceedings that took place at the Old Bailey became completely reliable from the historical point of view¹¹⁸. John Wilkes in 1775 was at the conclusion of his term of office as lord mayor and complained about the inaccuracy of the published *Proceedings*, underlying that what was published often differed from the personal notes of the judges. In other words, the shorthand writers had the power to publish “without any control or revision” (Shoemaker 2008:561). Thus, thanks to the proposal of Wilkes, the proceedings began to be published under the license of the recorder (*i.e.*, the chief judge at the Old Bailey), and not under

¹¹⁶ The role of the scribe was limited to the identification of the speakers, eventual statements that a certain witness appears or is sworn in court, brief descriptions or comments about non-verbal communication or comments about the tone used during some utterances (Walker 2007:13).

In contrast with trial proceedings, witness depositions, which were often in third person, display a more prominent role of the reporter because of the presence of legal formulae and information about the deponent (*e.g.*, age, domicile, occupation/marital status) (Culpeper and Kytö, 2014:24; Walker, 2007). The second person pronouns are rarer in this type of document since they are to be found only when the witness “reports an earlier speech event, and the scribe renders the words quoted as direct speech” (Walker 2007:13). For the above mentioned reason, depositions were not included in the *EMET*.

¹¹⁷ It should also be noticed that information about the scribe is rarely available; thus, it is not known whether the scribe was a professional (Walker 2007:15).

¹¹⁸ The proceedings of the Old Bailey are available online (www.oldbaileyonline.org); the database comprises the documents concerning the sessions at the Old Bailey, which took place between 1674 and 1834 (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:50-51).

the license of the lord mayor; after this decision, the length of the Proceedings increased (Shoemaker 2008:561). Videlicet, in their first stages, the proceedings of the Old Bailey were less controlled and, thus, less reliable from a historical point of view. However, it is possible to generalize to every printed trial and affirm that despite the fact that less control on the contents was exercised by the authority, the shorthand writers were reliable from a linguistic point of view; namely, their language use must reflect the language use of their time. In conclusion, the notion of faithfulness is variable depending on the period to which it is applied and since the aim of the present study is to examine language, it is possible to affirm that the printed materials are faithful to the language use of the time but maybe they do not represent faithfully the words uttered in the courtroom (Culpeper and Kytö 2014:81).

5.7. Compilation of the trial information sheets

The following stage of the research involves the compiling of the trial information sheets, which can be found in the appendix of the present dissertation. The sheets are designed to include title of the trial, author (if available), year of the trial, place where the trial was held, year and place of publication, publisher, word count (including title), crime, presence of scribal intervention, the raw frequency of forms object of study [“thou”, “thee”, “prithee”, “thy”, “thysself” (in both of its forms), “thine”, “you”, “ye”, “your”, “yourself” (in both of its forms)¹¹⁹, “yours” and “pray you”], presence of formulaic forms including T-forms and outcome of the trial.

As it can be observed from the instances shown in table 15, the Y-forms are already much more common in this time span (it should be noticed that Y-forms include also plurals). Therefore, the research will focus primarily on the T-forms, which are possibly to be considered a deviation from the norm.

Table 15: *Instances of thou-forms and you-forms in the EMET*

¹¹⁹ Both the forms *thysself/thy self*, and *yourself/your self* were common.

Threshold	Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thy self Thyself	Thine	You (both singular and plural)	Ye	Your	Yourself Your self	Yours	Pray you
75%	523	155	25	6	350	38 0	0	29 095	62	8 607	11 482	68	30

5.8. Similar corpora

The building of this corpus draws inspiration from similar works presented in recent years. A similar corpus, the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560-1760*, was compiled under the supervision of Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö (2005); it comprises 168 text files (Culpeper and Kytö, 2014:25) of different genres dating back to the years between 1560 and 1760. The trial proceedings included in the corpus are 40, only 21 of which are dated between 1640 and 1719. The *CED* and the *EMET* share, partially or fully, 14 text files.

Another research that strongly inspired the present one is the one by Walker: *Thou and You in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy* (2007); this pivotal work focused on the use of second person pronoun in the *CED*. Walker’s selection comprises 15 trials, 5 of which are also present in the *EMET*. Her results concerning the trials are particularly interesting. She concludes that “YOU is the pronoun dictated by the formality associated with legal proceedings, although certain legal formulae are used in which THOU is the customary form” (Walker, 2007:91). In fact, *thou* is mostly used to express personal dislike, to make a particular point, to express “either negative emotion (impatience or anger) or more positive feeling (a fatherly, patient condescension)” (Walker, 2007:92). Indeed, the most common users of *thou* are judges, “who are never themselves addressed as THOU” (Walker, 2007:92). In the selected trials by Walker, only a defendant uses THOU to his wife. For these reasons, she argues that in the period she studied (that is from 1560 to 1760) T-forms express superiority (Walker, 2007:92). Considering the effectiveness of Walker’s method, the *EMET* will be both studied quantitatively and qualitatively.

Table 16: *Trials*¹²⁰ common to the *EMET* and the *CED*

¹²⁰ The list consists of abbreviation of the titles; indeed, trials had very extended titles. For complete references see appendix II in Culpeper and Kytö (2014).

CED

Severall Tryals of Sir Henry Slingsby (etc)

Tryal of Thomas Harrison

Tryal of Col. Iames Turner

Tryal of Mary Moders

Tryal of Edward Coleman

Tryals of Robert Green

Tryal of John Giles

Triall of Elizabeth Cellier

Tryal of Stephen Colledge

Tryal of Nathanael Thompson (etc.)

Tryal of Tho. Pilkington

Tryal of Algernon Sidney

Tryal of John Hambden

Tryal of Arundel Coke alias Cooke

Table 17: *Trials part of the EMET and studied by Walker (2007:67)*

Walker (2007)

Tryall of Col. Iames Turner

The Arraignment. Tryal and Examination of Mary Moders

The Tryals of Robert Green, Henry Berry & Lawrence Hill

The Tryal of John Giles

The Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of Stephen Colledge

6. Y-forms and T-forms in *Early Modern English Trials (EMET)*

The present study includes the investigation of extra-linguistic parameters, when available: age/date of birth, rank, title and occupation, role within the trial, kinship and role within speech event (speaker or addressee). Historical information was mainly retrieved from *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (n.a.), *Alumni Oxonienses; The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714; Their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees* (1891) and *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (1862). The adopted classification system of rank is the one by Walker (2007:25):

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

Table 18. *Rank classification system.*

In trials, formulaic pronoun usage is common¹²¹ [“Art thou guilty of [...]”? (1660PretendedJudges)] and, as previous research and the data already presented (chapters 4 and 5) underlined, the formality of context sees Y-forms as the norm (Walker

¹²¹ Such forms are often present in the introductory and concluding parts of the trials: for instance, pleading, indictment and sentencing (Walker 2007:68).

2007:65); thus, while the quantitative analysis will focus on both forms, the qualitative will focus only on T-forms.

The documents, which size varies, were divided in 5 periods of 10 years each, in order to facilitate the comparison with other corpora. The sections are unbalanced – as in many historical corpora, which are rather an insight of what has been preserved (Brezina 2018:222) than a real image of the language of the time – because of the difficulty to individuate reliable documents: indeed, more reliable materials are available towards the end of the century. In other words, in the present dissertation aims to make “the best usage of bad data”, as suggested by Nevalainen (1999).

Table 19. *Division of trials in periods*

Period	Trial (identification code)	Wordcount (tokens)
1- 1650- 1659	1651JohnGibbons	10356
	1655ColonelJohnPenruddock	3655
	1658MrMordaunt	9143
	1658SirHenrySligsbyJohnHewet	18721
	Total	41875
2- 1660- 1669	1660PretendedJudges	3289
	1660ThomasHarrison	2431
	1663MaryModers	4355
	1663IamesTurner	28655
	Total	38730
3- 1670- 1679	1678EdwardColeman	40042
	1678PhilipEarlofPembroke	16486
	1678RDUWilliamIrelandThomasPickeringJohnGrove	30523
	1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill	34499
	1678WilliamStayley	4210
	1679AndrewBrommichWilliamAtkinsCharlesKern	8950
	1679JohnTasboroughAnnPrice	21588

	1679LionelAndersonWilliamRusselCharlesParris HenryStarkeyJames CorkerWilliamMarshal	26031
	1679RDURichardLanghorn	37257
	1679RDUSirGeorgeWakemanBaronetWilliamMa rshallWilliamRumleyJamesCorker	49417
	1679RDUThomasWhitebreadJohnFenwickWill iamHarcourtJohnGavanAnthonyTurnerJamesC orker	54946
	1679SrThomasGascoyneBar	33426
	1679ThomasKnoxJohnLane	25207
	Total	382582
4- 1680- 1689	1680ElizabethCellierJune	4560
	1680ElizabethCellierSept	13352
	1680JohnGiles	16230
	1680RDUWilliamViscountStafford	136351
	1680RogerEarlofCastlemaine	22581
	1681Edw.Fitz-HarrisOliverPlunket	56239
	1681GeorgeBoroskyaliasBorotzi	38871
	1681RDUDr.OliverPlunket	24256
	1681SrMilesStapletonBarThomasThwing	12333
	1681StephenColledg	80057
	1681George-Busby	13285
	1682NathanaelThompsonJohnFarewellWilliamPa in	5480
	1682Tho.PilkingtonEsq	33123
	1683AlgernonSidney	34732
	1683LordRussel	30234
	1683RDUWilliamHone	3585
	1683SamBarnadiston	10546
	1683ThomasWalcotWillianHoneWilliamLordRus sel	69961
	1685HenryBaronDelamere	42195
	1685HenryCornish	33968
	1685JohnHambden	37598
	1685TitusOates	75652
	1688RowlandWaltersDearingBradshaw	4864
	1688WilliamLordArchibishopofCanterbury	108168

		Total	908221
5- 1690- 1699	1690SirRich.GrahmeJohnAshton		87507
	1692HenryDukeofNorfolk		10025
	1692HenryHarrisonJohnCole		24236
	1695Capt.HenryWickham		5734
	1695SirJohnFriend		23476
	1695SirWilliamParkins		37235
	1696PeterCooke		43759
	1696AmbroseRookwood		44035
	1696Capt.ThomasVaughan		24093
	1696CharlesCranburneRobertLowick		45135
	1696DawsonForseithMayBishopLewisSparkes		17079
	1699EdwardEarlofWarwickandHolland		63354
	1699MaryButler		7045
	1699SpencerCowperJohnMarsonEllisStevensWill iamRogers		43599
		Total	476312

6.1. Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis will focus on the following groups of expressions:

- thou/thee (NOT pray thee) – you/ye (NOT pray you);
- prithe, prethee, pray thee – pray you;
- thy (NOT thy self) – your (NOT your self, NOT your selves);
- thyself/thy self – your self/yourself;
- thine/yours;
- T-forms – Y-forms.

Evidence about period 1 and 2 is scarce and, in period 2, the incomplete trial of the Pretended Judges (1660PretendedJudges) has a strong influence on the data, as it will be highlighted in the qualitative analysis: indeed, such trial is rich in formulaic forms including T-forms (henceforth, formulaic T-forms), which are typical of the guilty plea. Formulaic T-forms are generally to be found either at the beginning of the trial or at its end and include:

- what sayest thou, art [thou]¹²² guilty of [...]?
- art thou not guilty [...]?
- hold up thy hand;
- thou art in the same case with [...];
- how wilt thou be tried?
- thou hast been indicted [...];
- thou scantest convicted [...];
- thou scantest invicted [...];
- [...], which Country has found thee guilty, what can thou say for thy self [...]?
- for thy trial hast put thy self upon God [...];
- God send thee a good deliverance/delivery;
- Why the Court shall not give thee judgement to die [...]?

In the following tables, raw figures and percentages for each period will be displayed.

Table 20. EMET: *raw figures and percentages*

	Thou/thee (NOT pray thee)	you/ye (NOT pray you)
1	8	604
	1,31%	98,69%
2	160	776
	17,09%	82,90%
3	177	7010
	2,46%	97,54%
4	235	13982
	1,65%	98,35%
5	96	6756
	1,40%	98,60%
EMET (Total)	676	29128
	2,27%	97,73%

Concerning the second person pronouns, it can be stated that evidence about period 1 and 2 is definitely inconsistent¹²³. However, from period 3 onwards, evidence shows a

¹²² “Thou” is sometimes omitted.

¹²³ Data about period 2 is strongly influenced by the formulaic T-forms of 1660PretendedJudges.

decrease in the usage of *thou/thee*; thus, the findings match the general ones¹²⁴ of Walker (2007). Instead, clear patterns of usage of *prihee/prehee/pray thee* do not emerge from the quantitative analysis:

Table 21. *patterns of usage of prihee/prehee/pray thee*

Period	Prihee, prehee, pray thee	Pray you	Total
1	0	0	0
2	4	2	6
	66,67%	33,33%	100,00%
3	6	4	10
	60%	40%	100%
4	14	23	37
	37,84%	62,16%	100,00%
5	9	1	10
	90%	10%	100%
EMET (total)	33	30	63
	52,38%	47,62%	100,00%

As the quantitative data show, there is a significant fluctuation in the usage of such forms: in 3 periods out of 4¹²⁵, *prihee/prehee/pray thee* appear to be the most used forms. Period 4 is the only one that shows a preponderance of the form *pray you*, as it emerges from the analysis carried with the Whelk tool. The reason lies in the atypical frequency of *pray you* in the years between 1680 and 1689¹²⁶.

The quantitative analysis of *thy* and *your* was carried excluding the forms *your self*, *your selves* and *thy self*.

Table 21. *data: thy and your*

Period	Thy (NOT thy self)	Your (NOT your self, NOT your selves)	Total
1	1	185	186
	0,54%	99,46%	100,00%
2	44	180	224
	19,64%	80,36%	100,00%

¹²⁴ Under “general ones”, results about *thou/thee/prihee/thy/thyself/thine* and *ye/you/yourself/your/yours* are subsumed. Indeed, as highlighted in chapter 4, most scholars do not study the forms separately.

¹²⁵ In period 1, no occurrences of *prihee/prehee/pray thee* or *pray you* are to be found.

¹²⁶ It should be noticed that in the trials part of the *CED*, dated between 1650 and 1699, the only occurrences of *pray you* are to be found in the same decade; more specifically, in D4TPILKI (1682*Tho.PilkingtonEsq*). In the above-mentioned selection of *CED* trials (henceforth, *CEDselection*), only 1 occurrence of *pray you* is present (16,67%), and 5 of *prihee/prehee/pray thee* (83,33%).

3	88	1443	1531
	5,75%	94,25%	100,00%
4	116	4178	4294
	2,70%	97,30%	100,00%
5	63	2031	2094
	3,01%	96,99%	100,00%
EMET (Total)	312	8017	8473
	3,74%	96,25%	99,99%

No pattern could be defined, but a peak of *thy* is to be found in the second period object of study. As in the case of *thou*, the reason lies in the richness of formulaic forms that is part of *1660PretendedJudges*.

Even in the case of *thyself/thy self* and *yourself/your self* data does not portay a clear picture:

Table 22. *Data: thyself/thy self and yourself/your self*

Period	Thy self, thyself	Your self, yourself (NOT your selves)	Total
1	0	21	21
		100%	
2	0	11	
		100%	
3	13	105	118
	11,02%	88,98%	100,00%
4	19	257	276
	6,88%	93,11%	99,9%
5	6	99	105
	5,71%	94,28%	99,99%
EMET (Total)	40	498	538
	7,43%	92,56%	99,99%

Indeed, in period 1 and 2 no *thyself/thy self* are present¹²⁷. From period 3 onwards, instead, a decrease of *thyself/thy self* was observed.

On the contrary, data show a clear picture of the usage of *thine* and *yours*:

Table 23. *Data: thine and yours*

Period	Thine	Yours
1	0	0

¹²⁷ In *CEDselection*, instead, no occurrences of *thyself/thy self* are to be found.

2	0	3
		100%
3	0	19
		100%
4	0	25
		100%
5	0	21
		100%
EMET (total)	0	68

As it can be observed from the table, no occurrences of *thine* are present both in the *EMET* and in the *CEDselection*. For this reason, it can be affirmed that the form *thine* was not common (or maybe not used) during trials, probably because of the extreme formality of the context.

The forms object of study were also grouped in T-forms and Y-forms, in order to facilitate the comparability with previous researches, which generally group them.

Table 24. *Data: T-forms and Y-forms*

Period	T-forms	Y-forms	Total
1	9	810	819
	1,10%	98,90%	100,00%
2	208	972	1180
	17,63%	82,37%	100,00%
3	284	8581	8865
	3,16%	96,84%	100,00%
4	384	18465	18849
	2,03%	97,96%	99,99%
5	174	8908	9082
	1,91%	98,08%	99,99%
EMET (total)	1059	37736	38795
	2,73%	97,27%	100,00%

The data confirms the preponderance of Y-forms, already shown by other studies (among them, Walker 2007). Apart from period 2, Y-forms represent more than 96,84% of overall forms. However, since the *EMET* includes 38 234 Y-forms, it would have been extremely

difficult to exclude plural forms manually. For this reason, the plural forms in the selection of trials operated by Walker (2007) was theoretically esteemed; indeed, Walker (2007), who studied 15 trials, had excluded plural forms manually. The selection of trials was searched for all the forms object of her study that could be used both as singular and plural forms [*ye/you/your/yourself/yours* (Walker 2007:1)] and the difference between the raw figures presented in Walker (2007:68) and the above-mentioned forms was calculated, considering only Walker's subcorpora number 3 and 4 since such subcorpora roughly match the years object of the present research: indeed, subcorpus 3 includes trials held between 1640 and 1670, subcorpus 4 trials between 1680 and 1719. In both cases, plural Y-forms are more than 8% of total forms: more specifically, subcorpus 3 includes 8.89% of plural Y-forms and subcorpus 4, 8.97%. The mean between plural Y-forms in Walker's subcorpora 3 and 4 is 8.93%¹²⁸. Working on a hypothetical basis, the situation – excluding plural Y-forms – does not differ much, as it is evident from the following table¹²⁹:

Table 25. *Data excluding plural Y-forms*

Period	T-forms	Y-forms (hypothetical 8.93% plural Y-forms excluded)	Total
1	9	713	722
	1,25%	98,75%	100,00%
2	208	885	1093
	19,03%	80,97%	100,00%
3	284	7815	8099
	3,51%	96,49%	100,00%
4	384	16816	17200
	2,23%	97,77%	100,00%
5	174	8112	8286
	2,10%	97,90%	100,00%
EMET	1059	34341	35400
	2,99%	97,01%	100%

¹²⁸ If the whole corpus is considered, plural Y-forms are around 14,19%. However, since Walker's corpus includes 200 years, in which language has undergone major changes, it is believed that considering plural Y-forms only in subcorpora 3 and 4 can lead to a more precise picture.

¹²⁹ Being the calculation hypothetical, decimal places were excluded in the raw frequency count, but were maintained in the percentages.

6.2. Qualitative Analysis

6.2.1. *Thou and thee*

The raw frequency of *thou* and *thee* (excluding *pray thee*) is 686. In the present paragraph, each form that is not formulaic will be qualitatively analysed; indeed, formulaic forms are yet to be considered in the quantitative analysis, since they do appear in the corpus; however, from a pragmatic perspective, they could falsify the results: indeed, their formulaicity determines their frequent usage and generally excludes the influence of other factors. In order to facilitate the identification of formulaic forms, the results were ordered alphabetically in the right column. Generally, the forms that occur in a number equal or greater than 3 were considered formulaic; exceptions are indicated within the present chapter.

Here follows a complete list of *thou/thee* formulaic forms, divided according to the grammatical role of the second person singular pronoun.

Table 26. *List of formulaic forms including thou.*

Formulaic forms - Subject
And that thou the (afore)said
Art thou guilty of
Art thou guilty or not guilty
Art thou not guilty
How say'st thou/How say thou
How wilt thou be tried
If thou wilt fall down and worship me
Thou art in the same case with
Thou, as a false traitor
Thou hast (thereonto) pleaded not guilty
Thou hast been indicted
Thou hast been thereupon arraigned
Thou scantest charged/convicted/indicted/guilty
Thou shalt here called
Thou standest/stand'st indicted
What can('t) thou say (for thy self)
What hast thou to say for thy self
What sayest thou/What say thou
Will thou be tried by God and the country

Table 27. List of formulaic forms including thee.

Formulaic forms - Object
[...] last before thee
[...] thee to dye/die according to the law
All these will I give thee
(By) thee, the said NAME SURNAME
God send thee a good deliverance/delivery
Has/Hath found thee guilty
Judgement of death should not pass upon thee according to the law
Judgment of death should not be given against thee
Return thy precept and writ to thee directed / Return thy writ and precept to thee directed / Return the precept to thee directed
Why the court should not give thee judgement to dye

The first instance of *thou* object of study is number 3 (1658SirHenrySlingsby):

Lord President: [...] This Court requires that *thou* (3) give a positive answer, whether guilty or not guilty.

Lord President addresses Sir Slingsby with *thou* when imposing to answer a question. The instance of *thou* here discussed appears at the beginning of the trial, more specifically at line 11, which begins with the formulaic form “Thou here scantest charged with High Treason”. From line 15, Sir Slingsby is always addressed with *you*. Thus, in this case, *thou* could be either used to reinforce the request or it could be present because of the influence of the formulaic form that is to be found in the same line.

A similar reasoning applies to instance number 6 (1658SirHenrySlingsby), which appears at line 338; even in this case, the addressee of the utterance is Sir Slingsby:

L. Pres. and Sir H. S. Knight: *thou* (6) hast been impeached on the behalf of the Lord Protector and this Common-wealth of High Treason to which thou hast pleaded Not guilty, which the Court hath taken into consideration; What hast *thou* (8) to say further, why this Court should not proceed to Judgement?

It should also be considered, that it may be an uncommon variation of the formulaic form “[t]hou hast been indicted”. *Thou* (8) (1658SirHenrySlingsby, line 338), instead, is a question that could correspond to a statement of the power of Lord President and H. S. Knight, despite appearing the instance very close to formulaic forms; indeed, Sir Slingsby seems often reluctant to answer questions and complains about not being tried by a

Jury¹³⁰. In this case, using the form *thou* may result in the highlighting of the difference of power, which is believed to be bound only to court dynamics, and not to dynamics depending on rank. It should also be noticed that *thou* (8) is part of a wh-question (request for information, directive). It can be considered a semi-formulaic form.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Bradshaw	John ¹³¹	baptized on 10 December 1602 at St Mary's, Stockport	A	Lord/ lawyer, politician	Lord President	No
Slingsby	Henry	1602	B	Sir/royalist army officer	Defendant	No
Knight	H. S.	n.a.	B	Sir	Judge	No

The following second person singular subject object of interest are *thee* (25), *thou* (132) and (133) (1663JamesTurner, line 711).

Thee (25) appears in the same line with *priethee* (1):

S. T. Alain. When I examined Mrs. Turner, she would own nothing. Why said I, will you deny this which is so ap?parent? that you were there (the maid told you so now) you denied it when I charged you with it.

Mrs. Turner. I did not, it's false, what did?

Turner. *Priethee* (1) be patient dear Mal, come sit *thee* (25) down.

Mr Turner addresses his wife with T-forms and, thanks to the terms of address “dear Mal”, it emerges that they are not distant in terms of intimacy and affect; however, he is clearly trying to calm her. Both T-forms are included in requests (directives).

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Turner	James ¹³²	Unsure	C2 ¹³³	Colonel-lieutnant/Goldsmith	Defendant	Yes (husband)
Turner	Mary	n.a.	C2	Mrs	Defendant	(Wife)

¹³⁰ It should be considered that “[...] the High Courts of Justice of the 1950s were adapted courts martial because they were consistent in procedure and in substantive law with courts martials. They were summary jurisdictions” (Collins 2014:883). Furthermore, such tribunals often had no distinction between judge and jury, as it is evident from what Sir Henry Slingsby affirms (1985SirHenrySlingsby). Such courts dealt with cases of High Treason (Collins 2014:883).

¹³¹ Kelsey (2004).

¹³² Stevenson (2004).

¹³³ Walker (2007:33) classifies Turner with the codes C/D and does not analyze the deposition here reported.

Mr Turner addresses his wife some times with T-forms and others with Y-forms; on the contrary, his wife always addresses him with Y-forms. *Pray thee* (1), (2) and *thee* (28) also appear among Colonel Turner words.

Mistress Turner, Nay look you Husband
Colonel Turner, *Pray thee* (1) Mall sit down, you see my Lord my Wife w [...]ll interrupt me with nonsense; *Pray thee* (2) see¹³⁴ *thee* (28) down quickly, and do not put me out, I cannot hold Womens Tongues, nor Your Lordship neither.
L. Bridgman, This is not a May-game.

Pray thee (1) and (2) introduce two imperative forms (directives) and *thee* (28) is used as subject of the second imperative form. Colonel Turner, who seems vaguely enraged, goes on-record and then, uses positive impoliteness (he speaks as if she was not there); furthermore, he offends women in general and tries to create a contraposition between women and the group that includes him and the judge¹³⁵.

Thou (132) is part of a deposition given in court; indeed, the defendant, Colonel James Turner, is reporting facts occurred much precedently.

Turner, [...] he comes, saith he, art *thou* (132) come Tom, I think he called him White; I saith he, what shall we doe, we are all undone, my face is known? but I have lit in the hands of a Gentleman who will save my life, but for you, he knows you not; saith he, the money must be returned, go and fetch that money, said I, shall not I go with them? no said he; and truly my Lord, I was very glad to take him at his word, if I had gon I might have had my throat cut; there was this 500l. brought at twice, three and two, they went again, and hope brought as I take it, two and one, so there was three and two, and two and one.

Colonel James Turner¹³⁶, during his defence, reports the exchange between two men, one of whom is addressed with *thou* and the nickname Tom; since no information about the above-mentioned men is available, no conclusions can be drawn. However, since “Tom” is frequently a diminutive of “Thomas”, it is possible to hypothesize that there is not much Distance (variable D) between the speakers. Even in this case, the instance appears in a question (the question might be rhetorical).

Thou (133) is also part of Colonel Turner’s testimony:

¹³⁴ From the context, it is evident that the correct term would be “sit”. The error is not caused by normalization.

¹³⁵ Walker (2007:87) provides an analysis of such forms.

¹³⁶ An account of the criminal records of James Turner can be retrieved from *The Newgate Calendar* (Knapp and Balwin 1824), a source that – reporting record of crimes, testimonies and executions – is aimed at keeping people away from crime.

Turner. [...] he [Mr. Tryons] told us, he had something. Mr. Gurney after some discourse, took his leave of him, so I sat down. (Jesus what a noise is here in the Court my Lord, I can hear but with one ear) I say, I sat down at the bed-side of Mr. Tryon, he on the stool, Mr. Tryon said I, I have good news for you; saith he, hast *thou* (133), I am glad of it, with all my soul; Sir said I, I am informed, you will not loose any of your goods or money, there is but thirty eight shillings spent of all your money, the Rogues took but forty shillings out, and Wild told me there was two shillings saved; [...].

Turner reports a conversation he had with Mr Tryons, the victim of the criminal offense. Mr Tryons later addresses Turner with *you*.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Turner	James ¹³⁷	Unsure	C2 ¹³⁸	Colonel-lieutnant/Goldsmith	Defendant	No
Tryon	Francis ¹³⁹	n.a.	F	Mr/Merchant	Victim (absent)	No

Thou (133) is of scarce reliability since no actual interaction is present. Since the men involved in the exchange later seem to address each other only with *you* and a positive fact is reported (Turner claims to have good news for Mr Tryon), it could be hypothesized that the usage of *thou* by Mr Tryon is the result of the merry surprise and of his positive feelings; thus, it could show gratefulness, admiration and/or closeness (D could be purposely briefly reduced).

Thou (143), pronounced by the Court, appears towards the end of 1678EdwardColeman, among many formulaic forms and it will be later discussed with *thou* (187) since they appear in an analogous context.

Court. Edward Coleman, Hold up thy hand, Thou hast been Indicted of High Treason, thou hast thereunto Pleaded, Not Guilty; *thou* (143) hast put thy Self upon God and thy Country, which Country; hath found thee Guilty; What can thou say for thy Self, wherefore Judgment of Death should not be given against thee, and an Execution Awarded according to Law?

Thee (39), (40), (41), (42), (43) and (44) were excluded from the analysis since, while the software considers the sequences of characters valid, it is clear that problems

¹³⁷ Stevenson (2004).

¹³⁸ Walker (2007:33) classifies Turner with the codes C/D and does not analyze the deposition here reported.

¹³⁹ Knapp and Balwin (1824).

of readability are involved: “The□□e (39) l□□y a Flax□□n H□□i□□'d Gentlemen, I forgot his name, but Ile tell you who lay there besides; that is Strange, that was the late Provincial”, “Fenwick. Who were present the□□e (40)?”, L. C. J. What did you talk of the□□e?” (41), “L? C? J. ?□? th□□ee witnesses upon □□th □□bout this one thing here is Mr. Bedlow □□st upon which the quest□□s□□s to b□□□ August, that you deny and say □□w□□e out of town, then □□ produces □□ m□□d h□□e and she swears that about that time which by □□□cu□□a□□on must be about the 11th? o□□ 12th. □□e Saw you going into your □□un ho□□s□□. And here □□ a third wit□□s who swears he knows nothing of this matter of □□st but he knows you were in town th□□, and that he took □□is leave of you as going to □□t. Omers” (42), “he swears expressly that the □□onsult was begun at the White-horse-Tavern in the Strand, that they thee agreed to murder the King” (43), “till th□□ee or four days after his Information was given in” (44) (1678RDUWilliamIrelandThomasPickeringJohnGrove).

Thee (50) is also included in 1678RDUWilliamIrelandThomasPickeringJohnGrove.

Mr Record [...] (speaking to Pickering) will not signify so many Groats to him, no not one Farthing. And I must say it for the sake of these si□□lie people whom you have imposed upon with such fallacies, That the Masses can no more save *thee* (50) from a future damnation, then they do from a present condemnation.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Pickering	Thomas ¹⁴⁰	1621 (?), n.a.	C2	Benedictine Monk	Defendant	No

During the trial, Thomas Pickering is often addressed with Y-forms. However, in the final part of the trial, Mr Recorder – after an invective against all the defendants – speaks to Thomas Pickering; his attitude towards him is clearly extremely negative and echoes of religious discourse may also be present.

As anticipated, the form “*thou* (187) hast put thy self upon God and thy Country” appears also in 1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill, in a context analogous to the one of *thou* (143):

¹⁴⁰ Bellenger (2004).

Cl. of¹⁴¹ Sr. Robert Greene hold up thy hand, (which he did) Thou hast been Indicted of Felony and Murder, thou hast been thereupon Arraigned, thou hast pleaded thereunto not guilty, and for thy Trial *thou* (187) hast put thy self upon God and thy Country, which Country hath found thee guilty, what hast thou to say for thy self, why the Court should not proceed to give Judgment of Death upon thee, and award Execution according to the Law?

The affirmation “*thou* hast put thy self upon God and thy Country” occurs only twice in the *EMET*; however, many variations can be found: for instance, “he hath put himself upon God and the Country” (1679AndrewBrommichWilliamAtkinsCharlesKern), “[...] and for thy trial put thy self upon God and thy Country” (1681EdwFitz-HarrisOliverPlunket), “[...] and for his trial hath put himself upon God and the Country” (1696CharlesCranburneRobertLowick). Considered the variations occurring in the *EMET* and despite the low number of occurrences (2), instances (143) and (147) can be considered formulaic.

Thee (55) and *thou* (180) are pronounced in 1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill by Mr Justice Wild, one of the judges of the famous popish plot, headed by Lord Chief Justice Sir William Scroggs (Miles 1679, Kenyon 1985).

Mr. Just. Wild. Have a care what you say, and mind the Question I ask you, Were you there on the Sunday in that Room where they say Sr. Edmondbury Godfrey 's Body was laid?
Lee. I cannot say that I was in that Room, but I called in at the Door every Day, and I was the last up every Night.
Mr. Just. Wild. Ile say that for *thee* (55), *thou* (180) hast spoke with more care then any of them all.

Mr Justice Wild addresses Kathrene Lee¹⁴² both with Y-forms and T-forms. More specifically, the final part of the utterance here reported constitutes an appraisal of the information she has provided; thus, in this case, the above-mentioned T-forms surely indicate positive feelings. Indeed, in other parts of the trial, the examiner addresses Kathrene Lee with *you*¹⁴³.

Thou (181), (182) and (183) appear in a deposition by Mrs Warrior, who tells the Jury that Mr Green and his wife visited her house. The above-mentioned instances appear

¹⁴¹ Abbreviation: Clerk of the Crown.

¹⁴² During the trial, the witness is addressed with the substantive “maid”.

¹⁴³ The instances are also discussed in Walker (2007:87).

in a reported exchange between Mrs Warrior and her husband; in the same exchange 2 instances of *priethee* (6), (7) and one of *thy* (82) also appear:

Mrs. Warrior. [...] And Mr. Greene being there, my Husband came in, and called to me, *priethee* (6), sweetheart, what hast *thou* (181) got for my Supper? *Priethee* (7), said I, sweetheart *thou* (182) art always calling for *thy* (82) Victuals when *thou* (183) comest in. Then Mr. Greene goes to the stairs, and calls to his Wife, and bids her bring him down some victuals, and she brings down the Bread and Cheese, and he stayed there till it was nine a Clock; and then saith Mr. Greene to his Wife, let us go up, for there is a Fire. (1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill).

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Warrior	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Mrs/n.a.	Witness	Yes (wife)
Warrior	James	n.a.	n.a.	n.a./Landlord	Witness	Yes (husband)

The request of the husband seems extremely polite and aimed at addressing the positive face of his wife (positive politeness): indeed, he calls her “sweetheart” and shows affect using the pronoun *thou*. On the other hand, Mrs Warrior seems to use mock politeness: her usage of the nickname “sweetheart”, of the second person possessive adjective *thy* and of the pronoun *thou* appear insincere, because she seems to be complaining about the repeated behaviour of her husband¹⁴⁴ and, thus, they cannot indicate positive feelings. Concerning the interjection *priethee*, it can be stated that it seems to be used as a reinforcement of the polite request of James Warrior, and ironically by his wife.

In the final part of the trial, *thee* (57) is to be found (1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill).

Cl. of Sr. Robert Greene hold up thy hand, (which he did) Thou hast been Indicted of Felony and Murder, thou hast been thereupon Arraigned, thou hast pleaded thereunto not guilty, and for thy Trial thou hast put thy self upon God and thy Country, which Country hath found thee guilty, what hast thou to say for thy self, why the Court should not proceed to give Judgment of Death upon *thee* (57) , and award Execution according to the Law?

The instance is included in a long statement, rich in formulaic forms. “Why the Court should not proceed to give Judgment of Death upon *thee*?” occurs only once in the corpus,

¹⁴⁴ Robert Green makes the same request of James Warrior, but his wife obeys. In the previous part of the deposition, the wife of Robert Green is presented as servile.

but similar expressions do occur. Considering this reason and the linguistic context where it occurs, *thee* (57) can be categorized as formulaic.

Thou (194) and (195) are referred to Joseph Kemish, a priest who is accused of high treason (1679LionelAndersonWilliamRusselCharlesParrisHenryStarkeyJamesCorkerWilliamMarshal); he affirms to be poor in health and, upon his request, his trial is deferred till he can answer for himself.

Thou scantest Indicted by the Name of David Joseph Kemish of the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, Clerk, for that *thou* (194) being born within the Dominions of our Sovereign Lord the King, and being a Priest, made and ordained by authority derived from the See of Rome, after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and before the 15th of November, in the thirtieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom of England not regarding, nor the Penalties in the same contained any ways fearing, the said 15th day of November, in the thirtieth year of the King aforesaid, at the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex aforesaid, traiterously, and as a false Traitor of our Sovereign Lord the King, *thou* (195) wast and didst remain and abide against the Form of the Statute in this Case made and provided, and against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity. How sayest thou, David Joseph Kemish, Art thou Guilty of this High Treason whereof thou scantest Indicted, or not Guilty?

Thou (194) and (195) appear at the beginning of the trial and are preceded and followed by formulaic T-forms. Thus, they can be unified with such forms and could be described as semi-formulaic. Indeed, the form *you* is later used to address David Joseph Kemish. Such semi-formulaic forms, such as formulaic forms, could highlight the Power (P) of the Court, especially when serious charges – such as high treason – are formulated.

Thou (209) and *thee* (62) are included in 1679LionelAndersonWilliamRusselCharlesParrisHenryStarkeyJamesCorkerWilliamMarshal:

Starkey. [...] I went to my Lord Chancellor Hyde, who, when he saw me, Embraced me in his Arms, and said, *Thou* (209) art welcome, I am glad to see *thee* (62) in England.

Starkey is recounting the interaction between him and Lord Chancellor Hyde.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Hyde	Edward ¹⁴⁵	1609, Dinton	A	Earl, Lord Chancellor, politician and historian	None	No

¹⁴⁵ Seaward (2004).

Starkey	Henry	n.a.	C2	Mr/Priest	Defendant	No
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The behaviour described by Starkey clearly indicates affection from Lord Chancellor Hyde. Indeed, the T-forms object of analysis are included in two statements by him that show positive feelings.

Thee (71) and (72) were excluded since problems of readability of the documents are involved: “L. C. J. No, he says, A□ I saw is this, that in the Entry Book sometimes kept at Wild-house, sometime by Mr. Langhorn, the□e (71) was w□□tten, [...]”, “Corker, [...] and this pretended Conspiracy against his Sacred Majesty, i□ the□e (72) be no such Pl□□ and Conspiracy, and if by Circumstances I can render □t improbable, I hope the Jury will take it into consideration” (1679RDUSirGeorgeWakemanBaronetWilliamMarshallWilliamRumleyJamesCorker).

Thou (231) appears towards the end of 1679RDUGeorgeWakemanWilliamMarshallWilliamRumleyJamesCorker, which is not well conserved; in fact, as it can be observed even from the following excerpt, many parts are lacking.

Corker, My Lord This I take to be of ve□y great concern to my self, that since the Truth of this Evidence does de□end upon the certainty of the Pl□□, and this pretended Conspiracy against his Sacred Majesty, i□ the□e be no such Pl□□ and Conspiracy, and if by Circumstances I can render □t improbable, I hope the Jury will take it into consideration.
L. C. J. Ay, Ay I am of that Opinion, if *thou* (231) can but satisfy Us and the Jury, that there is no Plot, tho¹⁴⁶ (231b) shalt be q□□tted by my consent.
Corker, I will, my Lord, show you the improbab□lity of it.

The persons involved in the exchange are:

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Corker	James ¹⁴⁷	1636 n.a.	C2	Mr/Priest, Abbot of Lambspring	defendant	No
Scroggs	William	1623 Rainham	B	Lord, Sir/Judge	Lord Chief Justice	No

¹⁴⁶ It can be hypothesized that the “tho” is a *thou* form, where the “u” is lacking since the document was not well preserved.

¹⁴⁷ N.a., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

In the exchange, Lord Chief Justice confirms the affirmations of Corker; thus, *thou* (231), and (the hypothetical) *thou* 231b, show the positive attitude of the judge. Indeed, there are no grounds for the showing of power (P) by the judge, since he is agreeing, and reflexivity (RF) cannot be involved in the above-mentioned case(s) because the judge has no reasons to show benevolence.

Thou (257) is strictly bound to the religious context:

L. Chief Just. What did he say?

Mr. Bol. He told me he would assist me in the Act.

L. Chief Just. Who?

Mr. Bol. Rushton did. And he told me the Pope had granted him the power, that I should have the benefit of absolution if I would do it. I desired him not to persuade me to do such a thing, for I would have no hand in it; then he quoted a certain place of Scripture to me which was, *thou* (257) shalt bind their Kings in Fetters and their Princes in Chains. Whereupon he concluded, and made this exposition, that the Pope had deposed the King, and absolved all his Subjects, and it was a meritorious Act to kill the King. And that unless the King would turn Roman Catholic the Pope would give away his Kingdoms to another? (1679SirThomasGascoyneBar)

In his deposition, Mr Bolron quotes a part of a Scripture, including *thou* (257), which was in turn quoted by Rushton. As previous studies affirm (among them Wales 1983), *thou* was often used to refer to God and, viceversa, religious entities often use it (see, for instance, the 10 commandments). Thus, it can be affirmed that *thou* often appears in the religious discourse. Trial 1679SirThomasGascoyneBar is particularly rich of *thou*: in addition to *thou* (257), also *thou* (258), (259), (260), (261), (262) and (264) appear there.

Thou (258) is part of a deposition by Mr Bole:

L. C. J. You were his Servant when all the Gentlemen met at his house?

Mr. Bol. Yes, my Lord, I was.

L. Chief Just. When did you leave his service say you?

Mr. Bole. The first day of July 1678.

L. Chief Just. And this was in May 1678, was it not?

Mr. Bol. No in 79 my Lord, last May. My Lord I watched and stayed till he came in, and took him as he came in. I went up stayers with him, and when we came into his Chamber he calls me to him, and asked me what discourse had passed between me and Rushton; I told him our discourse was concerning the Oath of Allegiance, and the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of it. Then Sir Thomas Gascoyne took me by the hand, and told me, well man if *thou* (258) wilt undertake a design that I and others have to kill the King, I will give *thee* (79) 1000. l. and I will send *thee* (80) to my Son Thomas, if he be in Town, but if he be not in Town, he said he would give me such Instructions that I should find the rest that were concerned in the business.—

In the above-mentioned deposition, Robert Bolron recounts an exchange between him and Sir Gascoyne.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Gascoyne	Thomas ¹⁴⁸	1596, West Riding of Yorkshire	B	Sir/Second baronet	defendant	No
Bolron	Robert ¹⁴⁹	n.a., New Castle upon Tyne	F	Mr/Servant	Witness	No

Again, in this case, *thou* (258) is part of a polite request (positive politeness), which involves an economic return. *Thee* (79) and (80), instead, are commissives. Reflexivity (RF) here is not involved because of the nature of the request: indeed, the master is asking his servant to break the law and, for this reasons, he could be awarded a very high sum of money; if the request of the master had not be bound to a crime, reflexivity had surely been present, since masters can ask for the execution of orders, without paying any alluring sum.

Thee (81) and *thou* (159) are particularly interesting since both T-forms and Y-forms appear in the same line:

C. J. Then tell him of the List.
(Which was done.)
Sir Tho. Gascoyne. 'Tis a most impudent Lye.
Mr. Hobart. What say you to your Hand being to that List?
Sir Tho. Gascoyne. Not one word of it.
Mr. Hobart. But he says 'twas your Name to it.
Sir Tho. Gascoyne. He had a pair of Spectacles on sure that could see any thing. Was it a printed List, or a written one?
Mr. Mowbray. It was written, your Name was put to it, with your own hand-writing.
(Which was told him.)
Sir. Tho. Gascoyne. He makes what he will.
Then Mr. Hobart repeated Rushton 's declaring that he had given him the Sacrament of Secrecy.
Sir. Tho. Gascoyne. I'll warrant you he hath gotten this Oath of Secrecy out of the News Books, for I never heard of it before. Let me ask *thee* (81)? Didst *thou* (259) ever hear it before you came to London?
Mr. Mowbray. Yes, Sir Thomas, I did.
Mr. Hobart. But will you ask him any Question?
Sir. Tho. Gascoyne. No; it is all false he speaks, not a word of Truth comes out of his Mouth.

In exchange, Sir Gascoyne is extremely bothered by the utterances of Mr Mowbray, and – in its final part (“[n]o; it is all false he speaks, not a word of Truth comes out of his Mouth”) – he clearly ignores the witness (positive impoliteness).

¹⁴⁸ Porter (2004).

¹⁴⁹ Greaves (2004).

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Gascoyne	Thomas ¹⁵⁰	1596, West Riding of Yorkshire	B	Sir/Second baronet	Defendant	No
Mowbray	Thomas ¹⁵¹	n.a.	F	Mr/Servant	Witness	No

Thou (259) is preceded by the utterance “Let me ask *thee* (81)”, which is a request for a permission to ask something, a sort of indirect rhetorical question. *Thou* (259), instead, is part of a request for information: Sir Gascoyne is filled with anger but he does not choose *thou* in every part of his statements (“Sir. Tho. Gascoyne. I’ll warrant you he hath gotten this Oath of Secrecy out of the News Books, for I never heard of it before. Let me ask *thee* (81)? Didst *thou* (259) ever hear it before **you** came to London?”), but only for the first part, that is the direct part, of the request.

Thou (260), which is 5 lines apart from *thou* (261), is also included in a request for information by a judge:

Mr. Just. Jones. Art *thou* (260) sure he said those words?
Mr. Mowbray. My Lord, he is a Papist.
Hamsworth. I am a Protestant.
Mr. Just. Pemberton. How long have you been a Protestant?
Hamsworth. I was born so.
Mr. Just. Jones. Well, *thou* (261) hast added a few fine words that I dare say she never said.
Mr. Just. Pemberton. Were you never a Papist?
Hamsworth. Yes, I was.

Thee (261) is included in a sort of perjury charge: Mr Justice Jones affirms that the witness added words that were never uttered.

While *thou* (262) and (263) (“thou knowest”) can be considered filler words, *thou* (264) occurs in a context similar to the one of *thou* (258):

Batley. I filled them a Flaggon of Ale, and when I had done I left them. They began to discourse of the Plot, and Sir Tho. Gascoyne; and Mr. Bolron. —
Mr. Just. Dolben. At your house, where is your house?
Batley. My house is near the old Church at Leeds.
Mr. Just. Dolben. Is that the same place the other man speaks of?
Batley. Yes. Says Mr. Bolron to him, *Thou* (262) knowest that Sir Tho. Gascoyne hath been very severe against *thee* (82) and me, and now here is an opportunity offered us to take a Revenge upon Sir Tho. Gascoyne: Mowbray replied again, As for Sir Thomas, he is a very honest man, and I know no hurt by him; but as to my Lady Tempest, if I knew any thing against her I would hang her, for I would discover it. But *thou* (263) knowest, says Bolron, that Sir Thomas sues and troubles me, and if I do not make somewhat out against him, he will ruin me, and it must be done by two Witnesses. To which Mr. Mowbray answered again,

¹⁵⁰ Porter (2004).

¹⁵¹ Porter (2004).

How shall we bring this business about? If *thou* (264) wilt but come to my house, said he, I will put *thee* (83) in a way to contrive it, and we shall have a considerable Reward. And Mowbray told him he would come to him such a day.

Thee (82) seems to be used in order to indicate that the interactant is an in-group (positive politeness) before introducing the request. Indeed, both *thou* (264) and *thee* (83) are part of a polite request (positive politeness), involving an economic return, which is part of a deposition given during the trial.

Thou (265) and (266) are also part of a deposition (1680ElizabethCellierSept):

[...] *thou* (265) lookest like a good honest Fellow, and I believe *thou* (266) hast no hand in the Plot, [...]

The reported words convey positive feelings and were uttered by the wife of Mr Fowler, who addresses Corral, a coachman, with *thou*.

Thou (267) is included in a deposition that can be found in 1680JohnGiles:

Now Villain, if *thou* (267) hast any Life in *thee* (84) , pray for the Soul of Captain Evans

The address term “Villain” precedes the instances of *thou* and *thee* object of attention. Such instances – according to previous research (see Brown and Gilman 1960, Jucker 2000, Walker 2003) – may be interpreted as a sign of contempt; however, they appear before a request (directive with the presence of an imperative), which – according to the present study – may be also a factor of influence.

Thou (268) (1680JohnGiles) appears in a conversation between a Cutler and John Giles, reported by Mr Thompson:

Mr Thompson. [...] he [Giles] had broken his Sword, and went to a Cutler, one Darcy by name; this man was a Papist, and says he, Where hast *thou* (268) been Giles, a fighting with the Devil? No, it was with damned Arnold¹⁵². This we will prove to you: These are Evidences that are positive.

¹⁵² In another part of the trial, another version of the facts is given by another witness; such version includes *you*:

Jones, Sir, John Giles, came in the morning, and brought a Sword, my Master was not within, and he told me, give this Sword to your Master to be mended; so I took the Sword, and laid it up till my Master came in; when he came in, I told my Master of it, and when he came again this Walter Powel was in the Shop, said Giles to my Master, Did you mend my Sword? says he; says my Master, Mr. Giles, How came your Sword broke? Have *you* been fighting with the Devil? No, says he, for he never met with Arnold (1680JohnGiles).

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Giles	John	n.a.	n. a.	Mr/n.a.	Defendant	No
n.a.	Darcy	n.a.	D	n.a./Cutler	None (his words are reported by Mr Thompson)	No

Even in this case, *thou* appears in a request for information; however, such request is in the guise of a rhetorical question: indeed, certainly the answer is negative but, at the same time the details about the damage of the sword are asked.

Thou (269) (1680JohnGiles) appears in the account by Mr Arnold of the aggression suffered by himself; Mr Arnold reports a conversation between John Giles and one of the other attackers:

Mr Arnold. [...] for I heard him say, Damme *Thou* (269) hast spoiled my Leg. They laughed all the while and were exceeding merry.

Thou (269) markedly differs from the case studies analysed so far. Giles accuses a person, who is part of his group, to have wounded him but the entire group burst out laughing. No information about the latter is given. Thus, a rigorous pragmatic analysis of the form cannot be provided. The instance could be a sign of contempt; the laughs, instead, may signal that the injury is not severe. According to the model by Searle (1975), the illocutionary act can be categorized as a representative.

Thou (270) and (271) are part of an utterance by the Recorder, who is asking Ann Baron to speak louder:

Record. Speak as loud as *thou* (270) would'st do if *thou* (271) wer't at home: When was this?

Even in this case, the utterance is a request (directive), including an imperative. The request comes from the Recorder, who is one of the persons in charge of the power since he is part of the court¹⁵³.

Thou (272) (1680RDUWilliamViscountStafford) is pronounced by Lord Stafford:

¹⁵³ According to Jucker and Taavitsainen (2013:84), such instance is aimed at stressing the social divide.

L. Stafford. He does acknowledge he did forswear himself once, and did make himself an honest man the next day, when he was a perjured Villain the day before. And now he tells your Lordships that he was searching for a Letter that I sent to him, but he cannot find it.

Mr. Turbevill. No, my Lords, I thought I had it, but I cannot find it.

L. Stafford. No I'll swear *thou* (272) can not. But then he does say that he had a Discharge from the French Army.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Stafford	William ¹⁵⁴	30/11/1612 n.a.	A	Lord/Viscount	Defendant	No
Turberville	Edward ¹⁵⁵	1653/4 Y Sger, Glamorgan	n.a. (D-G)	Mr/Server, friar, trooper	Witness	No

Lord Stafford is trying to undermine the credibility of a witness, Edward Turbeville; Stafford is enraged because of what could be defined as false testimony and addresses the witness with *thou*. Stafford is both higher in rank and older than Turbeville. The utterance could be categorized as a representative, aimed at denying the possibility of Turbeville of presenting the letter; at the same time, Stafford could be challenging Turbeville to present the letter: thus, the act could be categorized as a directive (request).

Lord Stafford addresses Turbeville with *thou* again [*thou* (273), 1680RDUWilliamViscountStafford]:

L. H. Stew. Do you remember any other Servant of my Lords, that you did see there?

Mr. Turbevill. Truly, my Lords, I don't remember, I might forget him.

Lord Stafford. So I believe *thou* (273) dost me too.

Mr. Turbevill. Your Lordship, that could call me Coward may say any thing.

L. Stafford. You shall be as valiant as Hector, if you will. Pray call my other Boy.

(Who stood up.)

L. H. Stew. You little Boy, were you all the while with my Lord that he was in France?

Leigh. Yes, my Lords.

L. H. Stew. Did you ever see Turbevill there?

Leigh. No, my Lords, not that I know of.

The feelings mirror the ones of the previous exchange, where *thou* (272) is to be found.

Thou (275) appears in 1681EdwardFitz-HarrisOliverPlunket, which shows effects of time:

¹⁵⁴ Holmes (2004).

¹⁵⁵ Handley (2004).

Mr. Everard. Mr. Fitzharris told me, that several Parliament men were joined with the French Ambassador to give him an ⟨◇⟩ of things, but he told me besides, this must be drawn up as it ⟨...⟩ the Name of the Non-Conformists to Father it upon them, yet ⟨◇⟩ there was one word in it *thou* (275) as if it were in the ⟨...⟩ says he it must not be so, but it must be under the ⟨...⟩ Non-Conformists, that it may be common to all the ⟨...⟩ .

Many letters and parts of the text are missing; for this reason, no qualitative analysis can be carried. *Thee* (85), *thou* (276) and *thee* (86) are part of the same trial (1681 Edward Fitz-Harris Oliver Plunket), but are readable; thus, a proposal of analysis will be made.

Thee (85) expresses gratitude:

Mr. Att. Gen. This is the Copy of the Indictment Clauses.

Cl. of Sr. reads. Friend I thank *thee* (85) for the Character of the Popish Successor —

The interaction, Mr Attorney General and the Clerk, sees the latter to address him with “friend” to indicate he is an in-group. *Thee* (85) is part of a note of thanks (the Clerk has indeed received a copy of the indictment clauses); therefore, it indicates positive feelings.

Thou (276) and *thee* (86) are included in a discourse around the forms that can be used when writing:

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. [...] But, my Lord, there is this Venome in it further to be taken notice of, That he gave his instructions to draw it so, as that it might best take effect according to his intention: for when Mr. Everard thought it might do well to make it with *thou* (276) and *thee* (86), as though it should be the desire of the Quakers, he said, No, by no means; [...].

The passage confirms the historical research about *thou* and *you* carried out by Brown and Gilman (1960) and Wales (1983).

Also *thou* (289) gives information about the usage of the form:

Mr. Williams. Pray, as long as you were there, what passed between the Count and the Polander?

Mr. Hanson. I remember very well what passed between the Count and him, for I have thought of it. He spoke to him, and called him *thou* (289), as to his Servant, and asked him, where he had been all the while, and he answered he had been at Sea, tossed up and down.

In the deposition, Mr. Hanson reports a rule: masters address their servants with *thou*.

Thou (290) is pronounced by Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

Sir N. Johnson. My Lord, I having had the honour to serve a while under my Lord's Father, I was desirous knowing the honour of the Family, and bearing a great respect to it, to do my

Lord all the reasonable Service I could. So hearing my Lord was taken, and in Newgate, I went to wait upon him, and coming there Mr. Richardson told me, there was a little Boy waited at the Count's door for his Wages, as he said. So I spake to the Boy, and asked him what does *thou* (290) stay for? he told me for his Wages. Said I, certainly my Lord will pay you his Wages; how long have you served him? said he, a little while, and then said I, if you lived with him, what do you know of this business. And then of himself he began and told me, Only this I know, that Vratz was in my Master's Chamber that night, and the Polander that Night went out with a pair of Boots under his Arm, and more then this I do not know. Said I. Boy who do you serve? Says he, I have no Master at present, but then of his own accord he told me, Sir Thomas Thynne had promised him a place, and in the mean time, I am says he, to go to serve my Lord Privy-Seal; so my Lord gave him Twenty Shillings for his Wages.

Few information is given about Sir Nathaniel Johnson¹⁵⁶. In any case, Sir Johnson reports the request for information addressed to a boy; in that occasion, he firstly addresses the young boy with *thou* but later he switches to *you*.

Thou (298) is to be found at the beginning of 1681SrMilesStapletonBarThomasThwing.

Clerk of Assize, Hold up thy hand, Sir Miles, *thou* (298) hast heard the Treasons and other misdemeanors whereof thou stand'st Indicted, art thou guilty thereof or not guilty?

The form can be considered semi-formulaic since it both appears at the beginning of the trial and is preceded and followed by T-formulaic forms.

Thou (303) and (304) are included in 1681SrMilesStapletonBarThomasThwing.

Sir Miles. Pray what was the occasion you were turned out of Sir Thomas Gascoyns Service? Mr. Bolr. My Lord I know not; they say it was about a Trunk; Sir Thomas Gaseoyne sent him to York and he was to come again: I know there was a design to take away Mowbrays life, but I never told him so much, and my Lady accused him for a Ring, I never durst tell him this, but this was the thing contrived against him to take away his life, I can make it appear where he bought the Ring.

Mr. Just. Dolb. What telst *thou* (303) us of a Ring? Can not *thou* (304) as well tell us it was for that he left Sir Thomas Gascoynes service?

Sir Miles. When did you first become a Protestant?

¹⁵⁶ It can be hypothesized that he was the future governor of South Carolina; if the hypothesis is correct, the following information about him might be relevant for the analysis (Webber 2004):

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Johnson	Nathaniel	07/04/1644, Kibblesworth	B	Sir	Witness	No

The exchange, which discusses an accusation for a ring, is not clear. Indeed, it seems not possible to understand to whom the questions (requests for information) are addressed (if they were addresses to Sir Miles, he would be violating the Gricean maxim of relation).

Thou (305) is part of the deposition of Dixon (1681SrMilesStapletonBarThomasThwing).

Sir Tho. Stringer. Were you offered any thing by Mr. Babbington to be a Witness for Sir Miles?

Wilson. I was, my Lord.

Sir Tho. Stringer. Pray tell my Lord what you were offered, and what he would have you to say?

Dixon. Batley would have him to be a Witness.

Mr. Just. Dolb. Well, but what was he to say?

Dixon. He was to say he never see Bole. nor Mowbray at his house. Saith Batley, I saw them at the door. *Thou* (305) never didst see them in my house? Yes saith he I see them once, and my Lord, the third time before they departed he might say that in 79. he came in and found them there.

Dixon reports what seems a discussion between Batley and Mr. Babbington. In any case, even this occurrence of *thou* is part of a question (*i.e.*, request for information).

Thou (306) appears at the beginning of 1681StephenColledg:

Cl. of Sr. [...] *Thou* (306) art here Indicted by the Name of Stephen College late of Oxford, in the County of Oxford, Carpenter; For that thou as a false Traitor against the most Illustrious, most Serene, and most Excellent Prince, our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second [...]

Despite the impossibility to immediately catalogue such form as formulaic because there are less than 3 occurrences in the corpus, it surely belongs to that category; indeed, it presents similarities with the following formulaic forms: “thou hast been indicted”, “thou scantest charged/convicted/indicted” and “thou standest/stand'st indicted”. Furthermore, *thou* (314) (1681StephenColledg) is markedly similar to (306):

Cl. of Sr. *Thou* (314) art indicted by the name of Stephen College late of Oxon in the County of Oxon Carpenter, as a false Traitor.

Thou (317) and (318) also appear in 1981StephenColledg:

Mr. Bolron. I discovered it to my Lord Mayor.

Mr. Att. Gen. When did you discover it?

Mr. Bolron. Soon after I came to Town.

Mr. Att. Gen. When was it?

Mr. Bolron. Some time last week.

Mr. Att. Gen. Was it on Saturday last?

Mr. Bolron. It was the beginning of the week.
 Mr. Serg. Jefferies. *Thou* (317) art such a Discoverer.
 Mr. Bolron. My Lord, 'tis very true what I say. If I had known any such thing, I would have discovered it.
 Mr. Serg. Jefferies. *Thou* (318) would have discovered it before that time, of my Conscience.
 College. My Lord, he hath been an Evidence against the Papists as well as Mr. Smith, and therefore pray Sir George don't make your flourishes upon him.
 Mr. Serg. Jefferies. He was an Evidence, but he had the misfortune never to be believed.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Jefferies	George ¹⁵⁷	15 May 1645, Acton Park	B	Mr, Sir/Judge	chief counsel for the prosecution	No
Bolron	Robert ¹⁵⁸	n.a., New Castle upon Tyne	F	Mr/Servant	Witness	No

The statements of Mr Jefferies seem to show a positive attitude towards Robert Bolron. However, it should be considered that they could be an example of mock politeness, possible because of his power as a chief counsel for the prosecution¹⁵⁹.

Thou (319) is to be found in the same trial (1681StephenColled) and in its proximity are also the forms *thy* (207) and *thee* (98):

Mr. Ser. Jeff. Mr. Jones, I don't care for his Almanac, I had rather Mr. Mow. and Mr. Bolron could bring their Almanacks together, and I would have them compared to see whether the 3 d. of August in one be the 25 th. of July in the other. Did you Discourse with him upon the Road the 3 d. of August, and not before, and Bolron that came up with you, Discourse with him the 25 th. of July?

Mr. Mow. I am mistaken, I find.

Mr. Ser. Jeff. Ay, that you are, one of you most grossly.

Mr. Mow. See, Sir, here is my Almanac, whereby I find that it is my mistake; but pray see, Sir, here it is set down, the day we came out was the 24. the day we came to London was the 27.

Mr. S. Jeff. How didst *thou* (319) set out the 3 of August from that place, and yet come to London the 27 th. of July?

Mr. Mow. I will refer my self to Mr. Smith, as to the time we came up, & here is my Almanac.

Mr. S. Jeff. I will believe *thy* (207) Almanac to speak truth, though it have never so many Errors about the Changes of the Weather, sooner than I will believe *thee* (98)¹⁶⁰.

Coll. I perceive the man is mistaken in the month and the time; but pray my Lord will you please to see, for Justice sake, if the Almanac be new writ.

L. C. J. Look you, here is the matter, Mr. College, he was asked again, and again, what day it was, and he was positive to the 3 d. of August.

Coll. He was mistaken, but his Almanac is right.

L. C. J. He speaks rashly, that is the best can be said.

¹⁵⁷ Halliday (2004).

¹⁵⁸ Greaves (2004).

¹⁵⁹ Krey (2004).

¹⁶⁰ The instances are also discussed by Walker (2007:88).

In the passage, Mr Jeffries is arguing with some witnesses about the discrepancies among what was said, what was written in the almanacs and about some mistakes that may be present in the almanacs. Jeffries leads the discourse for a long time during the trial; indeed, he was a chief counsel for the prosecution. *Thou* (319) is a request for information, albeit provocative and quarrelsome. *Thy* (207) and *thee* (98), instead, are part of the following sentence uttered by Jefferies, which conveys negative feelings¹⁶¹.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Mowbray	Thomas ¹⁶²	n.a.	F	Mr/Servant	Witness	No

Thou (320) (1681StephenColledge) is also pronounced by Serj. Jeffries:

Stephens. This was the Maid that hid her Masters papers when they were searched for.
 Mr. Serj. Jefferies, Be quiet; art *thou* (320) got into Dialogues with the Maid now?
 Colledge. Mr. Stevens, 'tis well known what a man you are to propagate Witnesses. My Lord, she gave me an account of this in the Tower, before I came away, that Dugdale desired to speak with Mr. Smith, and told her, that nothing that he had to say would touch my Life.

The form is again included in a question by Mr. Serj. Jeffries, addressed to Colledge.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Jefferies	George ¹⁶³	15 May 1645, Acton Park	B	Mr, Sir/Judge	chief counsel for the prosecution	No
Colledge	Stephen ¹⁶⁴	1635, Watford	C2 or inferior	Mr/Poet, political activist	Defendant	No

Colledge was older than Jeffreys but of inferior rank. Even in this case, the tone of the (rhetorical) question is quarrelsome.¹⁶⁵

Thou (321), (322), *thee* (99) and (100) (1681StephenColledge) are part of the deposition of Elizabeth Hunt, a maid.

¹⁶¹ For a different interpretation of the passage, see Walker (2007:88).

¹⁶² Porter (2004).

¹⁶³ Halliday (2004).

¹⁶⁴ Krey (2004).

¹⁶⁵ The instance was also discussed by Walker (2007:88).

Mr. Just. Levins. Was this after he had been at the Old-bayly, or before?

El. Hunt. Yes, it was after he had been at the Old-bayly, and after he had been at Oxon too.

Mr. Just. Levins. Then it was before the Court what could be made of it.

College. She hath gone forty times for the money I lent him out of my pocket; and I lent him that, when I had little more my self.

El. Hunt. I did tell him, Mr. Dugdale, if you can't let me have my Masters money, if you please to tell me what you have made Oath against my Master. Said he, I can't let *thee* (99) have it now; but *thou* (321) shalt have what I have to say against him: I will draw it up in Writing▪ and *thou* (322) shalt have it to morrow-morning. The next morning I came to him again, and said I, I am come again; what must I do? Said he, I have no money; such an one hath not hoped me to it. Sir, then, said I, I hope you will be as good as your word, to let me know what you have made Oath against my Master. Said he, I was about it yesterday, but could not do it: But, Sweetheart, said he, (and took me by the hand) I will give you a Copy of it to day at ten of the clock; and if I do not, I will tell it *thee* (100) by word of mouth. So I came to the house at ten, and staid till eleven, but did not see him.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Hunt	Elizabeth	n.a.	F	none/maid	Witness	No
Dugdale	Stephen ¹⁶⁶	n.a.	C1	Mr/n.a.	Witness (informer)	No

Elizabeth Hunt is reporting a conversation between her and Mr Dugdale, superior of rank [he “may have come from a minor gentry family”(Marshall 2004)]. The exchange seems to mirror the one between a master and a servant since the interactants are distant more than 3 rank in the social pyramid. The maid is expecting to receive what Dugdale has to say against her master; in the final part of the reported exchange, Dugdale addresses Hunt with the term “sweetheart” and then he chooses a T-form [*thee* (100)] when he offers to tell her by word of heart (positive politeness)¹⁶⁷.

Thou (323) (1681StephenColledge) is part of a deposition by the defendant:

Colledge. [...] So I came to my Lord Shaftsbury, and the two Mr. Godfreys were in the Room; and after I had told my Lord what discourse I had with him, says my Lord, College, These Irish -men have confounded all our business; and *thou* (323) and I must have a care they do not put a trick upon us: This may be a trick of the Papists to ruin us; [...]

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Cooper	Anthony Ashley	22 July 1621, Wimborne	A	Lord/First Earl of Shaftsbury	Absent	No

¹⁶⁶ Marshall (2004).

¹⁶⁷ The instance was also analyzed by Walker (2007:90).

Colledge	Stephen ¹⁶⁸	1635, Watford	C2 or inferior	Mr/Poet, political activist	Defendant	No
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The Earl of Shaftsbury, who is older and higher in rank than Colledge, according to the words of the latter, performs a request including *thou*¹⁶⁹. Later, he prefers the form you: “if they will not put it upon *you* and I, they are fools” (1681StephenColledge).

Thou (327) is part of 1682GeorgeBusby and appears at the beginning of the trial:

Clerk. George Busby, hold up thy hand, which he did Thou scantest Indicted by the Name of George Busby, late of West-Hallam in the County of Derby Clerk, for that *thou* (327) being a Subject of our Sovereign Lord the King [...]

The form may be considered semi-formulaic because of the context in which appears.

Prithee (10), *thou* (333) and *thee* (104) (1682Tho.PilkingtonEsq) are part of a deposition reported by Mr. Common Serjeant¹⁷⁰, Henry Crispe (Allen 1825:286):

Mr. Com. Serj. [...] Upon that Sir Robert Clayton said to me, *Prithee* (10), do *thou* (333) speak to them, they will hear *thee* (104) if they will hear any body; for the Hall was in a great uproar, and they called to throw me off the Hustings, and then I made Answer to Sir Robert Clayton [...].

Prithee seems to mark an indirect request, as was customary during the Early Modern Period (Vitto 2006:11); in the excerpt above, it appears that such form is strictly bound to the following ones. Indeed, *thou* (333) can be categorized as a directive (request) and *thee* (104) states the possible perlocutionary act of the hearers. *Thee* (104) could also be a way to address the positive face of the hearer (positive politeness) in order to convince him. Such excerpt mirrors the one where *prithie* (12), *thou* (334), *thee* (105) are to be found:

Mr. Com. Serj. My Lord, I will give your Lordship an account of that whole Days proceedings; we came to the Hall, and after Mr. Recorder, Sir. George Jefferies had attempted to speak to the Hall, for they were in such a tumult they would not suffer him to speak, my Lord Mayor withdrew, there was a very great clamour and noise, but at last the Question was put, and I came up with the Sheriffs hither and acquainted my Lord, that Mr. Bethel and

¹⁶⁸ Krey (2004).

¹⁶⁹ The instance seems to be included in an attempt to claim in-group membership.

¹⁷⁰ “[A] judicial officer of the Corporation of London who is assistant to the recorder” (Merriam-Webster n.a.).

Alderman Cornish had the most hands, and that there was a Poll demanded between Mr. Box, and Mr. Nicholson, and Mr. Bethel, and Mr. Cornish, then the dispute lay as between Box and Nicholson and Alderman Cornish and Mr. Bethel, I acquainted my Lord Mayor that was, Sir Robert Clayton, that Mr. Recorder said he would not go down to make Declaration they would not hear him; upon that Sir Robert Clayton took a Paper and gave it me, with these very words, (it is the greatest tumult I was ever in in all my life, and I have some reason to remember it) *prithoe* (12) says he, do *thou* (334) make Declaration to them, for if they will hear any body they will hear *thee* (105): Sir, says I, because it is not the Duty of my Office I desire your particular direction; then, says he, tell them I must Adjourn it till Munday because I must go to the Old Bailey, to try the Assassins of Arnold, whereupon the Hall was Adjourned, and in a great tumult, and my Lord Mayor attempting to go out, he was beat back twice or three times, he spake something to them, and they went away, leaving me and the Sheriffs upon the Hustings, and there they kept us Prisoners till six or seven a Clock at night.

The forms are included in an account of some proceedings by Henry Crispe. Crispe is stating that such words were written by Sir Robert Clayton on a piece of paper. Here, again, *prithoe* (12) is used to introduce the request (directive), where *thou* (334) appears. Also in this case, *thee* (105) is either a possible perlocutionary act of the addressees or a way to persuade the actual addressee of the written message to do what is asked.

Thee (109) is included in 1683AlgernonSidney:

Col. Sidney. Then, O God, O God, I beseech *thee* (109) to Sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my Blood to the Country, nor the City, through which I am to be drawn; Let no inquisition be made for it, but if any, and the shedding of Blood, that is innocent, must be revenged, Let the weight of it fall only upon those, that maliciously Persecute me for Righteousness sake.

Thee (109) is an example of religious discourse: in fact, Colonel Sidney in his plea (*i.e.*, request) addresses God with such form.

Thee (120) was excluded from the quantitative analysis; indeed, #LancsBox falsely red an incomplete term as “thee”: “for two or th^{ee} days” (1683WalcotHoneLordRusselRousBlagg).

Thee (126) is also included in 1683WalcotHoneLordRusselRousBlagg.

L. C. J. You hear his question, answer it.

Mr. Leigh. For that I answer, that Mr. Rouse was the first man that ever I heard propose that the King and the Duke should be secured, and there is another thing come in my mind, Mr. Rouse hath been a Traveller, he did presume to say, and has said to me, and in Company, that the King was Sworn in France and Spain to bring in Popery and Arbitrary power in so many years, and therefore it was no sin to take him off, and he told me he had it under his own hand.

Rouse. It was impossible my Lord.

Sir G. Jeff. I do believe it. I do not believe he thought *thee* (126) fit to be a Secretary.
 L. C. J. Look you, if you would have any thing asked him, propose it to me.

Sir G. Jeffries addresses the Secretary with a T-form. In the trial the name of the Secretary is not specified and since cross talking is involved, no clear interpretation can be given. However, considering the answer of the Lord Chief Justice, it can be assumed that Mr. Rouse had the role of Secretary: it is clear that Jeffries aim is to offend the Secretary; indeed, the behaviour of the Judge was well known (Keeton 1965).

Thou (360) is part of an exchange between Lord Chief Justice, Francis Pemberton, and Mr Atterbury (1683SamBarnadiston).

Mr. Atterb. His Majesty asked him, Who subscribed them??
 L. Ch. Just. Superscribed them, *thou* (360) meanest, they are not subscribed.
 Mr. Atterb. Yes, my Lord, superscribed them; and he looked on them once again, and said, They were superscribed by one of his Servants, and so ordered to be carried to the Post-House.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Pemberton ¹⁷¹	Francis	1624, n.a.	B	Sir, Lord/Judge	Lord Chief Justice	No
Atterbury ¹⁷²	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Mr/n.a.	Witness	No

Lord Chief Justice, using the power (P) of the Court, corrects what Mr Atterbury affirms; Atterbury accepts the correction. As the affirmative answer of the latter confirms, even in this case the utterance by Lord Chief Justice may be interpreted as an implicit request for correction.

Thee (130) and (131) are included in 1685HenryBaron Delamere.

Serge. at Arms. Sir Roger Harsnet Knight, Sergeant at Arms to our Sovereign Lord the King, return the Precept to *thee* (130) directed, together with the Names of all the Lords and Noblemen of this Realm of England, Peers of Henry Baron of Delamere, by *thee* (131) summoned, forthwith, upon Pain and Peril shall fall thereon.

The Sergeant at Arms delivered in his Precept and Return at the Clerks Table. L. H. Steward. Read the Precept and the Return.

¹⁷¹ Halliday (2004b).

¹⁷² It was not possible to understand whether he was Francis Atterbury or Lewis Atterbury (Hayton 2004a; 2004b) since no information could be found.

Sir Roger Harsnet, Sergeant at Arms to the Sovereign, is asked to return the precept to him directed [directive, *thee* (130)]. *Thee* (131), instead, is neither bound to feelings nor to requests. Thus, any interpretation of such T-form is debatable; however, it might be hypothesized that positive politeness might be involved.

Thou (397) and *prithee* (13) appear in 1685HenryBaronDelamere.

Lord H. Stew. *Prithee* (13) tell us what that discourse *thou* (397) hadst with Edlin, was. Paunce. Mr. Edlin about the latter end of May last, went out of Town, as I heard, and when he came back again, I asked him whither he went? he said he was invited by a Friend to go with him out of Town, and my Lord Delamere went along with them, and went by the name of Brown.

The instances are part of an utterance by Lord High Steward (on that occasion, the role was of Lord George Jeffries). Paunceford is the addressee of the request of Lord High Steward, who – thanks to the information present within the trial – we know to be George Jefferies. Lord High Steward introduces his request with [*p*]*rithee* and, within the request (directive) uses to form *thou*.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Jefferies	George ¹⁷³	15 May 1645, Acton Park	B	Mr, Sir/Judge	Lord High Steward	No
Paunceford	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Witness	No

Thee (134), *prithee* (14), *thy* (263) and *thou* (398) are also included in 1685HenryBaron Delamere and they appear among the words of Lord H. Steward.

Mr. Att. Gen. Then may it please your Grace, the next Witness we shall bring, shall be to prove that my Lord Delamere took frequent Journeys backward and forward in a very little compass of time, and the same Witness will likewise tell you what Discourse he had with my Lord during the very time of Monmouths Rebellion, to stir up the people to join with him. Swear Hope, which was done Pray tell my Lords what Discourse you had with my Lord Delamere, and when?

Hope, Upon the Sunday before the Coronation, my Lord Delamere came down Post to my House, towards his own House in Cheshire ?

Lord H. Steward, *Prithee* (14) where is *thy* (263) House, for these Noble Lords do not know *thee* (134), perhaps, so well as I do, therefore tell us where it is?

¹⁷³ Halliday (2004).

Hope, My Lord, my house is at the Three Tunns in Coventry.
 Lord H. Steward, Well, go on, tell what *thou* (398) knowest.
 Hope ?Some time after that he came down Post again, and a little after he went up again Post, and he told me he went down another way; and after that, the 21st of June, he came down Post again, this was upon a Sunday, the Sunday Sennight after the Duke of Monmouth landed.

Prithee (14) introduces the request for information where *thy* (263) is included; instead, *thee* (134) is an example of positive politeness (in-group membership). Indeed, it seems that Lord High Steward knows Hope¹⁷⁴ [Lord High Steward can be identified with James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond (Chisholm 1911)]. *Thou* (398) is preceded by two imperatives (directives): Lord High Steward is asking Hope for information.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Butler	James	1610	B	Lord/Judge	Lord High Steward	No
Hope	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Witness	No

The following instances, *thou* (399), *thou* (400) and *prithee* (15), are part of the same trial (1685HenryBaron Delamere).

Saxon. It was before His Majesty's Counsellors, that were sent to take my Examination in Newgate.
 L. H. Steward. *Prithee* (15), I do not know when *thou* (399) come to Newgate, it may be *thou* (400) hast been there oftner than once?
 Saxon. I gave my first Information immediately after I was brought to Town, when I was removed from Dorchester Goal to Newgate.

Prithee, in the above-quoted excerpt, introduces two requests: the first one more general (*i.e.*, “when *thou* come to Newgate”), and the second may be defined as accusatory: indeed, Lord High Steward asks whether Saxon has been more than one time in Newgate, implying he is.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
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¹⁷⁴ Since no hints about the name of Hope are present within the trials, it could not be clearly identified who – among the Hope family members – is the person at issue. For more information about the Hope family, see Orbell (2004).

Jefferies	George ¹⁷⁵	15 May 1645, Acton Park	B	Mr, Sir/Judge	Lord High Steward	No
Saxon	Thomas	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	Witness	No

Thee (135) and *thy* (264) are part of the interaction between Hough and Lord High Steward (1685HenryBaron Delamere).

Hough. It should have been for six Pounds ten Shillings in money, and ten Shillings in work.
L. H. Steward. Did not he give *thee* (135) a Bond for all *thy* (264) money?
Hough. It should have been so, but I never had it.

Both instances are included in a question (request for information/directive).

Thou (401) and (402) as well as *thy* (265) and (266) are also part of 1685HenryBaron Delamere.

L. H. Stew. What *didst* thou (401) never find him?
Wright. To perfect his word in any thing, My Lord.
L. H. Stew. That is, make good his word I suppose, but that is your Cheshire Phrase.
Wright. Whereupon I met with him one Evening after Evening Prayer, and said to him, Thomas Saxon, if I cared no more for keeping my word than *thou* (402) do'st, it were no matter if I were hanged; for to be sure, if *thy* (265) mouth open, *thy* (266) tongue lies; and he turned away from me, and would not answer me a word; and since that he owed me some money, and when I asked him for it, he told me if I did trouble him for the Money it should be the worse for me; whereof all the Town knows as well as I that I cannot set him forth in words as bad as he is.

Thou (401) appears in a question, that is, in a direct request for information by Lord High Steward. *Thou* (402), *thy* (265) and (266), instead, are part of the deposition of William Wright, about whom no information is available. The deposition is about a dispute between him and Thomas Saxon: Wright tones seem accusatory and, in this case, T-forms may have been chosen in order to cause offense. After using such forms, Wright affirms that Thomas Saxon owes him money; thus, it seems clear that Wright feels anger.

Thou (402), (404), (405), (406), (407) and *thee* (136), (137) are also pronounced by Lord High Steward in 1685HenryBaron Delamere.

L. H. Stew. Can you instance in particular, Friend, of any Fraud, Cheat, or Cozenage that he has been guilty of? for it is not what the Town says, but what can be proved, that we must

¹⁷⁵ Halliday (2004).

take for Evidence; the Town that *thou* (403) livest in may reckon *thee* (136) but an idle Fellow, and yet *thou* (404) may'st be a very honest man for all that.

Wright. I trust, My Lord, I am so, and shall always prove so.

L. H. Stew. Well, what dost *thou* (405) know ill of him?

Wright. He did not keep his word with me.

L. H. Stew. Wherein dost *thou* (406) mean?

Wright. As to Money he owed me.

L. H. Stew. How much Money did he owe *thee* (137)?

Wright. He owed me a deal.

L. H. Stew. How much dost *thou* (407) call a deal?

Wright. I cannot tell how much exactly.

L. H. Stew. Does he owe *thee* (138) any thing now?

Wright. Yes, but I cannot justly tell how much.

Lord High Steward is addressing the positive face of Wright; indeed, through positive politeness (noticing the admirable qualities of the hearer and using the in-group marker “friend”), he encourages him to add information about the facts. More specifically, Lord High Steward uses the in-group marker “friend” when he asks the first question, where *you* appears; afterwards, he claims that, despite his fellow citizens may think he is an idle person (a social group isolates him), Wright may “be a very honest man” (1685HenryBaron Delamere). After Wright has answered, Lord High Steward asks other question to retrieve information, using again the form *thou*.

Lord High Steward addresses Wright twice with Y-forms (“[t]hat is, make good his word I suppose, but that is *your* Cheshire Phrase” and “[c]an *you* instance in particular, Friend, of any Fraud, Cheat, or Cozenage that he has been guilty of?”), but he mostly uses T-forms. The presence of Y-forms might be caused by reasons strictly bound to reflexivity (RF): indeed, in order to invite the witness to speak, Lord High Steward may try to use positive politeness and, later, he may decide to use T-forms, that is – supposedly – the standard form that a superior could use to address Wright. This explanation seems unlikely since 1) many questions and requests part of the *EMET* do include T-forms (such forms are probably used when the speaker desires to emphasize their requests), and 2) positive politeness plays definitely a role also in *thou* (404). In any case, an inconsistency is to be observed.

Thou (433) and (434) appear in 1685JohnHambden:

Mr. Williams. [...] My Lord, I have another matter to say, That with me seems to have very great weight: My Lord Howard, upon some occasions has said, being in discourse with a very great Intimate of his, and the man being speaking of the World to come, speaking of Eternity, speaking of the Immortality of the Soul, speaking of the Rewards and Punishments of another Life; my Lord Howard should say to him, How long wilt *thou* (433) persist in this Folly? How long wilt *thou* (434) be so Foolishly prevailed upon, as to believe the World was ever Made, or will ever have an End? My Lord, If a Person be of that Opinion, and a Mans Judgment in such things will discover it self in his Words; [...]

Both instances are included in a question that was never asked: indeed, Mr Williams affirms that Lord Howard should have asked those questions to “a very great intimate of his”, who could be an acquaintance with whom he speaks of religious matters. Mr Williams is trying to discredit Lord Howard, affirming his insincerity in the trial of Lord Russel: Williams affirms that such lies could be told since Howard swore on religion, while he seems not to be a believing person. Thus, *thou* (433) and (434) could be present either because of the linguistic context or because of the intention of the speaker to ask provocatory questions.

Thou (435), (436), (437), (438), *prithe* (16) and *thy self* (34) are included in 1685TitusOates.

L. C. J. How do you know that to be Mr. Oats then?

Mrs. Mayo. The Family knew him, and they told me it was he: That is the Gentleman there. I speak now nothing but that which I testified seven years ago, and it is all Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

L. C. J. Ay, no doubt of it, *thou* (435) swear'st nothing but the Truth.

Mrs. Maro¹⁷⁶. My Lord, he came three or four days afterwards again to the house, and then the young man came to me, and told me, That Parson Oats was turned Jesuit; and thereupon I said to him, Good Lord! why dost *thou* (436) concern *thy self* (34) with him? can not let him alone? I looked upon him, and saw him at that time: And when he came that time, he went to Sir Richard 's Ladies Sister, who is now in Wales, and coming to her, said she, Mr. Oats, I hear you are turned Jesuit, and we can have no Society with you now: At last, he stayed to Dinner with them, and stayed most of the day there. Then he comes the latter-end of May; Whitsuntide was in May that year, and I know he came before Whitsuntide by this token; I speak of the second time of his coming: Our Custom in the house was to Wash and Scour before the time, and I was sending for a Woman to come and help to Wash and Scour, and then he was walking in the Garden, and the young man came and told me Oats was there: he came into the Pantry to me, Look, said he, he is come again, and he is turned Jesuit by his disguise: Why Benjamin, said I, what hast *thou* (437) to do with the man? can not let him alone?

L. C. J. What was the Name of that young Man you speak of?

Mrs. Mayo: Truly, my Lord, he is dead, or he would have testified the same thing.

L. C. J. But what was his Name?

¹⁷⁶ The surname “Maro” is reported only once in the entire document; thus, the person at issue is Mrs Mayo.

Mrs. Mayo. Benjamin; I can't tell his other Name.

L. C. J. Well, go on.

Mrs. Mayo. Said I to him, Why dost *thou* (438) scorn this man? *Prithee* (16) get out of the Room, I am not able to hear it: So he walked the space of an hour in the Garden.

Thou (435) could either constitute an appraisal of Mrs Mayo by Lord Chief Justice or it could appear because of the link with the formulaic forms used to swear at the beginning of trials. The following instances, instead, are pronounced by Mrs Mayo, upon whom no information is available. However, since she answers “[m]y Ladies sister” to a question by Lord Chief Justice (“[w]ho dined with him, do you say, when he dined there?”), it can be assumed she was a servant. *Thou* (436), (437) and (438) and *thy self* (34) are part of questions (requests for information) she asks Benjamin, a young man. *Prithee* (16), instead, introduces a directive: she orders the young man, Benjamin, to exit the room.

Thee (143) can also be found in 1685TitusOates.

Mrs. Mayo. Pray, my Lord, let me a little think; I am unwilling to be mistaken, I would say nothing but the Truth.

Lord Ch. Justice. No, I would not have *thee* (143); but for Gods sake let us have the Truth, that is that we look for.

Mrs. Mayo. I say the Coach-man saw him there as well as I, and he can tell you better than I.

Lord Chief Justice choses a T-form in the utterance aimed at denying the request of Mrs. Mayo; thus, it can be affirmed that such utterance indicates negative feelings (positive impoliteness).

Thou (439), (440), *prithie* (17), (18) *thee* (144) and (145) also appear in 1685TitusOates.

Lord Ch. Justice. But, Friend, *prithie* (17) mind what I ask *thee* (144), because *thou* (439) must give me satisfaction how *thou* (440) com'st to remember this, so as to be able to swear it; for his going to ask for Tongue, or the Escutcheon being over the door, neither of those can be a reason for you to remember that this was in May, for the Escutcheon may be up in June, or in July, or in August, or in any other month after the time you speak of: But how came you to take notice of this business that it was in May?

Butler. Sir Richard Barker my Master was then sick at Putney, which was in May, though I cannot speak to a day or a week particularly.

Lord Ch. Justice. Then *prithie* (18) let me ask *thee* (145) this question, How long had your Master been sick before that?

Butler. He had never been well since my Lady died.

Lord Chief Justice uses the term of address “Friend” to address John Butler (positive politeness), followed by a series of T-forms. More specifically, he asks for a high level of attention with the form *priethee* (17), which is followed by the interrogative pronoun “what” and the personal pronoun (object) *thee* (144); however, the request develops around the form *priethee*. *Thou* (439) and (440), instead, introduce other requests: firstly, he asks to answer and, secondly, he asks for precise information about how Butler remembers the facts. Then, Lord Chief Justice introduces another request with the form *priethee*, followed by a causative verb (“let”) and the T-form “thou”; however, he chooses “your” within the question. Indeed, a fluctuation between Y-forms and T-forms can be clearly noticed in the interaction.

Thou (441) and (442) are included in the same trial (1685TitusOates).

Butler. My Lord, I tell your Lordship the Truth, it was in May.

L. C. J. But how dost *thou* (441) come to take notice it was in the month of May, so as to be able to swear it?

Butler. My Lord, I tell your Lordship my Lady was dead, and the Escutcheon was over the door.

[...]

L. C. J. What is become of your Masters Daughter?

Butler. I beg your pardon for that my Lord.

L. C. J. Where is she Man?

Butler. She is at home I suppose.

L. C. J. What dost *thou* (442) beg my pardon for then?

Butler. My Lord, I call to mind she did not dine with them.

L. C. J. Did she dine at any time with him there?

Butler. Yes, I remember several times, but not then.

They are both part of questions: *thou* (441) is a request for information (directive), uttered by Lord Chief Justice, *thou* (442) is also to be found in an interrogative by Lord Chief Justice, but it is a rhetorical question.

Thou (443), (444), (445), *priethee* (20) and *thee* (46) appear among the words of Lord Chief Justice.

Oats. My Lord, I will ask her but one short question, by the Oath you have taken Mrs. Mayo, to speak the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, as you expect the face of God

with comfort in another World; did you see me at Sir Richard Barkers at any time in May 78. the May before the Plot was discovered? for that is the main question.

Mrs. Mayo. Yes I did, and I speak nothing here, but what I speak as in the presence of the Lord.

L. C. J. *Prithee* (20) Woman dost *thou* (443) think we ask *thee* (146) any thing that we think *thou* (444) dost not speak in the presence of the Lord; we are all of us in the presence of the Lord always.

Mrs. Mayo. And shall answer before him for all that we have done and said, all of us, the proudest and the greatest here.

L. C. J. But I would not have so much to answer for as *thou* (445) hast in this business for all the World.

Mr. Soll. Gen. Well we have done with her now, she may go away.

L. C. J. Where does she live now?

Crier. Mrs. Mayo where do you live now?

[...]

Prithee (20) introduces a rhetorical question addressed to Mrs Mayo (negative impoliteness), where both *thou* (443) and *thee* (146) appear. The case of *thou* (445) remarkably differs: Lord Chief Justice underlines that the witness has surely a lot to say, and – whereas the Solicitor desires to let her away – he asks the crier where she lives, then she continues her testimony.

Thou (446) and *prithee* (21) appear in two different utterances by Lord Chief Justice, interrupted by an answer of Mrs Mayo.

L. C. J. Did she eat at his Table at that time when Oats was there?

Mrs. Mayo. I am not able to say whether she did or not; she used to be in Wales at Sir Thomas Middleton 's sometimes, and with Madam Thurrell her Aunt, who was her Mothers Sister and her two Daughters.

L. C. J. In Wales dost *thou* (446) say, where?

Mrs. Mayo. My Lord in your own Country at one Doctor Sockets: I know your Lordship, though your Lordship does not know me.

L. C. J. I am very glad of it good Woman; but *prithee* (21) did ever Sir Richard Barker dine with Mr. Oats?

Mrs. Mayo. I cannot say he did, he went to and fro.

With *thou* (446), Lord Chief Justice asks for the confirmation that the daughter of Sir Richard Barker was in Wales and, immediately after, he asks where (request for information, directive). Instead, *prithee* (21) introduces a very precise question (request for information, directive).

Thou (450) and *prithee* (23) are included in 1690SirRich.GrahmeJohnAshton.

Sir W. Williams. What can you say of any for the hiring of a Vessel?

Paseley. I did not know the Vessel was hired before I came thither.

Mr. Serj. Thompson. *Prithee* (23) tell us what *thou* (450) does know.

Paseley. The Woman came to me when I was at Billingsgate, and said I must go a little way along with her: and as we were going she told me it was to go to Mr. Burdett 's in Queen-street; and when we came there, Ellyot and Ashton were not within: But by that time we had been there a little while, in came Mr. Ashton, and presently after him Mr. Ellyot; and Mr. Ashton bid the Woman give him the Money out of the place where it was.

Prithee (23) introduces a request of Mr. Serjeant to Paseley; the request itself is realized through an imperative, followed by an indirect question including *thou* (450).

Thou (451) is included in the same trial (1690SirRich.GrahmeJohnAshton).

Mr. Serj. Tremain. Was there any Waterman's Coat left?

Fisher. Yes, there was two.

L. C. Just. Holt. But didst *thou* (451) see the Boat?

Fisher. We were a sleep when they came on Board, and the Boat was put off assoon as ever they came on Board.

The instance is uttered by Lord Chief Justice and, even in this case, it is part of a question; (John Fisher is addressed with *you* by Mr Serjeant).

Thou (452) is included in the deposition of Mary Penington, who reports the interaction between her and her servant, Jane Wadsworth (1692HenryDukeofNorfolk).

T. Powis. We will call another Witness, one Mary Penington. Do you know one Jane Wadsworth; was she your Servant?

M. Penington. She was, and pretended to be sick; and as I was informed afterwards, she was not: For there was a Man that gave Physic, and I bad him go and look upon my Maid, and he did so, and came to me and said: Your Maid may be sullen, but she is not sick; and coming to her, I found her sullen: And afterwards I met her out of my House (said I) Jane what do you do here? She made some excuse and said, she was not well: I told her I would take Care of her: And how that they did not deserve Servants that would not take Care of them when they were Ill: I saw her muffled, and her Coats trussed up; I walked after her, and (said I) Jane whither art *thou* (452) a going? And bad her let me see what she had in her Coats, and I thought it was good to have Witness: I spake to one, and (said I) Gaffer Hall come hither, do you take notice that this Linen is all mine. A good while after, I saw this Jane Wadsworth standing at Mr. Birds (said I) she was my Servant several years ago; and my Lord, this happened when the difference was betwixt the Duke and the Duchess, for they said she was a grievous Witness against the Duchess. Upon This Mr. Tobson, my Lord Peterborough's Servant sent for me. Then I came to be a Witness.

Firstly, Mary Penington address her servant with *you* and calls her by her first name; afterwards, when she asks for information (request, directive), she chooses the form *thou*. Her tone is accusatory.

Thou (453) is part of 1692HenryHarrisonJohnCole:

Mr. Russel. We stopt there, whilst Mr. Sutton sent for some body to come to him.

L. C. J. You said just now that Mr. Sutton sent for Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Russel. No, my Lord, I do not remember that, but Mr. Sutton said Harry, or Harrison, where art *thou* (453) going, when he went by us.

In his deposition, Mr Russel reports the interaction between Mr Sutton and Mr Harrison. According to him, the first addresses the second with “Harry” or “Harrison”. From a pragmatic perspective, there is a great difference between the two forms: the nickname, Harry, would indicate a very low distance, and maybe affect; “Harrison”, instead, could be considered either neutral, or it could indicate low distance, but greater than in the case of “Harry”. *Thou* (453) is the only form reported in the interaction and it is included in the question that Mr Sutton supposedly asked Mr Harrison.

Thou (468) constitutes a variation of a formulaic form: “Cl. of Arr. Peter Cook, hold up thy Hand (which he did) thou stand'st convicted of High Treason, for compassing and imagining the Death of his Majesty King William the Third, and for adhering to the King's Enemies [...]” (1696PeterCook).

Thou (487) and *thy* (323) can be found in 1696Capt.ThomasVaughan.

L. C. J. Holt. What was *thy* (323) Design? Why didst *thou* (487) visit Newgate?

Rob. French. Because it was my custom, because it was an Act of Charity.

L. C. J. Holt. Did you go to Newgate out of Charity?

Rob. French. I went to see my Friend, and carried a Letter to him. I went out of Charity.

The instances appear among the words of Lord Chief Justice Holt; they are part of two questions (requests for information, directives) addressed to Robert French (in the immediately following exchange, Lord Chief Justice Holt prefers the form *you*).

Thou (529) and *thy* (355) appear in 1699SpencerCowperIohnMarsonEllisStevensWilliamRogers.

Mr Iones [...] Mr Supper was the last man unfortunately in her Company, I could wish he had not been so with all my heart, 'tis a very unfortunate thing, that his name should upon this occasion be brought upon the Stage; but then, my Lord, it was a strange thing; here happens to be three Gentlemen, Mr Marson, Mr Rogers, and Mr Stevens, as to these 3 men my, Lord, I don't hear of any business they had here, unless it was to do this matter, to serve some Interest or Friend, that sent them upon this message, for my Lord, they came to Town, (and in things of this nature, 'tis well we have this Evidence, but if we had not been streightned in time it would have brought out more, these things come out slowly) these persons, Mr Stevens, Mr Rogers, and Mr Marson came to Town here on the 13th of March last, the Assize day: My Lord, when they came to Town, they came to an House, and took Lodgings at one Gurreys, they took a Bed for two and went out of their Lodging, having taken a room with a large Bed in it, and afterwards they went to the Glove and Dolphin, and then about 8 a Clock one Marson came to them there; in what company they came, your Lordship and the Jury will know by and by, they staid there, my Lord, at the Glove from 8 a Clock to 11, as they say. At 11 these three Gentlemen came all in to their Lodging together to this Gurreys; my Lord, when they came in, it was very observable amongst them, unless there had been a sort of fate in it: ??st, That they should happen to be in the condition they were in, and 2dly, fall upon the discourse they did at that time; for my Lord, they called for Fire, and the Fire was made them, and while the people of the House were going about, they observed and heard these Gentlemen talk of Mrs Sarah Stout, that happened to be their discourse, one said to the other, Marson, she was an old Sweet-heart of yours: Ay, saith he, but she cast me off, but I reckon by this time a Friend of mine has done her business: another piece of discourse was, I believe a Friend of mine is even with her by this time. They had a bundle of Linen with them, but what it was is not known, and one takes the bundle and throws it upon the Bed, well, saith he, her business is done, Mrs Sarah Stout 's courting days are over, and they sent for Wine, my Lord; so after they had drank of the Wine they talked of it, and one pulled out a great deal of Money, saith one to another, what Money have you spent to day? Saith the other, *thou* (529) hast had 40 or 50 l. for *thy* (355) share: Saith the other, I will spend all the money I have, for joy the business is done.

The instances appear in a conversation between two unidentified friends (the persons object of the deposition are Mr Stevens, Mr Rogers, and Mr Marson). No historical information about the interactants can be retrieved; thus, it must be observed that while speaker 1 addresses speaker 2 with *you*, the second one chooses T-forms. Such forms may be an attempt to seek appreciation of speaker 1 (in other words, his positive face is markedly involved).

6.2.2. *Pray thee, prethee, prethy e prithee*

Prethee and *prithee* were formed withing English by the clipping of shortening of *pray thee* (OED 2022). For such reason, it is appropriate to discuss them, which express a wish or request (Merriam-Webster Dictionary n.a.), together. The raw frequency of such forms is 33 and no instances were considered as formulaic. Since some forms were above discussed in 6.2.1., only a part of them will be discussed in the present section; general

summary tables will be provided in the conclusion, which will also discuss the qualitative data from a quantitative perspective, and detailed tables including all the instances can be found in the appendix.

The only instance of *prethy* (1) occurs in 1663 James Turner; in the same appears also *thy* (42).

Turner. [...] *prethy* (1) get up and put on *thy* (42) cloaths

Turner is reporting a conversation between him and his wife; she introduces two requests (directives) through *prethy*: with the usage of two imperatives, she asks her husband to get up and put on his clothes.

Prithee (2) is included in 1663 James Turner.

Mosely. I came to Mr. Turners house and knocked at the door with some others with me, at last the Col. came out of his bed. I suppose he came out of his bed, being partly naked, he came down to the door, I asked him where are your sons; they are in bed says he; said I Mr. Tryon is rob?bed, he would have you come to him.
L. Bridgeman¹⁷⁷. Did he desire you to go up?
Mosely. No my Lord but I asking him whether his sons were in bed, he said, I *prithiee* (2) go up and see.

Mr Mosely, the Constable is reporting an interaction between him and the defendant, Mr Turner, who appears to have chosen the form *prithiee* to make a polite request (directive). Being Mr Mosely the constable, that is a chief officer¹⁷⁸, he and Mr Turner can be both considered of rank C2.

Prithee (3), instead, is included in 1678 Robert Green Henry Berry Lawrence Hill.

Mr. Bedlow. I did Adhere to them all along, for I had a mind to Discover two Years ago, but was prevented; and I only drilled them on, to know the Party, that I might prevent them. But they would never Discover the Party.
Mr. Attorney General. *Prithee* (3) come to this particular part of the Story.

¹⁷⁷ Lord Chief Justice Bridgeman could be Sir Orlando Bridgeman, first baronet, born in 1609 (Nenner, H. Bridgeman, Sir Orlando, first baronet (1609–1674), judge. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 7 Dec. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3392>.)

¹⁷⁸ For more information, see *OED* (2022).

Mr Attorney General asks Mr Bedlow to focus on certain events (request, directive). In the following parts of the trial, Mr Attorney General will also address Bedlow with Y-forms.

Prithee (4) and (5) are also included in the same trial (1678RobertGreenHenryBerryLawrenceHill).

Mr. Att. G. *Prithee* (4), tell us the story of it.

E. Curtis, There was a man came to my Masters House, and asked if Sir Edmondbury Godfrey were within. He said he had a Letter for him; and showed it me, it was tied up in a knot. I told him my Master was within, but busy; but said I, if you please I will carry it into him: he did so, and I gave it to my Master; when I went out again, the man staid and asked for an Answer: I went in again and told my Master that the man required an Answer. *Prithee* (5), said he, tell him I don't know what to make of it.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Jones ¹⁷⁹	William	1566/6	B	Mr, Sir/Judge	Attorney General	No
Elizabeth	Curtis	n.a.	F	Sir Edmondbury Godfreys Maid	Witness	No

Prithee (4) is part of a request (directive) by Mr Attorney General, addressed to a maid, Elizabeth Curtis. In her deposition, she reports the words of her master, who requests her to tell the man who brought a note that he does not know what to do with it. The master chooses the form *prithoe* (5) to address her.

Prithee (8) is included in 1679RDUThomasWhitebreadJohn FenwickWilliam HarcourtJohnGavanAnthonyTurnerJames Corker.

L. C. J, And he was constantly in this Gentlemen's company that day?

Billing. Yes, and moreover the same day this Simpson ? was walking with one John Rushton in the Garden, and seeing me walk alone, Thomas, says he have you never a companion? No Simpson said I, well said he *prithoe* (8) come to us. So I was with him walking a little while, and then this Blunt and one Henry Howard were playing one with another, throwing stones at one anothers Shins. At which he was displeased, and said ?f they would not be quiet he would go tell the Rector. Howard was hasty and spoke angerly to him, and said if he would not be quiet he would beat him: But Mr. Oats persisting, and daring of him, says h?, what do you dare me? and come up to him and throws up Mr. Oats his heels, With that mr. Oats looked very fre?fully upon him and withdrew himself into the Infirmary, as we thought to speak to the Rector. And by these particulars, and such as these I remember to have seen him every day, one day with another, or every other day at St. Omers till he went away which was in June.

¹⁷⁹ Thrush and Ferris (2010).

Thomas Billing is reporting facts to Lord Chief Justice (*i.e.*, Sir William Scroggs). The witness is recounting an interaction between himself and a man named Simpson, about whom only a few words are said in the whole trial. It seems that Simpson asked Thomas to join them, since he never had a companion (request, directive, positive politeness).

Prithee (9) is included in 1681StephenColledge.

Mr. Serj. Jeff. Pray afterwards what discourse had you about his Colonel-ship.
Mr. Masters. We were talking at Guild-Hall that day the Common-Council was, the 13th of May as near as I remember, so I came to him, How now Colonel Colledge, said I, what do you make this bustle for? You mistook me and said, Cozen how long have you and I been Cozens; Nay *prithie* (9), said I, 'tis not yet come to that, to own Kindred between us, I only called you Colonel in jest; Marry mock not, said he, I may be one in a little time.
Mr. Serj. Jeff. Have you any thing to ask Mr. Masters? you know he is your old acquaintance, you know him well.

Mr. Masters is reporting the exchange between him and Stephen Colledge. Mr. Masters is joking, calling Stephen Colledge "Colonel" and affirming a kinship between them; however, Colledge takes offence and Mr. Masters tries to mitigate the offence using positive politeness and the form *prithie*.

Prithee (11) is included in 1682Tho.Pilkington.

Mr. Serj. Jefferies. None of them that are in the Indictment? name them.
Mr. Hammon. I have named them.
Mr. Serj. Jefferies. *Prithee* (11) name them.
Mr. Hammon. Mr. Alderman Cornish, both the Sheriffs, my Lord Grey, Mr. Good-enough, and old Mr. Key.

Mr. Serj. Jeffries is reinforcing his previous request for information; indeed, Jeffries asks Mr. Hammon to name the people at issue; he refuses (perlocutionary act), saying that he already did it, and then, Jeffries reinforces and reiterates his request with the utterance "[p]rithee name them".

Prithee (19) and *thy* (284) are included in 1685TitusOates.

L. C. J. Then *prithie* (19) when did *thy* (284) Master go to Putney?
Butler. I cannot tell to a day.

The T-forms appear in the request of Lord Chief Justice; more specifically, after introducing the request with *priethee*, he asks a wh- question, including *thy* within it.

Priethee (22) is also pronounced by Lord Chief Justice in 1685 Titus Oates.

Oats. Pray then let me ask you another question my Lord.

L. C. J. *Priethee* (22) do not trouble us with *thy* (286) questions, let them go on with their Evidence.

Oats. My Lord, I desire to know whether a Man confessing himself a Popish Priest?

L. C. J. We do not sit here to answer every idle question; 'tis nothing at all to the purpose: When you ask a proper question, we will answer it.

The T-forms appear in an exchange between Lord Chief Justice, George Jeffreys, and Titus Oates.

Surname	Name	Year and place of birth	Rank	Title/Occupation	Role within the trial	Kinship
Jefferies	George ¹⁸⁰	15 May 1645, Acton Park	B	Lord/Judge	Lord Chief Justice	No
Oates	Titus	1648, Oakham	C2	Mr/Priest	Defendant	No

Priethee (22) introduces a directive, more specifically a(n impolite) request to stop asking questions, where *thy* (286) is to be found; thus, it is clear that the imposition hides the annoyance of the judge (negative emotion).

Priethee (24) is included in 1696 Capt. Thomas Vaughan.

Mr. Lechmere. From whence did he come, from England, or France?

R. Crouch. From Calice in France.

L. C. J. Holt. *Priethee* (24) hear me, this two-and-twenty-Oar-Barge, did it belong to any other Ship?

R. Crouch. No, not that I can tell.

Priethee (24) is used by Lord Chief Justice Holt to introduce a directive, followed by a question, addressed to Richard Crouch, where no Y-forms or T-forms appear.

Priethee (25) also appears in in 1696 Capt. Thomas Vaughan.

L. C. J. Holt. You can speak English, can you not?

Mr. Dascine. I will speak as well as I can.

¹⁸⁰ Halliday (2004).

Kings Messenger. I am a Messenger to the King, do you not know me?

Mr. Dascine. Yes.

L. C. J. Holt. *Prithee* (25) speak English.

Mr. Dascine. As well as I can, my Lord, I will speak.

Even in this case, *prithoe* (25) introduces the request of Lord Chief Justice Holt (directive). Since cross talking is involved and no word in French or other languages are present, the interaction is particularly difficult to interpret. The instance is used to reiterate a request.

As it emerges from section 5.3 of the present dissertation, not every instance of *prethee* was automatically normalized; indeed, in the non-normalized corpus, 17 instance of *prethee* are present, while in the normalized one, 6 *prethee* are to be found. Every instance of *prethee* is included in 1690SirRichardGrahmeandJohnAshton.

Prethee (1) appears among the words of Sir Will. Williams.

Betsworth. I cannot tell, my Lord, I never saw the Gentleman in my life before, that I know of.

Sir Will. Williams. *Prethee* (1) hear, Friend, tell what you know of carrying any Gentlemen on Board the Smack.

Betsworth. If it please your Lordship, I was going home from our Stairs about 7 or 8 a Clock in the Evening;

The instance is immediately followed by a directive (request) and then, by the term of address “Friend”, which precedes a request for information (directive). The following 5 instances of *prethee* (2, 3, 4, 5, 6) are included in the words reported by Captain Billop.

Capt. Billop. Mr. Ashton did several times.

Mr. S. Tremain. What did he say to you? What Arguments did he use?

Capt. Billop. My Lord, it was so many times over, and so much mixture of Discourse we had, that I am not able to tell the Particulars.

L. C. J. Holt. But what Arguments did he use?

Capt. Billop. I don't know that he used any more great Arguments, more than what I have told you already.

L. C. J. Holt. Say that again that you said before.

Capt. Billop. He said, 'twould do me no good to injure so many Gentlemen. *Prethee* (2), Captain Billop, says he, throw it over-board.

Mr. S. Tremain. What did he say farther?

Capt. Billop. I'll tell you, if you'll give me leave. Mr. Ashton did say, a little after this, with a great deal of Insinuation, Captain Billop, What if you should turn about, and go along with

us? No, Mr. Ashton, said I, that I cannot do. Says Mr. Ellyot, *Prethee* (3), throw the Packet over-board. This they did as we came up the River; and 'tis the most that I can remember, till we came on board the George; and when we came on board the George, Ellyot called me into the Steerage, and desired me, of all Love, that I would dispose of the Packet: And he said, that now I had an Opportunity to make my self as rich, and as great, as I would, and no body could see it, if I did throw it away. While I was in the Ship, Mr. Ashton, my Lord, and Mr. Ellyot, were with me, in the Steerage. Said I, I shall be taken notice of, to be whispering; pray forbear. Ashton then spoke to me again, to desire me to throw the Packet over board; by this time the Victuals was handed in, and there we eat and drank, and my Lord smoked a Pipe of Tobacco, before the Tide turned; and when the Tide made, we went into the Boat again, and rowed up towards London, and they were using these sorts of Arguments over and over again. And once Mr. Ellyot, I think 'twas, to the best of my remembrance, told me, Now you have it in your Power to make your Fortune, and may be as great a Man, and as rich a Man as you can desire. And Mr. Ashton said some Words something to the same purpose; *Prethee* (4), said he, throw it over-board: What Good will it do you? So I refusing of it, as I did many times, Mr. Ellyot told me, that I might take the Letters that were taken in my Lord Preston 's Pocket, and tye the Lead to them, and throw the Packet over-board. No, said I, Mr. Ellyot, Sure, you would take the King's Council to be a very odd sort of Men, that they cannot find out such a thing as this. *Prethee* (5), dear Billop, said he, throw it over-board. Many times whispering me in the Ear; and so did Mr. Ashton many times, saying, You may do us a great Kindness in it. And we drank, and had several Intermissions; and they at me again, and I denied them, and they desisted; and then they at it again: And Mr. Ellyot then told me, *Prethee* (6), dear Billop, throw it over-board. Said I, Mr. Ellyot, If I should be so great a Villain to do such a thing, if ever it was your Day, would you trust me again? Put it to be your own Case. Says he, You have Gentlemen to deal withal. But, said I, I will never put it into your Power. Mr. Ellyot seem'd to be angry at this, and said, Every Dog had his Day. Said I, I hope never to see it your day: But I pray, forbear this Discourse; let me beg that of you; for I do not desire to be provoked to use you otherwise than a Gentleman. And after that, they never urged me more to throw the Packet over-board: But Mr. Ellyot was angry, and very much disturbed, and wished a Thunderbolt might strike the Boat, and sink it. So I brought them up, through London-Bridge, and they said no more about the Packet; but Ellyot wished, that London-Bridge might have fallen on our Heads. At length, I brought them to Whitehall; and I put my Man a-shore at Hungerford -stairs, that he might get before, and give the Porter notice at Whitehall-Bridge, that he might open the Gate. I brought my Lord Preston, and the rest, to the Bridge; and while I was arming my Men, to guard them up to my Lord Nottingham 's Office, I suppose they then took the Opportunity to give the Men Money, getting near to them; I know nothing of that: But I carried them up to my Lord Nottingham 's, and there I delivered them, and the Packet to my Lord. After some time, the Packet lay upon the Table, and my Lord Nottingham sends me for my Lord Preston. When my Lord Preston came in, I withdrew without bidding, and the Packet lay upon the Table, unopen'd: And when my Lord Preston came out, I went in on my self, and the Packet lay in the same Place and Posture, and not open'd. And I stay'd while Mr. Ashton was call'd in, and my Lord Nottingham ask'd him a great many Questions.

The reported interaction is about a packet, supposedly containing “Letters and Papers preparing for a Design to set all the Kingdom in Confusion” (1690SirRichardGrahmeandJohnAshton). According to Captain Billop, *prethee* (2) was used by Mr. Ashton in order to ask him to throw the packet overboard (request, directive). *Prethee* (3) and (4) precede the same request (directive), which in this case is made by Mr Elyot. He then restates the same request twice, using *prethee* (5) and (6) and the term of address “dear Billop” (positive politeness). In the end, a discussion starts.

6.2.3. *Thy* (excluding *thy self*)

Thy is a second person possessive pronoun, its raw frequency is 316 and, as in the case of *prithe*, some instances have already been discussed (even in this case, a summary table including all the instances can be found in the appendix). Many formulaic forms that include *thy* are present within the *EMET*:

Table 28. *Thy* formulaic forms

Formulaic Forms
The duty of thy Allegiance
Upon God and thy Country
Thy country have found thee guilty
Hold up thy hand
Feloniously, willfully and of thy malice aforethought
Thy traitorous purposes aforesaid
Return thy precept and writ to thee directed / Return thy writ and precept to thee directed

Thy is sometimes included in nominal phrases, such as “thy master” and “thy prisoner”, that cannot be considered formulaic. Indeed, such forms will be discussed in the qualitative analysis that follows.

Thy (1) is included in the final part of 1655ColonelJohnPenruddock.

Be merciful unto me, O Lord, be merciful unto me: under the shadow of *thy* (1) wings will I hide my self till this Tyranny be overpassed.

The instance is an example of religious discourse: John Penruddock is indeed asking the Lord to be merciful and he is expressing his will of laying under his wings.

Thy (54) is included in 1678PhilipEarlofPembroke.

Serjeant. O yes: Constable of the Tower of London return thy Precept and Writ to thee directed, and bring forth *thy* (54) Prisoner Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, on pain and peril shall fall thereon.

The Constable of the Tower of London being a Peer, by Sir John Robinson his Lieutenant returned his Precept, and with the Ax born on his left hand, the edge from him, the Earl of Pembroke was brought to the Bar, the Lord High-Steward of England having then ordered the Judges to be covered, spake to the Prisoner as follows.

After a request (directive) that can be considered formulaic (“return thy Precept and Writ to thee directed”), a second one appears: “bring forth thy prisoner”. Such form, which includes a T-form, can be considered semi-formulaic (if not formulaic). More data including it should be examined in order to determine if it could be considered formulaic.

Thy (70) and (71) are included in 1678RDUWilliamIrelandThomasPickeringJohnGrove:

Mr. Record. [...] This I remember to you for the sake of them that are to live, and for the Chari□□ I have for you, who are to die: for the sake of them that are to live; for I hope when they hear that men of your Persuasion dare commit those outrageous Crime and justify them by a Principle of Religion, they will not easily be seduced into yo□□ Opinion: And out of Charity to you that are to die, to persuade you to hearty ?□? pentance; for otherwise I must tell you,, *thy* (70) Fifteen hundred pound (speaking Grove,) nor *thy* (71) Thirty thousand Masses (speaking to Pickering) will avail but li□□ And I thought fit to say this also, that it may be known, that you have had the full □□nefit of the Laws established in England, and those the best of Laws; for such is no□□ Law of other Nations, for if any Protestant in any place where the Romish Religio□□ professed, had been but thought guilty of such Crimes, he had never come to the Foe□□lity and Justice of Arraignment, and to be tried by his Peers, permitted to make Defence, and hear what could be said against him; but he had been hanged immediate□□ or perhaps suffered a worse Death. But you are not only beholding to the happy □□stitu□□ of our Laws, but to the more happy Constitution of our Religion. For □□he□□ are the admirable Documents of that Religion we in England profess, That we dare not requite Massacre for Massacre, Blood for Blood.

The instances appear in the final lines of the trial, in a sort of invective by Mr Recorder. He refers to the money pledged to Grove and Pickering to kill the king. Although many terms are not readable, it is clear that such T-forms are strictly bound to negative emotions.

Thy (125) was excluded from the analysis since, while the software considers the sequence of characters valid, it is clear that problems of readability are involved: “Marshal, I desire the w□□ thy Jury to take notice, that among all the persons named, there is no such Name mentioned as mine”

(1679RDUSirGeorgeWakemanBaronetWilliamMarshallWilliamRumleyJamesCorker); indeed, the form should be emended (“worthy jury”).

Thy (138) and (141) can be considered semi-formulaic, since they appear near other formulaic forms, at the beginning of 1679SrGascoyneBar:

Clerk of Crown. Sir Thomas Gascoyne, hold up thy hand. [which he did.] Thou scantest indicted by the name of Sir Thomas Gascoyne, late of the Parish of Elmet in the West-riding in the County of York, Bar. for that thou, as a false Traitor against our most Illustrious and excellent Prince King Charles the second, *thy* (138) natural Lord, not having the fear of God in thy heart, nor weighing the duty of thy Allegiance, but by the instigation of the Devil moved and seduced, the cordial love, and true, due, and natural obedience which true and faithful Subjects of our said Lord the King should bear to him, and of right are bound to bear, wholly withdrawing, devising, and with all *thy* (141) power intending to disturb the Peace and common Tranquillity of this Realm, and to bring and put our said Lord the King to death and final destruction;

In any case, they are part of the reading of the indictment.

Thy (145) is included in the same trial (1679SrGascoyneBar).

Mr. Thomson. Candlemas last. For then I thought Sir Thomas might sue me for the Money, and I would feign have known if Sir Thomas had any hand in the Plot, and I pressed him much to tell me. Then it passed on, and having a Writ out against me, I durst not stir out my self, but I did send my Man to him to know what he did intend to do about it. He told my Man, Brother, tell *thy* (145) Master he need not to fear at all; why said my Man, do you know he hath any hand in the Plot?

Mr Thomson is reporting a conversation between his “man” (a servant) and Sir Thomas Gascoyne. The latter addresses the servant with the term of address *brother* (positive politeness) and with *thy*. *Thy* is included in a request (directive). “Thy master” is a formula that has many instances within the corpus; however, in the present dissertation, it was not catalogued as formulaic.

Thy (147) is included in 1680JohnGiles.

Record¹⁸¹. Who is *thy* (147) Master?

Howel, William Richmond.

Mr. Darn. What time of Night was it Friend, when you heard him call to your Master, and bid him good Night.

¹⁸¹ Walker (2007:88-89) also analyses the exchange and she affirms that the record was Jeffreys.

No information about Howel is present; it is only known that his name is John. The recorder asks him a question (request for information, directive), using the form *thy*. The following question, instead, is asked by Mr Darn, who uses the term of address “friend” (positive politeness) and Y-forms.

Thy (148) is also to be found in 1680JohnGiles.

Record. He did not go out of your Company at all?

Ann. Yes about Ten a Clock.

Record. Woman you must be mistaken, he came to Town at Twelve or One, and might be in *thy* (148) company, but it is plain he went to a Brokers in Long-lane, and so to the Artillery-Ground at Cripple-Gate, for I guess it might be so: Then they went to Whetstones-Park, and spent Six-Pence, and after that they went into Drury-lane.

Giles, My Lord, she don't say she was with us all the while, but we came to an House where she was, and several other People our Neighbours.

The recorder contradicts what the witness, Ann Beron, says: he chooses the term of address “woman” and then uses a Y-form; subsequently, he chooses the T-form *thy*. Walker (2007:89) considers this a switch to a condescending T-form.

Thy (193) can be found also in 1681SirMilesStapletonBar.

Mr. Just. Dolb. Carleton, what is that?

Richard Pears. To my Master's house.

Mr. Just. Dolb. Who is *thy* (193) Master?

Pears. Sir Miles Stapleton.

Thy (193) occurs with the noun “master” and it is included in a wh- question (request for information, directive).

Thy (195), (198), (199), (200), (204) and *thy self* (21), instead, can be considered semi-formulaic (1681StephenColledge).

Cl. of Sr. Stephen College hold up thy hand. (Which he did.)

Thou art here Indicted by the Name of Stephen College late of Oxford, in the County of Oxford, Carpenter; For that thou as a false Traitor against the most Illustrious, most Serene, and most Excellent Prince, our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. *thy* (195) Supreme and Natural Lord, the Fear of God in thy heart not having, nor weighing the Duty of thy Allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, the cordial Love, and true due and natural obedience which true and faithful Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King towards him our said Sovereign Lord the King, should and of right ought to bear, wholly withdrawing and machinating, and with all *thy* (198) strength intending the

Peace and common tranquillity of our said Sovereign Lord the King of this Kingdom of England to disturb, and Sedition and Rebellion, and War against our Sovereign Lord the King, within this Kingdom of England to move, stir up and procure; and the Cordial Love, and true and due Obedience which true and faithful Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King, towards him our said Sovereign Lord the King should and of right ought to bear, wholly to withdraw, put out and extinguish, and him our said Sovereign Lord the King to Death and final Destruction to bring, and put the Tenth day of March, in the Three and Thirtieth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. at Oxford, in the County of Oxford, Falsely, Maliciously, Subtly and Traiterously, did Purpose, Compass, Imagine, and Intend Sedition and Rebellion within this Kingdom of England, to move, stir up, and procure, and a Miserable Slaughter among the Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King to procure and cause, and our said Sovereign Lord the King from his Regal State, Title, Power and Government of his Kingdom of England, to deprive, depose, cast down and disinherit; and him our said Sovereign Lord the King to Death and final Destruction to bring and put, and the Government of the said Kingdom at *thy* (199) will and pleasure to change and alter, and the State of all this Kingdom of England, in all its parts well instituted and ordained, wholly to Subvert and Destroy, and War against our said Sovereign Lord the King, within this Kingdom of England to levy; and *thy* (200) said most Wicked Treasons and Traitorous Imaginations and Purposes aforesaid to fulfil and perfect, thou the said Stephen Colledge the said tenth day of March, in the Three and Thirtieth year of the Reign of our said Sovereign Lord the King with force and Arms, &c. at Oxford aforesaid, in the County of Oxford aforesaid, Falsely, Maliciously, Subtly, Advisedly, Devilishly and Traiterously did prepare Arms and Warlike offensive habiliments to wage War against our said Sovereign Lord the King. And *thy self* (21) in warlike manner for the purposes aforesaid, then and there Falsely, Maliciously, Subtly, Advisedly, Devilishly and Traiterously didst Arm, and one Edward Turbervill, and other Subjects of our said Sovereign Lord the King, to Arm themselves, to perfect thy Traitorous purposes aforesaid, then and there Advisedly, Maliciously and Traitorously didst incite and advise. And further, then and there Falsely, Maliciously, Subtly, Advisedly, Devilishly and Traiterously didst say and declare, That it was purposed and designed to seize the Person of our said Sovereign Lord the King at Oxford aforesaid, in the County of Oxford aforesaid. And that thou the said Stephen Colledge in prosecution of thy Traitorous purpose aforesaid, would be one of them who should seize our said Sovereign Lord the King at Oxford aforesaid in the County aforesaid. And that thou the said Stephen Colledge *thy* (204) said most wicked Treasons and traitorous Imaginations, [...]

Indeed, such instances can be found at the beginning of the trial and in proximity of formulaic forms.

Thy (220) and (221) are included in 1683 Algernon Sydney.

Col. Sidney. My Lord, I think this very material that a whimsical imagination of a Conspiracy, should not pass for a real Conspiracy of the Death of the King; besides, if these Papers were found in my House, this a Crime created since my Imprisonment, and that cannot come in, for they were found since. My Lord, if these Papers are right, it mentions 200. and odd Sheets, and these show neither Beginning nor Ending, and will you, my Lord, indict a man for Treason for scraps of Paper, found in his House relating to an ancient Paper, intended as innocently as any thing in the world, and piece and patch this to my Lord Howards Discourse, to make this a Contrivance to kill the King: Then my Lord, I think 'tis a Right of Mankind, and 'tis exercised by all studious men, that they write in their own Closets what they please for their own Memory, and no man can be answerable for it, unless they publish it.

L. C. J. Pray don't go away with that right of mankind, that it is lawful for me to write what I will in my own Closet, unless I publish it; I have been told, Curse not the King, not in *thy*

(220) thoughts, not in *thy* (221) Bed-Chamber, the Birds of the air will carry it. I took it to be the duty of mankind, to observe that.

Lord Chief Justice and the defendant are arguing about evidence and the first reports what he has been told. The reported utterance mirrors the T-form usage present in religious discourse: “Curse not the King, not in *thy* thoughts, not in *thy* Bed-Chamber”.

Thy (226) is clearly a typo; indeed, the utterance should be emended as follows:

L. Ch. Just. That is the worst part of your Case; When men are riveted in Opinion, that Kings may be deposed, that ~~thy~~ (they) are accomptable to their People, that a general Insurrection is no Rebellion, and, justify it, ‘tis high time upon my word to call them to account.

Thy (249) is included in 1685HenryBaronDelamere and can be considered semi-formulaic [the context is analogous to *thy* (54)]: “Serge. at Arms. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, return thy Writ and Precept to thee directed, together with the Body of Henry Baron of Delamere, *thy* (249) Prisoner, forthwith, upon Pain and Peril shall fall thereon”.

Thy (251), (254), (255) and (256), which are part of the same trial (1685HenryBaronDelamere), can be considered semi-formulaic (they are indeed part of the long reading of the indictment):

Cl. of Sr. HENry Baron of Delamere, thou scantest Indicted in the County Palatine of Chester by the name of Henry Baron of Delamere of Mere in the said County of Chester, For that thou as a false Traitor against the most Illustrious and most Excellent Prince, James the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, *thy* (251) natural Lord, not having the fear of God in thy Heart, nor weighing the duty of thy Allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, the cordial Love, and true, due, and natural Obedience which a true and faithful Subject of our said Lord the King, towards him our said Lord the King, should and of right to bear, wholly withdrawing; and contriving, practising, and with all *thy* (254) might intending, the Peace and common Tranquillity of this Kingdom of England to disquiet, molest, and disturb; and War and Rebellion against our said Lord the King, within this Kingdom of England, to stir up, move, and procure, and the Government of our said Lord the King of this Kingdom of England to subvert, change and alter, and our said Lord the King from the Title, Honour, and Kingly Name of the Imperial Crown of his Kingdom of England to depose and deprive, and our said Lord the King to Death and final Destruction to bring and put; the fourteenth day of April in the first Year of the Reign of our said Lord James the Second now King of England, &c. and divers other days and times as well before as after, at Mere in the County of Chester aforesaid, falsely, maliciously, devilishly, and traiterously, with divers others false Traitors and Rebels, to the Jurors unknown, didst conspire, compass, imagine,

and intend our said Lord the King, *thy* (255) supreme, true and natural Lord, not only from the Kingly State, Title, Power, and Government of his Kingdom of England to deprive and cast down, but also the same our Lord the King to kill, and to Death to bring and put, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly to subvert, and a miserable slaughter among the Subjects of our said Lord the King throughout his whole Kingdom of England, to cause and procure, and Insurrection and Rebellion against our said Lord the King within this Kingdom of England to procure and assist, and the same *thy* (256) most wicked, most impious, and devilish Treasons and traitorous compassing Imaginations and purposes aforesaid to fulfil and bring to effect, thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere, as a false Traitor then and there, to wit, the said fourteenth day of April in the first year abovesaid, and divers other days and times as well before as after, at Mere aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, falsely, unlawfully, wickedly, and traiterously with Charles Gerard Esq and other false Traitors to the Jurors unknown, didst assemble thy self, gather together, consult, and agree to raise and procure divers great summs of Money, and a great number of armed men, War and Rebellion within this Kingdom of England to levy and make, and the City of Chester in the County of the same City, as also the Castle of our said Lord the King of Chester at Chester in the County of Chester aforesaid, and all the Magazines in the same Castle then being, to enter, take, seize, and surprise, and into *thy* (258) possession and power to obtain; and that thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere afterwards, to wit, the 27th day of May, in the first Year abovesaid, falsely, unlawfully, wickedly, and traiterously didst take a Journey from the City of London unto Mere aforesaid, in the County of Chester aforesaid, thy traitorous purposes aforesaid to fulfil and perfect: And that thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere, afterwards, to wit, the fourth day of June, in the first Year abovesaid, at Mere aforesaid, in the County of Chester aforesaid, in further prosecution of *thy* (260) unlawful, most wicked, and traitorous purposes aforesaid, divers Liege People and Subjects of our said Lord the King, to the Jurors unknown, with thee the said Henry Baron of Delamere, and the aforesaid other false Traitors, to the Jurors unknown, falsely, unlawfully, and traiterously, in the War and Rebellion aforesaid, and in thy traitorous purposes aforesaid, to join and adhere, didst excite, animate, and persuade, against the duty of thy Allegiance, against the Peace of our said Lord the King that now is, his Crown and Dignity, and against the form of the Statute in that case made and provided. How say'st thou Henry Baron of Delamere, art thou Guilty of this High Treason whereof thou scantest Indicted, and hast been now Arraigned, or not Guilty?

A discussion around “thy (supreme and) natural Lord” was already provided for *thy* (138), and is also valid for *thy* (251) and (255). The above-quoted excerpt is surely influenced by the formulaicity of some of its parts; for this reason, *thy* (254), (256), (258) and (260) can also be considered semi-formulaic. Indeed, despite being semi-formulaic, they seem to be strictly bound to negative feelings: it can be stated that there is a contraposition between the court/law and the defendant, who – as already stated – was guilty until proven innocent.

Thy (285) is included in 1685 Titus Oates:

L. C. J. Hold your Tongue; you are a shame to Mankind.

Oats. No, my Lord, I am neither a shame to my self or Mankind: what I have sworn is true, and I will stand by it to my last breath, and seal it if occasion be with my Blood.

L. C. J. It were pity but that it were to be done by *thy* (285) Blood.

Oats, Ah! Ah! my Lord, I know why all this is, and so may the World very easily too.
L. C. J. Such impudence and impiety was never known in any Christian Nation.

The above-quoted excerpt includes an argument between Lord Chief Justice, George Jeffreys, and Titus Oates, the defendant. While Jeffreys firstly offends Oates using Y-forms, then he chooses the T-form *thy* (285); the utterance seems sarcastic.

Thy (287) is included in 1688WilliamLordArchibishopOfCanterbury.

Mr. Just. Powel. My Lord, this is strange Doctrine; shall not the Subject have Liberty to Petition the King, but in Parliament? If that be Law, the Subject is in a miserable Case.

Lt. Ch. Just. Brother, let him go on, we will hear him out, tho' I approve not of his Position.

Mr. Solicitor General [...] Ay, but say they, there is no Execution of such a Power, till very lately, and the first Instance, that they produce, is, that in the Year 1662. But your Lordship knows, that before the Reign of Henry the Fourth, there was great Jurisdiction assumed by the Lords in Original Causes, then comes the Statute of Appeals, 1 Hen. 4. which takes notice that before that time, the Lords had assumed an Original Jurisdiction in all Causes, and would proceed, and determine them in Parliament, and out of Parliament, and it fell out to be so great a Grievance, that it was thought necessary to make a Law against it, that Appeals in Parliament should be abolished and destroyed, and then comes that Law in favour of the Subject of England, and that settles the bounds between the King and the Lords in a great measure; before that time, the Lords were grown very powerful, and where there is a Power, there always will be Applications, and what is the effect of that Statute 1 Hen. 4. for all that we endeavour, is, to make things as plain can be, that no further Applications, no Accusations, no Proceedings in any Case whatsoever be before the Lords in Parliament, unless it be by Impeachment of the Commons; so that there is the Salvo; and the use that I make of it, is this, The Commons by that very Statute did abolish the Power that the Lords had arrogated to themselves, and Ordered, that they should not meddle with any Cause, but upon the Impeachment of the House of Commons, and establish the Impeachment of the Commons, which is as ancient as the Parliament, for that was never yet spoken against; the Power of the Commons Impeaching any Person under the degree of the Prince, and that is the regular legal way, and so the Commons asserted their Ancient Right, and whatsoever the Lords took notice of, must come by Application of the Commons, then Conferences were to pass between the Houses, and both Houses by Address apply to the King, this is the proper way and course of Parliament; of which *thy* (287) Lord Cook says, It is known to few, and practised by fewer, but it is a Venerable, Honourable way, and this is the Course that should have been taken by my Lords here, and they should have stayed till the Complaint had come from the Commons in Parliament, and then it had been Regular for them to Address to the King; but they were too Quick, too Nimble. [...]

L. Ch. Just. Pray, Mr. Solicitor, come close to the business, for it is very late.

Mr. Sol. Gen. My Lord, I beg your Patience; you have had a great deal of Patience with them, pray spare me a little. I am saying, when the King himself tells them, that he would have a Parliament in November at furthest, yet they have no Patience to stay till November, but make this Application to him. Is not this raising a Question upon the King's Prerogative in issuing forth Declarations? and upon the King's Power and Right in Matters Ecclesiastical? And when I have said this, that my Lords the Bishops

have so done; If they have raised a Question upon the Right of the King, and the Power of the King in Matters Ecclesiastical, then they have stirred up Sedition. That they have so done is pretty plain; and for the Consequence of it, I shall appeal to the Case in the 2 Cro. 2. Eec. 1. That is a plain direct Authority for me.

Mr. Just. Powel. Nay, Mr. Solicitor, we all very well know, to deny the King's Authority in Temporals and Spirituals, as by Act of Parliament, is High Treason.

Lord Chief Justice decides to let Mr Solicitor General talk (reflexivity might be involved). He then provides a sort of long-winded explanation of the law, from an historical point of view, in which he uses *thy*, probably addressing Lord Chief Justice. Then, the latter invites him to hurry up and, after another relatively brief speech of Mr Solicitor General, Mr Justice Powel contradicts the solicitor, restating that denying the authority of the king, corresponds to high treason.

6.2.4. *Thy self*

The raw frequency of *thy self* is 40 and the majority of instances have already been discussed; indeed, only a form is left. Indeed, the analysis already provided will be summarized in a table in the conclusion. Some formulaic forms including *thy self* are present within the *EMET* and also include other T-forms:

Formulaic Forms
What can('t) thou say for thy self?
What hast thou to say for thy self?/What sayest thou for thy self?
[...] hast put thy self upon God and the/thy Country
And for thy trial (hast) put thy self upon...

Table 29. *Thy self* formulaic forms

Thy self (32) is included in 1685HenryBaronDelamere.

Cl. of Sr. HEnry Baron of Delamere, thou scantest Indicted in the County Palatine of Chester by the name of Henry Baron of Delamere of Mere in the said County of Chester, For that thou as a false Traitor against the most Illustrious and most Excellent Prince, James the Second, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, thy natural Lord, not having the fear of God in thy Heart, nor weighing the duty of thy Allegiance, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, the cordial Love, and true, due, and natural Obedience which a true and faithful Subject of our said Lord the King, towards him our said Lord the King, should and of right to bear, wholly withdrawing; and contriving, practising, and with all thy might intending, the Peace and common Tranquillity of this

Kingdom of England to disquiet, molest, and disturb; and War and Rebellion against our said Lord the King, within this Kingdom of England, to stir up, move, and procure, and the Government of our said Lord the King of this Kingdom of England to subvert, change and alter, and our said Lord the King from the Title, Honour, and Kingly Name of the Imperial Crown of his Kingdom of England to depose and deprive, and our said Lord the King to Death and final Destruction to bring and put; the fourteenth day of April in the first Year of the Reign of our said Lord James the Second now King of England, &c. and divers other days and times as well before as after, at Mere in the County of Chester aforesaid, falsely, maliciously, devilishly, and traiterously, with divers others false Traitors and Rebels, to the Jurors unknown, didst conspire, compass, imagine, and intend our said Lord the King, thy supreme, true and natural Lord, not only from the Kingly State, Title, Power, and Government of his Kingdom of England to deprive and cast down, but also the same our Lord the King to kill, and to Death to bring and put, and the ancient Government of this Kingdom of England to change, alter, and wholly to subvert, and a miserable slaughter among the Subjects of our said Lord the King throughout his whole Kingdom of England, to cause and procure, and Insurrection and Rebellion against our said Lord the King within this Kingdom of England to procure and assist, and the same thy most wicked, most impious, and devilish Treasons and traitorous compassing Imaginations and purposes aforesaid to fulfil and bring to effect, thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere, as a false Traitor then and there, to wit, the said fourteenth day of April in the first year abovesaid, and divers other days and times as well before as after, at Mere aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, falsely, unlawfully, wickedly, and traiterously with Charles Gerard Esq and other false Traitors to the Jurors unknown, didst assemble *thy self* (32), gather together, consult, and agree to raise and procure divers great sums of Money, and a great number of armed men, War and Rebellion within this Kingdom of England to levy and make, and the City of Chester in the County of the same City, as also the Castle of our said Lord the King of Chester at Chester in the County of Chester aforesaid, and all the Magazines in the same Castle then being, to enter, take, seize, and surprise, and into thy possession and power to obtain; and that thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere afterwards, to wit, the 27th day of May, in the first Year abovesaid, falsely, unlawfully, wickedly, and traiterously didst take a Journey from the City of London unto Mere aforesaid, in the County of Chester aforesaid, thy traitorous purposes aforesaid to fulfil and perfect: And that thou the said Henry Baron of Delamere, afterwards, to wit, the fourth day of June, in the first Year abovesaid, at Mere aforesaid, in the County of Chester aforesaid, in further prosecution of thy unlawful, most wicked, and traitorous purposes aforesaid, divers Liege People and Subjects of our said Lord the King, to the Jurors unknown, with thee the said Henry Baron of Delamere, and the aforesaid other false Traitors, to the Jurors unknown, falsely, unlawfully, and traiterously, in the War and Rebellion aforesaid, and in thy traitorous purposes aforesaid, to join and adhere, didst excite, animate, and persuade, against the duty of thy Allegiance, against the Peace of our said Lord the King that now is, his Crown and Dignity, and against the form of the Statute in that case made and provided. How say'st thou Henry Baron of Delamere, art thou Guilty of this High Treason whereof thou scantest Indicted, and hast been now Arraigned, or not Guilty?

L. Delamere. My Lord, I humbly beg the Indictment may be read again.

L. H. Steward. Let it be read again. Which was done.

Thy self (32) can be considered semi-formulaic since it is part of the indictment and, thus, it appears in a context where other formulaic forms are common and in its proximity. Furthermore, Lord Delamere is later addressed with Y-forms.

7. Conclusions and suggestions for further research

In order to provide conclusive remarks as exhaustive as possible, the results were further quantitatively analyzed; more specifically, they were categorized according to the following criteria: reported speech/interaction/metalinguistic usage, question ending with question mark, type of illocutionary act, positive/negative attitude of the speaker, presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context, and kinship. The present section will include summary tables, organized by type of T-forms; the detailed tables, instead, can be found in the appendix of the present dissertation (8.1). Filler words (e.g., “thou knowest”), noisy parts of text, difficult to interpret T-forms [*thee* (131)], as well as formulaic and semi-formulaic T-forms were excluded from the conclusive quantitative analysis. When the analysis of *thou* (276) and *thee* (86) was carried, no illocutionary act was identified: indeed, such instances are included in an explanation of usage (metalinguistics), and, thus, they are not an example of it.

Among the T-forms, interesting hints about their usage can be found: “for when Mr. Everard thought it might do well to make it with *thou* (276) and *thee* (86), as though it should be the desire of the Quakers” (1681Edw.Fitz-HarrisOliverPlunket), “He spoke to him, and called him *thou* (289), as to his Servant” (1681GeorgeBoroskyAliasBorotzi). Thus, it seems confirmed that – at least for a certain period of time – such forms were used by the Quakers and to address servants, as previous research has highlighted (Brown and Gilman 1960; Wales 1983). Examples of religious discourse, or instances where echoes of it are present, can also be found within the *EMET*: “That the Masses can no more save *thee* (50) from a future damnation” (1678RDUVVilliamIrelandThomasPickeringJohnGrove), “O God, O God, I beseech *thee* (106) to Sanctify these sufferings unto me” (1683AlgernonSidney), “under the shadow of *thy* (1) wings will I hide my self till this Tyranny be overpassed” (1655ColonelIohnPenruddock), “I have been told, Curse not the King, not in *thy* (220) thoughts, not in *thy* (221) Bed-Chamber” (1683AlgernonSydney). Thus, the usage of T-forms 1) to address God, 2) to give orders similar to, and as direct as, the Ten Commandments and, 3) to sentence to damnation, is confirmed. T-formulaic forms also appear at the end of the trials in utterances aimed at convicting the defendants. Thus, it can be affirmed that, in general, T-forms could be also used to condemn. However, such usages do not account for all the instances of the *EMET*.

Interactions or reported interactions between husband and wife are present within the *EMET*. For instance, Mrs Warriors reports an exchange between her and her husband; and, they seem to exchange T-forms (she might be using mock politeness). Instead, Colonel Turner and his wife do not always exchange T-forms (1663JamesTurner); they address each other sometimes with T-forms and sometimes with Y-forms. Thus, no norm could be defined.

Before considering other instances, it should be observed that the analyzed data are mostly constituted by interactions (59%); however, reported interactions are also common (39%); metalinguistic discourse, instead, is rare (2%).

Table 30. *Types of interactions included in the research*

	Reported interactions	Metalinguistic discourse	Interactions	Total
Thou	30	2	39	71
Thee	10	1	19	30
Prithce/pray thee/prethy	13	0	21	34
Thy	8	0	14	22
Thy self	1	0	0	1
Total	62	3	93	158

Since questions with question mark are frequent among the utterances including T-forms (28%), it was decided to determine the illocutionary force of every utterance. Clearly, it might be argued that the marked presence of questions is due to the type of documents chosen, that is, trials. However, since many reported interactions (39%) are present, such argumentation was not considered valid.

Table 31. *Ratio reported interactions-interactions*

Reported interactions	Directives	Representatives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives	n.a.	Total
Thou	17	9	2	2	0	0	30
Thee	1	4	4	1	0	0	10
Prithce/pray thee/prethy	12	1	0	0	0	0	13
Thy	4	4	0	0	0	0	8
Thy self	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	35	18	6	3	0	0	62

Interactions	Directives	Representatives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives	n.a.	Total
Thou	26	11	1	1	0	0	39
Thee	11	5	2	1	0	0	19

Prithee/pray thee/prethy	20	1	0	0	0	0	21
Thy	7	5	1	1	0	0	14
Thy self	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	64	22	4	3	0	0	93

Indeed, as it can be observed from table 31¹⁸², where illocutionary acts in reported interactions and interactions are divided in two different sections, in both cases directives are very common, followed by representatives; other types of illocutionary acts, instead, are less frequent. Comparing percentages, it is apparent that the usage of T-forms in interactions and reported interactions is similar. Thus, the instances will be considered together, as previously suggested.

Table 32. Ratio types of illocutionary acts in reported interactions and interactions

	Directives	Representatives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives
Reported interactions	56%	26%	13%	5%	0%
Interactions	69%	24%	4%	3%	0%

The data show a marked preponderance of directives and representatives:

Table 33. *Most common illocutionary acts*

	Directives	Representatives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives	n.a.	Total
Thou	43	20	3	3	0	2	71
Thee	12	9	5	3	0	1	30
Prithee/pray thee/prethy (introduction to)	32	2	0	0	0	0	34
Thy	11	9	1	1	0	0	22
Thy self	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	99	40	9	7	0	3	158

Table 34. *Most common illocutionary acts: percentages*

	Directives	Representatives	Commissives	Expressives	Declaratives	n.a.
Thou	60%	28%	4%	4%	0	3%
Thee	40%	30%	17%	10%	0	3%
Prithee/pray thee/prethy	94%	6%	0	0	0	0
Thy	50%	41%	5%	5%	0	0
Thy self	100%	0	0	0	0	0
Total	63%	25%	6%	4%	0	2%

¹⁸² In table 31, only categorizable forms are considered;

As the tables show, *prithee/pray thee/prethy* in 94% of cases introduce a directive, and only in 6% of cases a representative. No other illocutionary forces are involved. In both cases when a representative is introduced, either positive or negative emotions are involved. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the following definition of such T-form:

Prithee

Origin: Formed within English, by clipping or shortening.

Etymon: *pray thee* at pray v. Phrases 1c.

Etymology: Shortened < *pray thee* at pray v. Phrases 1c.

Now *archaic*.

‘I pray thee’, ‘I beg of you’; please.

I prithee *rare* = main sense.

Thus, *prithee/pray thee/prethy* are strictly bound to requests (directives).

The presence of positive and negative feelings or attitude was also considered, but – when the utterance including the T-form could not be (almost) objectively categorized – it was marked as “not available” (n.a.).

	Positive attitude	Negative attitude	n.a.	Total
Thou	9	17	45	71
Thee	6	8	16	30
Prithee/pray thee/prethy	13	8	13	34
Thy	3	9	10	22
Thy self	0	0	1	1
Total	31	42	85	158

Table 35. *Attitude/feelings and T-forms*

As previous researches had demonstrated, the T-forms can occur when the speaker wants to show their feelings. However, as the data show, in the years between 1650 and 1700, that is in the years when T-forms began to disappear from standard language, it was impossible to consider such attitude as the main reason for the choice of the T-forms. On the contrary, this could be a reminiscence of a usage of the past.

Furthermore, the present research has confirmed that a continuous fluctuation between T-forms and Y-forms takes place. Such fluctuation is complex to motivate and it could seem incomprehensible, but this would be extremely in contrast with the principle of economy of language. Moreover, as already stated, various factors of influence

emerged. Surely, the usage of T-forms cannot be always bound to a relationship between superior and inferior¹⁸³, despite power relations being very strong, the directions given in historical grammars and the explanations given in the already quoted examples of metalinguistic usage differ from such usage; otherwise, in trials, it would be more common and more often used by Lord Chief Justice, who instead prefers the Y-forms, as every individual¹⁸⁴. Besides, reflexivity is uncommon since judges had extreme power and had no interest in being liked by other individuals.

In conclusion, as Freedman (2017) affirmed, the conditions for the use of T-forms and Y-forms need to be sufficient, and not necessary. Y-forms are certainly strictly bound to the formality of the court and more factors determine the choice of a T-form. Emphasis is certainly involved, but the extent cannot be determined quantitatively. Surely, positive or negative attitude may play a role, but is it likely that such usage preceded the period between 1650 and 1700, when the T-forms began to disappear from the standard language. So, the usage to emphasize feelings probably could have been defined as archaic. Instead, in such period, the form *prithee* may have influenced the usage of T-forms in general; indeed, it was common to reinforce requests with *prithee* and, thus, consequently and analogously, T-forms could have been used in other directives for the same purpose¹⁸⁵. Despite the usage of T-forms to be certainly blurred between the usage of the past and the present, it cannot be a coincidence that 63% of non-formulaic T-forms are included in directives¹⁸⁶.

The unexpected shifts from Y-forms to T-forms surely indicate emphasis and the suggestion of Quirk (1987) to investigate imperatives was beneficial to the present research. Indeed, he had already suggested that imperatives without pronoun are an unmarked form and the ones with *thou* are emphatic. However, discussing the issue in

¹⁸³ Indeed, power, and social superiority in general, could play a role; however, they cannot be the main reason for the choice.

¹⁸⁴ As Walker (2003) affirmed, Y-forms are preferred in general.

¹⁸⁵ It should also be highlighted that – at least in the past – T-forms were used to address servants (*i.e.*, inferiors); and, usually, interactions with servants are aimed at giving orders or making requests.

¹⁸⁶ The present research may benefit from an analysis of the data carried out with the Weisser's Dialogue Annotation and Research Tool (DART). Indeed, DART can identify 162 speech acts automatically and could provide more data to understand the reasons behind the choice of T-forms, instead of Y-forms (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015:9; Weisser 2016). The detailed speech act taxonomy used by DART is available from https://martinweisser.org/publications/DART_taxonomy_v3.pdf.

terms of (un)markedness may damage the clarity that linguistic research needs¹⁸⁷; thus, such terms were avoided, but the role of emphasis in the selection of the forms cannot be denied.

In other words, the usage T-forms in the decades of their disappearance (1650-1700)¹⁸⁸ was not fully predictable¹⁸⁹ and was present in formal contexts, such as the court. It was mainly aimed at emphasizing, was often used to perform and reinforce orders and requests, was to be found in religious discourse, and was also present in formulaic T-forms¹⁹⁰.

An analysis of the illocutionary forces involved in the utterances where T-forms are present in other types of texts could surely be profitable. Restoration comedies, indeed, have already received attention from literary studies; however, from the pragmatic perspective, they are still rather unexplored. A macro and micro analysis of such plays could certainly add more evidence about the usage of T/Y-forms; the results of such investigation should be compared to the ones of the present dissertation, in order to give a clearer picture of the pragmatic influences that contribute to the choice in the decades of the disappearance of T-forms.

¹⁸⁷ As Jucker (2000:161) suggested, the default or unmarked usage, as well as the deviations from the norm, are too static.

¹⁸⁸ Barber (1976) and Walker (2003) affirmed that at the beginning of the 18th century T-forms were marginally used in standard language; and, van Dorst affirmed that T-forms disappeared less than 100 years after Shakespearian plays were written, “surviving [only] in dialects and archaicized registers, such as pious addresses to divinity” (2019:31:32).

¹⁸⁹ Busse (2003:216) affirms that – even in Shakespearian works – pronoun choice cannot be always predicted.

¹⁹⁰ Formulaic and semi-formulaic T-forms could be aimed at highlighting the power of the Court; indeed, they are often present in the initial and final parts of trials, where the power to judge and decide [(not) condemn] is stated. They could be a way to intimidate people, such as with commandments. Moreover, they could be strictly bound to negative feelings: indeed, it could be affirmed that a contraposition between the Court and the defendant is present, since – as already stated – defendants were guilty until proven innocent (Archer 2005:1).

8. Appendix

8.1. Tables

Thou	Type of interaction	Question/Affirmation	Type of question	Type of illocutionary act	Positive/negative feelings/religious discourse	Presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context	Kinship
3	Interaction	Affirmation	This Court requires that <i>thou</i> (3) give a positive answer,	Directive	n.a.	Yes	No
132	Reported interaction	Question	Yes/no question - rhetorical question art <i>thou</i> (132) come Tom	Representative	n.a.	No	No
133	Reported interaction	Question	Yes/no question - rhetorical question hast <i>thou</i> (133), I am glad of it	Expressive	Positive feelings / merry surprise	No	No
180	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (180) hast spoke with more care then any of them all	Representative	Positive feelings	No	No
181	Reported interaction	Question	Wh-question what hast <i>thou</i> (181) got for my Supper?	Directive	n.a.	No	Yes (husband/wife)
182	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (182) art always calling for <i>thy</i> (82) Victuals when <i>thou</i> (183) comest in	Representative	Negative feelings	No	Yes (husband/wife)
183	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (182) art always calling for <i>thy</i> (82) Victuals when <i>thou</i> (183) comest in	Representative	Negative feelings	No	Yes (husband/wife)
209	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Thou</i> (209) art welcome	Expressive	Positive feelings	No	No
231	Interaction	Affirmation	if <i>thou</i> (231) can but satisfy Us and the Jury, that there is no Plot, <u>tho</u> (231b) shalt be q□□tted by my consent	Peculiar case: directive+commissive	Positive feelings	No	No
231b	Interaction	Affirmation	if <i>thou</i> (231) can but satisfy Us and the Jury, that there is no Plot, <u>tho</u> (231b) shalt be q□□tted by my consent	Peculiar case: directive+commissive	Positive feelings	No	No
257	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (257) shalt bind their Kings in Fetters and their Princes in Chains	Directive	Religious discourse/n.a.	No	No
258	Reported interaction	Affirmation	well man if <i>thou</i> (258) wilt undertake a design that I and others have to kill the King, I will give <i>thee</i> (79) 1000	Peculiar case: directive+commissive	n.a.	No	No
259	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question Didst <i>thou</i> (259) ever hear it before you came to London?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
260	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question Art <i>thou</i> (260) sure he said those words?	Directive	Negative feelings	No	No
261	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (261) hast added a few fine words that I dare say she never said	Representative	Negative feelings	No	No
264	Reported interaction	Affirmation	If <i>thou</i> (264) wilt but come to my house, said he, I will put <i>thee</i> (83) in a way to contrive it, and we shall have a considerable Reward	Peculiar case: directive+commissive	n.a.	No	No
265	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (265) lookest like a good honest Fellow, and I believe <i>thou</i> (266) hast no hand in the Plot,	Representative	Positive feelings	No	No
266	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>thou</i> (265) lookest like a good honest Fellow, and I believe <i>thou</i> (266) hast no hand in the Plot,	Representative	Positive feelings	No	No
267	Reported interaction	Affirmation	Now Villain, if <i>thou</i> (267) hast any Life in <i>thee</i> (84) , pray for the Soul of Captain Evans	Peculiar case: representative+directive	Negative feelings	No	No
268	Reported interaction	Question	Wh-question (in the guise of a rhetorical question) Where hast <i>thou</i> (268) been Giles, a fighting with the Devil?	Directive	n.a. (surprise)	No	No
269	Reported interaction	Affirmation	Damme <i>Thou</i> (269) hast spoiled my Leg	Representative	n.a.	No	n.a.
270	Interaction	Affirmation	Speak as loud as <i>thou</i> (270) would'st do if <i>thou</i> (271) wer't at home	Peculiar case: directive+representative	n.a.	No	No
271	Interaction	Affirmation	Speak as loud as <i>thou</i> (270) would'st do if <i>thou</i> (271) wer't at home	Peculiar case: directive+representative	n.a.	No	No
272	Interaction	Affirmation	No I'll swear <i>thou</i> (272) can not	Peculiar case: representative (that	Negative feelings	No	

						could be interpreted as a directive)		
273	Interaction	Affirmation			So I believe <i>thou</i> (273) dost me too	Representative	Negative feelings	No
276	Metalinguistic discussion				for when Mr. Everard thought it might do well to make it with <i>thou</i> (276) and <i>thee</i> (86), as though it should be the desirne of the Quakers	n.a.	n.a.	No n.a.
289	Metalinguistic discussion				He spoke to him, and called him <i>thou</i> (289), as to his Servant	Representative	n.a.	No n.a.
290	Reported interaction	Question	Wh-question		what does <i>thou</i> (290) stay for?	Directive	n.a.	No No
303	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		What telst <i>thou</i> (303) us of a Ring?	Directive	n.a.	No No
304	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question		Can not <i>thou</i> (304) as well tell us it was for that he left Sir Thomas Gascoynes service?	Directive	n.a.	No No
305	Reported interaction	Question	Yes/no question		<i>Thou</i> (305) never didst see them in my house?	Directive	n.a.	No No
317	Interaction	Affirmation			<i>Thou</i> (317) art such a Discoverer.	Representative	Negative (mock politeness)	No No
318	Interaction	Affirmation			<i>Thou</i> (318) would have discovered it before that time, of my Conscience.	Representative	n.a.	No No
319	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		How didst <i>thou</i> (319) set out the 3 of August from that place, and yet come to London the 27 th. of July?	Directive	Negative feelings	No No
320	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question - rhetorical question		art <i>thou</i> (320) got into Dialogues with the Maid now?	Directive	Negative feelings	No No
321	Reported interaction	Affirmation			but <i>thou</i> (321) shalt have what I have to say against him	Commissive	N.a.	No No
322	Reported interaction	Affirmation			<i>thou</i> (322) shalt have it to morrow-morning	Commissive	n.a.	No No
323	Reported interaction	Affirmation			and <i>thou</i> (323) and I must have a care they do not put a trick upon us: This may be a trick of the Papists to ruin us	Directive	N.a.	No No
333	Reported interaction	Affirmation			<i>Prithee</i> (10), do <i>thou</i> (333) speak to them, they will hear <i>thee</i> (104) if they will hear any body	Directive	n.a.	No No
334	Reported interaction	Affirmation			<i>prithee</i> (12) says he, do <i>thou</i> (334) make Declaration to them, for if they will hear any body they will hear <i>thee</i> (105)	Directive	n.a.	No No
360	Interaction	Affirmation			Superscribed them, <i>thou</i> (360) meanest, they are not subscribed	Directive	n.a.	No No
397	Interaction	Affirmation			<i>Prithee</i> (13) tell us what that discourse <i>thou</i> (397) hadst with Edlin, was.	Directive	n.a.	No No
399	Interaction	Affirmation			<i>Prithee</i> (15), I do not know when <i>thou</i> (399) come to Newgate, it may be <i>thou</i> (400) hast been there ofner than once?	Directive	n.a.	No No
400	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question		<i>Prithee</i> (15), I do not know when <i>thou</i> (399) come to Newgate, it may be <i>thou</i> (400) hast been there ofner than once?	Directive	n.a.	No
401	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		What <i>didst</i> <i>thou</i> (401) never find him?	Directive	n.a.	No No
402	Reported interaction	Affirmation			if I cared no more for keeping my word than <i>thou</i> (402) do'st, it were no matter if I were hanged;	Peculiar case: representative+expressive	Negative feelings	No No
403	Interaction	Affirmation			the Town that <i>thou</i> (403) livest in may reckon <i>thee</i> (136) but an idle Fellow, and yet <i>thou</i> (404) may'st be a <u>very honest man</u> for all that	Representative	n.a. (introduction to positive feelings)	No No
404	Interaction	Affirmation			the Town that <i>thou</i> (403) livest in may reckon <i>thee</i> (136) but an idle Fellow, and yet <i>thou</i> (404) may'st be a <u>very honest man</u> for all that	Representative	Positive feelings	No No
405	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		what dost <i>thou</i> (405) know ill of him?	Directive	n.a.	No No
406	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		Wherein dost <i>thou</i> (406) mean?	Directive	n.a.	No No
407	Interaction	Question	Wh-question		How much dost <i>thou</i> (407) call a deal?	Directive	n.a.	No No
433	Reported interaction	Question	Wh-question (in the guise of a rhetorical)		How long wilt <i>thou</i> (433) persist in this Folly?	Directive	Negative feelings	No No

			questio n)					
434	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n (in the guise of a rhetori cal questio n)	How long wilt thou (434) be so Foolishly prevailed upon, as to believe the World was ever Made, or will ever have an End?	Directive	Negative feelings	No	No
435	Interaction	Affirmation		Ay, no doubt of it, <i>thou</i> (435) swear'st nothing but the Truth.	Representative	Positive feelings	Yes	No
436	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	why dost <i>thou</i> (436) concern <i>thy self</i> (34) with him?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
437	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	: Why Benjamin, said I, what hast <i>thou</i> (437) to do with the man?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
438	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	Why dost <i>thou</i> (438) scorn this man?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
439	Interaction	Affirmation		<i>thou</i> (439) must give me satisfaction how <i>thou</i> (440) com'st to remember this,	Directive	n.a.	No	No
440	Interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	<i>thou</i> (439) must give me satisfaction how <i>thou</i> (440) com'st to remember this,	Directive	n.a.	No	No
441	Interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	But how dost <i>thou</i> (441) come to take notice it was in the month of May, so as to be able to swear it?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
442	Interaction	Question	Wh- questio n (in the guise of a rhetori cal questio n)	What dost <i>thou</i> (442) beg my pardon for then?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
443	Interaction	Question	Yes/no questio n (in the guise of a rhetori cal questio n)	<i>Prithee</i> (20) Woman dost <i>thou</i> (443) think we ask <i>thee</i> (146) any thing that we think <i>thou</i> (444) dost not speak in the presence of the Lord; we are all of us in the presence of the Lord always.	Directive	Negative	No	No
444	Interaction	Question	Wh- questio n (in the guise of a rhetori cal questio n)	<i>Prithee</i> (20) Woman dost <i>thou</i> (443) think we ask <i>thee</i> (146) any thing that we think <i>thou</i> (444) dost not speak in the presence of the Lord; we are all of us in the presence of the Lord always.	Directive	Negative	No	No
445	Interaction	Affirmation		But I would not have so much to answer for as <i>thou</i> (445) hast in this business for all the World.	Expressive	Negative	No	No
446	Interaction	Affirmation that introduces a wh-question		In Wales dost <i>thou</i> (446) say, where?	Representative	n.a.	No	No
450	Interaction	Indirect question	Wh- questio n	<i>Prithee</i> (23) tell us what <i>thou</i> (450) does know	Directive	n.a.	No	No
451	Interaction	Question	Yes/no questio n	But didst <i>thou</i> (451) see the Boat?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
452	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	Jane whither art <i>thou</i> (452) a going?	Directive	Negative	No	No
453	Reported interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	where art <i>thou</i> (453) going	Directive	n.a.	No	No
487	Interaction	Question	Wh- questio n	Why didst <i>thou</i> (487) visit Newgate?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
529	Reported interaction	Affirmation		<i>thou</i> (529) hast had 40 or 50 l. for <i>thy</i> (355) share	Representative	n.a.	No	No

Thee	Type of interaction	Question/Affirmation	Type of question	Type of illocutionary act	Positive/negative feelings/religious discourse	Presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context	Kinship
25	Interaction	Affirmation	come sit <i>thee</i> (25) down	Directive	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
28	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Pray thee</i> (2) see <i>thee</i> (28) down	Directive	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
50	Interaction	Affirmation	That the Masses can no more save <i>thee</i> (50) from a future damnation	Representative	Negative feelings (echoes of religious discourse)	No	No
55	Interaction	Affirmation	Ile say that for <i>thee</i> (55), <i>thou</i> (180) hast spoke with more care then any of them all.	Representative	Positive	No	No
62	Reported interaction	Affirmation	I am glad to see <i>thee</i> (62) in England	Expressive	Positive	No	No
79	Reported interaction	Affirmation	well man if <i>thou</i> (258) wilt undertake a design that I and others have to kill the King, I will give <i>thee</i> (79) 1000	Commissive	n.a.	No	No
80	Reported interaction	Affirmation	well man if <i>thou</i> (258) wilt undertake a design that I and others have to kill the King, I will give <i>thee</i> (79) 1000 and I will send thee (80) to my Son Thomas,	Commissive	n.a.	No	No
81	Interaction	Affirmation	Let me ask <i>thee</i> (81)	Directive	n.a.	No	No
82	Reported interaction	Affirmation	Sir Tho. Gascoyne hath been very severe against <i>thee</i> (82) and me	Representative	Positive feelings	No	No
83	Reported interaction	Affirmation	If <i>thou</i> (264) wilt but come to my house, said he, I will put <i>thee</i> (83) in a way to contrive it, and we shall have a considerable Reward	Commissive	n.a.	No	No
84	Reported interaction	Affirmation	Now Villain, if <i>thou</i> (267) hast any Life in <i>thee</i> (84), pray for the Soul of Captain Evans	Peculiar case: representative +directive	Negative feelings	No	No
85	Interaction	Affirmation	Friend I thank <i>thee</i> (85) for the Character of the Popish Successor	Expressive	Positive feelings	No	No
86	Metalinguistic discussion	Metalinguistic usage	for when Mr. Everard thought it might do well to make it with <i>thou</i> (276) and <i>thee</i> (86), as though it should be the designe of the Quakers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
98	Interaction	Affirmation	I will believe <i>thy</i> (207) Almanac to speak truth, though it have never so many Errors about the Changes of the Weather, sooner than I will believe <i>thee</i> (98)	Representative	Negative	No	No
99	Reported interaction	Affirmation	I can't let <i>thee</i> (99) have it now	Representative	n.a.	No	No
100	Reported interaction	Affirmation	if I do not, I will tell it <i>thee</i> (100) by word of mouth	Commissive	n.a.	No	No
104	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> , do <i>thou</i> (333) speak to them, they will hear <i>thee</i> (104) if they will hear any body	Representative	n.a.	No	No
105	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>prithee</i> (12) says he, do <i>thou</i> (334) make Declaration to them, for if they will hear any body they will hear <i>thee</i> (105)	Representative	n.a.	No	No
109	Interaction with God	Affirmation	O God, O God, I beseech <i>thee</i> (106) to Sanctify these sufferings unto me	Directive	Religious discourse/positive	No	No
126	Interaction	Affirmation	I do not believe he thought <i>thee</i> (126) fit to be a Secretary	Expressive	Negative	No	No
130	Interaction	Affirmation	return the Precept to <i>thee</i> (130) directed	Directive	n.a.	No	No

134	Interaction	Affirmation		<i>Prithee</i> (14) where is <i>thy</i> (263) House, for these Noble Lords do not know <i>thee</i> (134), perhaps, so well as I do, therefore tell us where it is?	Representative	n.a.	No	No
135	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question	Did not he give <i>thee</i> (135) a Bond for all <i>thy</i> (264) money?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
136	Interaction	Affirmation		the Town that <i>thou</i> (403) livest in may reckon <i>thee</i> (136) but an idle Fellow, and yet <i>thou</i> (404) may'st be a <u>very honest man</u> for all that	Representative	introduction to positive feelings	No	No
137	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	How much Money did he owe <i>thee</i> (137)?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
138	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question	Does he owe <i>thee</i> any thing now?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
143	Interaction	Affirmation		No, I would not have <i>thee</i> (143); but for Gods sake let us have the Truth, that is that we look for.	Commissive	Negative	No	No
144	Interaction	Affirmation		<i>prithee</i> (17) mind what I ask <i>thee</i> (144).	Directive	n.a.	No	No
145	Interaction	Affirmation		Then <i>prithee</i> (18) let me ask <i>thee</i> (145) this question	Directive	n.a.	No	No
146	Interaction	Question	Wh-question (in the guise of a rhetorical question)	<i>Prithee</i> (20) Woman dost <i>thou</i> (443) think we ask <i>thee</i> (146) any thing that we think <i>thou</i> (444) dost not speak in the presence of the Lord; we are all of us in the presence of the Lord always.	Directive	Negative	No	No

Pray thee	Type of interaction	Question/Affirmation	Type of question	Type of illocutionary act	Positive/negative feelings/religious discourse	Presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context	Kinship
1	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Pray thee</i> (1) Mall sit down	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
2	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Pray thee</i> (2) see <i>thee</i> (28) down	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
Prithee							
1	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (1) be patient	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
2	Reported interaction	Affirmation	I <i>prithe</i> (2) go up and see.	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
3	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (3) come to this particular part of the Story	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
4	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (4), tell us the story of it.	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
5	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (5), said he, tell him I don't know what to make of it.	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
6	Interaction	Question (introduction to)	<i>prithe</i> (6), sweetheart	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	Yes (husband/wife)
7	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (7), said I, sweetheart <i>thou</i> (182) art always calling for <i>thy</i> (82) Victuals	Representative (introduction to)	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
8	Reported interaction	Affirmation	well said he <i>prithe</i> (8) come to us	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
9	Reported interaction	Affirmation	Nay <i>prithe</i> (9), said I, 'tis not yet come to that, to own Kindred between us, I only called you Colonel in jest	Representative (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
10	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (10), do <i>thou</i> (333) speak to them, they will hear <i>thee</i> (104) if they will hear any body	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
11	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (11) name them.	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
12	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>prithe</i> (12) says he, do <i>thou</i> (334) make Declaration to them, for if they will hear any body they will hear <i>thee</i> (105)	Directive (introduction to)		No	No
13	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (13) tell us what that discourse <i>thou</i> (397) hadst with Edlin, was.	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
14	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (14) where is <i>thy</i> (263) House, for these Noble Lords do not know <i>thee</i> (134), perhaps, so well as I do, therefore tell us where it is?	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
15	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (15), I do not know when <i>thou</i> (399) come to Newgate, it may be <i>thou</i> (400) hast been there oftner than once?	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	No
16	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (16) get out of the Room, I am not able to hear it	Directive (introduction to)	negative	No	No
17	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>prithe</i> (17) mind what I ask <i>thee</i> (144),	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
18	Interaction	Affirmation	Then <i>prithe</i> (18) let me ask <i>thee</i> (145) this question	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
19	Interaction	Question (introduction to)	Then <i>prithe</i> (19) when did <i>thy</i> (284) Master go to Putney?	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
20	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (20) Woman dost <i>thou</i> (443) think we ask <i>thee</i> (146) any thing that we think <i>thou</i> (444) dost not speak in the presence of the Lord; we are all of us in the presence of the Lord always.	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	No
21	Interaction	Question (introduction to)	but <i>prithe</i> (21) did ever Sir Richard Barker dine with Mr. Oats?	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
22	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (22) do not trouble us with <i>thy</i> (286) questions, let them go on with their Evidence.	Directive (introduction to)	Negative	No	No
23	Interaction	Indirect question (introduction to)	<i>Prithee</i> (23) tell us what <i>thou</i> (450) does know	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No

24	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (24) hear me, this two-and-twenty-Oar-Barge, did it belong to any other Ship?	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
25	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prithee</i> (25) speak English.	Directive (introduction to)	n.a.	No	No
Prethee							
1	Interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (1) hear, Friend, tell what you know of carrying any Gentlemen on Board the Smack.	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
2	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (2), Captain Billop, says he, throw it over-board.	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
3	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (3), throw the Packet over-board.	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
4	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (4), said he, throw it over-board	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
5	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (5), dear Billop, said he, throw it over-board	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
6	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>Prethee</i> (6), dear Billop, throw it over-board	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	No
Prethy							
1	Reported interaction	Affirmation	<i>prethy</i> (1) get up and put on <i>thy</i> (42) cloaths	Directive (introduction to)	Positive	No	Yes (husband/wife)

Thy	Type of interaction	Question/Affirmation	Type of question	Type of illocutionary act	Positive/negative feelings/religious discourse	Presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context	Kinship	
1	Interaction (religious)	Affirmation		under the shadow of <i>thy</i> (1) wings will I hide my self till this Tyranny be overpassed	Commissive	Religious discourse/positive	No	No
42	Reported interaction	Affirmation		<i>prethy</i> (1) get up and put on <i>thy</i> (42) cloaths	Directive	Positive	No	Yes (husband/wife)
70	Interaction	Affirmation		for otherwise I must tell you., <i>thy</i> (70) Fifteen hundred pound (speaking Grove,) nor <i>thy</i> (71) Thirty thousand Masses (speaking to Pickering) will avail but li□□ And I thought fit to say this also, that it may be known, that you have had the full □□nefit of the Laws established in England, and those the best of Laws;	Representative	Negative	No	No
71	Interaction	Affirmation		for otherwise I must tell you., <i>thy</i> (70) Fifteen hundred pound (speaking Grove,) nor <i>thy</i> (71) Thirty thousand Masses (speaking to Pickering) will avail but li□□ And I thought fit to say this also, that it may be known, that you have had the full □□nefit of the Laws established in England, and those the best of Laws;	Representative	Negative	No	No
82	Reported interaction	Affirmation		<i>thou</i> (182) art always calling for <i>thy</i> (82) Victuals	Representative	Negative	No	Yes (husband/wife)
145	Reported interaction	Affirmation		He told my Man, Brother, tell <i>thy</i> (145) Master he need not to fear at all; why said my Man, do you know he hath any hand in the Plot?	Directive	Positive	No	No
147	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	Who is <i>thy</i> (147) Master?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
148	Interaction	Affirmation		Woman you must be mistaken, he came to Town at Twelve or One, and might be in <i>thy</i> (148) company	Representative	Negative	No	No
193	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	Mr. Just. Dolb. Who is <i>thy</i> (193) Master?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
207	Interaction	Affirmation		I will believe <i>thy</i> (207) Almanac to speak truth, though it have never so many Errors about the Changes of the Weather, sooner than I will believe <i>thee</i> (98)	Representative	Negative	No	No
220	Reported interaction (religious)	Affirmation		I have been told, Curse not the King, not in <i>thy</i> (220) thoughts, not in <i>thy</i> (221) Bed-Chamber	Directive	Religious discourse/n.a.	No	No
221	Reported interaction (religious)	Affirmation		I have been told, Curse not the King, not in <i>thy</i> (220) thoughts, not in <i>thy</i> (221) Bed-Chamber	Directive	Religious discourse/n.a.	No	No
263	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	<i>Prithce</i> (14) where is <i>thy</i> (263) House, for these Noble Lords do not know <i>thee</i> (134), perhaps, so well as I do, therefore tell us where it is?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
264	Interaction	Question	Yes/no question	Did not he give <i>thee</i> (135) a Bond for all <i>thy</i> (264) money?	Directive	n.a.	No	No

265	Reported interaction	Affirmation		for to be sure, if <i>thy</i> (265) mouth open, <i>thy</i> (266) tongue lies	Peculiar case: representative+representative	Negative	No	No
266	Reported interaction	Affirmation		for to be sure, if <i>thy</i> (265) mouth open, <i>thy</i> (266) tongue lies	Peculiar case: representative+representative	Negative	No	No
284	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	Then <i>priethee</i> (19) when did <i>thy</i> (284) Master go to Putney?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
285	Interaction	Affirmation		It were pity but that it were to be done by <i>thy</i> (285) Blood	Expressive	Negative	No	No
286	Interaction	Affirmation		<i>Priethee</i> (22) do not trouble us with <i>thy</i> (286) questions, let them go on with their Evidence.	Directive	Negative	No	No
287	Interaction	Affirmation		, this is the proper way and course of Parliament; of which <i>thy</i> (287) Lord Cook says, It is known to few, and practised by fewer, but it is a Venerable, Honourable way	Representative	n.a.	No	No
323	Interaction	Question	Wh-question	What was <i>thy</i> (323) Design?	Directive	n.a.	No	No
355	Reported interaction	Affirmation		<i>thou</i> (529) hast had 40 or 50 l. for <i>thy</i> (355) share	Representative	n.a.	No	No

Thy self	Type of interaction	Question/Affirmation	Type of question	Type of illocutionary act	Positive/negative feelings/religious discourse	Presence of formulaic forms in the immediate context	Kinship
34	Reported interaction	Question	Wh-question why dost <i>thou</i> (436) concern <i>thy self</i> (34) with him?	Directive	n.a.	No	No

8.2. Trial information sheets

Title: *The Triall of Mr. John Gibbons, in Westminster-Hall, before the High-Court of Justice, beginning July 18. 1651 London, s.n.].*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1651

Place where the trial was held: Westminster-Hall, London

Year of publication: 1652

Place of publication: London

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 10 356

Crime: Treason

Scribal intervention: yes, marked

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	74	0	44	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Triall of the Honourable Colonel Iohn Penruddock of Compton in Wiltshire, and his Speech: Vvhich he delivered the Day before he was beheaded in the Castle of Exon, being the 16. day of May 1655. to a gent. whom he desired to publish them after his death. Together with his prayer upon the scaffold, and the last letter he received from his vertuous lady, with his answer to the same. Also the speech of that piously resolved Gent. Hugh Grove of Chisenbury in the parish of Enford, and County of Wilts, Esq; beheaded there the same day London, Printed by order of the Gent. intrusted.*

Author: Iohn Penruddock seems to be the author, if the title and the disclaimer at the beginning of the trial are considered. However, it might be a strategy to sell more copies.

Year of the trial: 1655

Place where the trial was held:

Year of publication: 1655

Place of publication: n.a.

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 3 553

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thyself)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes yourself)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	82	1	19	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Mr Mordaunt, Second Son to John Earl of Peterburgh, AT The pretended High Court of Justice in Westminster-Hall, the first and second of June, 1658. With some Passages before and after it. London, Printed by James Flasher, 1661.*

Author: servant, T. W.

Year of the trial: 1658

Place where the trial was held: *High Court of Justice in Westminster-Hall*

Year of publication: 1661

Place of publication: London

Publisher: James Flasher

Tokens (including title): 7 314

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	87	0	23	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Several Trials of Sir Henry Slingsby K T . John Hewet D. D. and John Mordaunt Esq For High Treason in Westminster-Hall, Together with The Lord President's Speech before the Sentence of Death was pronounced against the afore named Sir H. Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, being the 2. of Iune, 1658. At which time the said Mr Mordaunt was by the Court acquitted. As also the manner of their Execution on Tower Hill, the 8. of June following, with the Substance of their Speeches on the Scaffold. London. Printed in the year, 1658.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1658

Place where the trial was held: Westminster-Hall

Year of publication: 1658

Place of publication: London

Publisher: n.a.

Tokens (including title): 18 721

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	356	0	115	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were convicted; Mr. Mordaunt was declared innocent.

Title: *The Trial of the Pretended Judges*¹⁹¹, that Signed the Warrant, for the Murder of King Charles the I. Of Ever Blessed Memory, at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily October 10. 1660.
 [...] London Printed in the year 1660.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1660

Place where the trial was held: Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1660

Place of publication: London

Publisher: n.a.

Tokens (including title): 3 289

Crime: signing the warrant for the murder of Charles I

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
95	17	0	0	25	0	0	65	1	11	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: n.a. (the Court adjourned for that day)

¹⁹¹ The pretended judges were: Hardress VValler Knight, Thomas Harrinson, Henry Heveningham Esq Isaac Pennington, Henry Martin, Gilbert Millington, Robert Tichburn Esqrs; Owen Row, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroop, Augustin Garland Gregory Clement, Peter Temple, Iohn Iones, Iames Temple, Iohn Cooke, Iohn Carew, Thomas Scot, Iohn Downs, Henry Smith, Vincent Potter, Hugh Peters, Simon Meyne, George Fleet wood, Francis Hacker, Daniel Axtell, Edmund Harvy Esqrs. The present trial has been renamed differently since it was impossible to include the names of all of the judges.

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial, and Condemnation of Thomas Harrison Late Major General, and one of the pre?tended Judges that signed the Warrant for the murder of King Charles the first, of ever blessed memory, and appointed the place for that fatal Execution to be at White-Hall Gate.*

For which Bloody, Horrid, and Barbarous Fact, he was on Thursday, Octob. the 11. 1660. Sentenced to be drawn, hanged and quartered, to have his heart and bowels ripped out and burnt before his eyes, and now lies in Irons in the Dungeon in Newgate until Execution.

Together With the Indictment, Names, and several Pleas of the rest of that Infamous Crew.

Printed for T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson. 1660.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1660

Place where the trial was held: White-Hall Gate

Year of publication: 1660

Place of publication: London

Publisher: T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson

Tokens (including title): 2431

Crime: Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
22	7	2	0	7 (0)	0	0	33	1	10 (0)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *A True and Impartial Account of The Arraignement, Trial, Examination, Confession and Condemnation of Col. James Turner for Breaking open the House of Francis Tryon Merchant in Limestreet London. With The several Trials and Examinations of John Turner, William Turner, Mary Turner, and Ely Turner, Confederates. At Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey, Land. the 15. 16. and 19. of January, 1663.*

Licensed by Roger L'estrage.

London, Printed by William Godbid for Nath. Brook at the Angel in Cornhill, and Henry Marsh at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane. 1663.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1663

Place where the trial was held: Justice Hall in the Old Bayly

Year of publication: 1663

Place of publication: London

Publisher: William Godbid for Nath. Brook at the Angel in Cornhill, and Henry Marsh at the Princes Arms in Chancery-lane

Tokens (including title): 28 655

Crime: Felony and burglary

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thysel f	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
10	5	2	0	10 (0)	0	0	599	3	150 (8)	1	3	2

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Only James Turner was convicted.

Title: *The Arraignment, Tryal and Examination of Mary Moders, Otherwise Stedman, now Carleton, (Stiled, The German Princess) at the Sessions-house in the Old Bayly, being brought Prisoner from the Gatehouse Westminster, for having two Husbands; viz. Tho. Stedman of Canterbury Shooemaker, And John Carleton of London, Gent. Who upon a full Hearing was acquitted by the Jury on Thursday, June 4. 1663. London: Printed for N. Brook, at the Angel in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange, 1663.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1663

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-house in the Old Bayly

Year of publication: 1663

Place of publication: London

Publisher: N. Brook, at the Angel in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange

Tokens (including title): 4 356

Crime: Having two husbands

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	1	0	0	2	0	0	76	0	20	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Tryal of Edward Coleman, Gent. for Conspiring the Death of the King, and the Subversion of the Government of England, and the Protestant Religion: Who upon Full Evidence was found Guilty of High Treason, and received Sentence accordingly, on Thursday November the 28th 1678. London, Printed for Robert Pawlet at the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street, 1678.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1678

Place where the trial was held: Kings Bench Bar

Year of publication: 1678

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Robert Pawlet at the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street

Tokens (including title): 40 050

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
4	2	0	0	7 (2)	0	0	456	1	156	0	3	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Tryal of Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Before the Peers in Westminster-Hall, On Thursday the 4 th. of April 1678. Printed in the Year 1679.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1678

Place where the trial was held: Westminster-Hall

Year of publication: 1679

Place of publication: n.a.

Publisher: n.a.

Tokens (including title): 16 488

Crime: Murder ("of one of the King's Subjects", Nathaniel Sony)

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	1	0	0	2	0	0	210	0	132	0	0	2

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials of William Ireland, Thomas Pickering, & John Grove, for Conspiring to Murder the King: Who upon Full Evidence were found Guilty of High Treason, At the Session-House in Old-Bailye, Dec. 17. 1678, and received Sentence accordingly: Reprinted at Dublin, M: DC. LXXVIII.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1678

Place where the trial was held: *Session-House In Old-Bailye*

Year of publication: 1678

Place of publication: Reprinted in Dublin

Publisher: n.a.

Tokens (including title): 30 537

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
21	17	0	0	17 (3 thy self)	0	0	589	2	119 (2 your self)	0	1	0 0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials of Robert Green, Henry Berry, & Lawrence Hill, For the Murder of S R. Edmond bury Godfrey K ned. One of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex; At the Kings-Bench Bar at Westminster, Before the Right Honourable Sir William Scroggs K ned. Lord Chief Justice of that Court, And the rest of His Majesties Judges there; On Monday the 10 th. of February 1678-79. Where, upon full Evidence they were Convicted, and received Sentence accordingly, on Tuesday the next day following. London, Printed for Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street, 1679.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1678/1679

Place where the trial was held: Kings-Bench Bar at Westminster

Year of publication: 1679

Place of publication: London

Publisher: for Robert Pawlet at the Sign of the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street

Word count (including title): 3 4451

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
27	7	5	0	21 (2)	0	0	674	0	157	14	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of William Stayley, Goldsmith; For speaking Treasonable Words Against his Most Sacred Majesty: And upon full Evidence found Guilty of High Treason And received Sentence accordingly, on Thursday November the 21 th 1678. London, Printed for Robert Pawlet at the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleetstreet, 1678.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1678

Place where the trial was held: Kings-Bench Bar

Year of publication: 1678

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Robert Pawlet at the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 4 209

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	74	0	17 (6)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial, Conviction and Condemnation of Andrew Brommich and William Atkins, for being Romish Priests, Before the Right Honourable THE Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, At Summer Assizes last at Stafford held there for the County of Stafford; Where they received Sentence of Death accordingly. Together with The Trial of Charles Kern, at Hereford Assizes last for being a Romish Priest. London, Printed for Robert Pawlett, at the Bible in Chancery-lane, 1679.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Summer Assizes - Stafford

Year of publication: 1679

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Robert Pawlett at the Bible in Chancery-Lane near Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 8 950

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	262	0	43 (4)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Brommich and Atkins were condemned, Kern was not.

Title: *The Trial and Conviction of Iohn Tasborovgh and Ann Price for Subornation of Perjury, in Endeavouring to persuade Mr. Stephen Dugdale to retract and deny his Evidence about the Horrid Popish Plot: With an Intention to stifle the further Prosecution and Discovery of the same. At the King's Bench Bar at Westminster, Tuesday the Third Day of February, 1679/80. Before the Right Honourable Sir William Scroggs Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and the rest of the Judges of that Court.*
 London, Printed for Robert Pawlett, at the Bible in Chancery-Lane, near Fleet-Street, 1679/80.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679/1680

Place where the trial was held: King's Bench Bar at Westminster

Year of publication: 1679/1680

Place of publication: London

Publisher: for Robert Pawlett, at the Bible in Chancery-Lane, near Fleet-Street

Word count (including title): 21 619

Crime: Perjury

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	371	0	70 (2)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials and Condemnation of Lionel Anderson, Alias Munson, William Russel, alias Nipper, Charles Parris, alias Parry, Henry Starkey, James Corker, and William Marshal, for High Treason, as Romish Priests, Upon the Statute of 27. Eliz. Cap. 2. Together with the Trial of Alexander Lumsden a Scotsmen, and The Arraignment of David Joseph Kemish for the same Offence. At the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer in the Old-Baily, on Saturday January 17th. 1679.*

Published by Authority.

London, Printed for Thomas Collins and John Starkey Book-Sellers in Fleet-Street near Temple-Bar, 1680.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Old-Bailey

Year of publication: 1689

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Thomas Collins and John Starkey Book-Sellers in Fleet-Street near Temple-Bar

Word count (including title): 26 080

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
17	5	0	0	18 (4)	0	0	671	1	123 (20)	0	4	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Richard Langhorn Esq Counsellor at Law: for Conspiring the Death of the KING. Subversion of the Government, and Protestant Religion.*

Who upon Full Evidence was found Guilty of High Treason, and received Sentence accordingly, at the Sessions in the Old Bailey, holden for London and Middlesex, on Saturday, being the 14th. of June 1679.

Published by Authority.

D?blin, Reprinted 1679.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1679

Place of publication: Dublin (reprint)

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 37 296

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
17	7	0	0	11 (2)	2	0	701	1	144 (5)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials of Sir George Wakeman Baronet. William Marshall, William Rumley, & James Corker, Benedictine Monks. For High Treason, For Conspiring the Death of the King, Subversion of the Government, and Protestant Religion.*

At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, holden for London and Middlesex or Friday the 18th, of July 1679.

Published by Authority.

D?Blin, Reprinted 1679.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1679

Place of publication: reprinted in Dublin

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 49 475

Crime: High Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	3	0	0	4 (0)	0	0	961	0	210 (6)	1	2	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Trials and Condemnation of Thomas White, alias Whitebread, Provincial of the Jesuits in England, William Harcourt, Pretended Rector of London, John Fenwick, Procurator for the Jesuits in England, John Gavan alias Given, and Anthony Turner, All Jesuits and Priests; for High Treason: in Conspiring the Death of the King, The Subversion of the Government, and Protestant Religion. At the Sessions in the Old-Bailey for London and Middlesex, on Friday and Saturday, being the 13th and 14th of June, 1679.*

Published by Authority.
 Dublin, Reprinted, 1679.

Author: n.a.
 Year of the trial: 1679
 Place where the trial was held: Old-Bailey
 Year of publication: 1679
 Place of publication: reprinted in Dublin
 Publisher: n.a.
 Word count (including title): 54 987
 Crime: High treason
 Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)
 Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
18	5	1	0	9 (0)	0	0	1 182	2	240 (14)	0	5	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of S r Tho. Gascoyne Bar. for High-Treason, In Conspiring the Death of the King, the Subversion of the Government, and Alteration of Religion, On Wednesday the 11th of February 1679. At the Bar of the Kings Bench, before The Right Honourable Sir William Scroggs Lord Chief Justice, And the rest of the Judges of that Court.*
 LONDON: Printed for Tho. Beset, and Sam. Heyrick; at the George in Fleet-street, and at Greys-Inne-gate in Holborn. 1680.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Kings Bench

Year of publication: 1680

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Tho. Beset, and Sam. Heyrick; at the George in Fleet-street, and at Greys-Inne-gate in Holborn

Word count (including title): 33 465

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
15	6	0	0	11 (0)	0	0	538	0	80 (5)	2	0	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Trial and Conviction of Thomas Knox and Iohn Lane, For A Conspiracy, To Defame and Scandalise Dr. Oats and Mr. Bedloe; Thereby to Discredit their Evidence about the Horrid Popish Plot: At the Kings-Bench-Bar at Westminster, On Tuesday the 25 th of November. 1679. Before the Right Honourable Sir William Scroggs, Knight, Lord Chief Justice, and the other Judges of that Court. Where, upon full Evidence, they were found Guilty of the Offence aforesaid.*

LONDON: Printed for Robert Pawlett, at the Bible in Chancery-Lane, near Fleetstreet. M. DC. LXXX.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1679

Place where the trial was held: Kings-Bench-Bar at Westminster

Year of publication: 1680

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Robert Pawlett, at the Bible in Chancery-Lane, near Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 25 216

Crime: Conspiracy

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	318	0	89 (2)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Elizabeth Cellier, at the Kings-bench-Barr, On Friday June the 11 th. 1680.*
London, Printed for Rendal Taylor, in the Year 1680.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1680 (June)

Place where the trial was held: Kings-bench-Barr

Year of publication: 1680

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Rendal Taylor

Word count (including title): 4 560

Crime: Treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	97	0	15 (0)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: No

Title: *The Trial and Sentence of Elizabeth Cellier; For Writing, Printing, and Publishing, A Scandalous Libel, called Malice Defeated, &c.*

At the Sessions in the Old-Bailey, held Saturday the 11 th. and Monday the 13 th. of Sept. 1680. whereunto Is Added Several Depositions, made before the Right Honourably, the Lord Mayor. London, Printed for Thomas Collins, at the Middle-Temple-Gate. 1680.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1680 (September)

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1680

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Thomas Collins, at the Middle-Temple-Gate

Word count (including title): 13 311

Crime: Publication of a scandalous libel

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	252	0	68 (10)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of John Giles at The Sessions-House In The Old Bailey: Held by Adjournment from the 7th Day of July, 1680, until the 14th Day of the same Month: The Adjournment being appointed on purpose for the said Giles his Trial, for a Barbarous and Inhumane Attempt, to Assassinate and Murder John Arnold Esq One of the Justices of Peace for the County of Monmouth, and now a Member of the Honourable House of Commons.*

Made public by Virtue of an Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament Assembled.
 London, Printed by Thomas James for Rendal Taylor, and by him Sold at his House near Stationers Hall: 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1680

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: by Thomas James for Rendal Taylor, and by him Sold at his House near Stationers Hall

Word count (including title): 16 234

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	1	0	0	2 (0)	0	0	298	0	51 (3)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of William Viscount Stafford for High Treason, In Conspiring the Death of the King, The Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, The Subversion of the Government, and Introduction of Popery into this Realm, upon an Impeachment by the Knights, Citizens and Burgess in Parliament assembled, In the Name of Themselves and of All the Commons of England: Begun in Westminster-Hall, the 30. day of November 1680. and continued until the 7. of December following, on which day Judgment of High Treason was given upon him.*

With the Manner of his Execution the 29. of the same Month.

Dublin, Reprinted by Jose. Ray, at College-Green, and are to be sold by S. Helsham, Job. North, Jose. Howes, and the rest of the Booksellers of Dublin. 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1680

Place where the trial was held: Westminster-Hall

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: reprinted in Dublin

Publisher: Jose. Ray, at College-Green, and are to be sold by S. Helsham, Job. North, Jose. Howes, and the rest of the Booksellers of Dublin

Word count (including title): 13 5403

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 417	0	1 040 (22)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Roger Earl of Castlemaine for High Treason, In Conspiring the Death of the King, The Subversion of the Government, and Introducing of Popery and Arbitrary Power. before The Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, &c. At the King's Bench Bar at Westminster, the 23th June 1680: Where he was Acquitted. London, Printed for S. G and N. E. and are to be sold by Rendal Taylor near Stationers-Hall, 1681.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1680

Place where the trial was held: King's Bench Bar At Westminster

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for S. G and N. E. and are to be sold by Rendal Taylor near Stationers-Hall

Word count (including title): 22 581

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	2 (0)	0	0	455	0	89 (3)	1	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Trial and Condemnation of Edw. Fitz-Harris, Esq for High-Treason, at the Barr of the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, on Thursday the 9th of June, in Trinity Term, 1681. As also the Trial and Condemnation of Dr Oliver Plunket, Titular Primate of Ireland, for High-Treason, at the Barr of the Court of King's Bench, the same Term.*

LONDON, Printed for Francis Tyton, and Thomas Beset, Booksellers in Fleetstreet. 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1681

Place where the trial was held: Court of King's Bench

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Francis Tyton, and Thomas Beset, Booksellers in Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 56 292

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
10	6	0	0	16 (4)	0	0	1 128	0	296 (24)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial and Condemnation of George Borosky alias Borotzi, Christopher Vratz, and John Stern; for the Barbarous Murder of Thomas Thynn, Esq Together with the TRIAL of Charles John Count Coningsmark, As Accessory before the Fact to the same Murder. Who was Acquitted of the said Offence. At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, Tuesday February 28. 1681.*

London, Printed for Thomas Beset at the George near St. Dunstan 's Church in Fleetstreet. 1682.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1681

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Thomas Beset at the George near St. Dunstan 's Church in Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 38 894

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
9	3	0	0	14 (1)	0	0	698	0	158 (14)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial and Condemnation of Dr Oliver Plunket Titular Primate of Ireland, for High-Treason, At the Barr of the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, in Trinity Term, 1681.*

I do appoint Francis Tyton, and Thomas Beset, to Print the Trial of Oliver Plunket.

Fr. Pemberton.

Dublin, Printed by Joseph Ray at Colledge-Green, for Eliphal Dobson Bookseller on Cork-hill. 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1681

Place where the trial was held: King's Bench, at Westminster

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: Dublin

Publisher: Joseph Ray at Colledge-Green, for Eliphal Dobson Bookseller on Cork-hill

Word count (including title): 24 290

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	2	0	0	7 (2)	0	0	494	0	146 (20)	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Sr. Miles Stapleton Bar. for High Treason, in Conspiring the Death of the King, &C. at York Assizes on the 18 th. day of July, 1681. Before the Right Honourable Sir William Dolben Knight, One of the Justices of the Court of Kings Bench, and William Gregory, Esq one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, then Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuit.*

To which is added the Trial and Condemnation of Mr. Thomas Thwing for High Treason, At the Summer Assizes before.

London Printed for Richard Baldwin in the Old-Baily 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1681

Place where the trial was held: York Assizes

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Richard Baldwin in the Old-Baily 1681

Word count (including title): 12 334

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
8	1	0	0	4 (0)	0	0	209	0	30 (0)	0	1	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial and Condemnation of Stephen Colledge for High-Treason, in Conspiring the Death of the King, the Levying of War, and the Subversion of the Government.*

Before the Right Honourable Sr. Francis North, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas, and other Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery held at the City of Oxon for the County of Oxon, the 17 th and 18 th of August 1681.

London, Printed for Thomas Beset at the George in Fleetstreet, and John Fish near the Golden Tun in the Strand. 1681.

Author: Francis Gwyn

Year of the trial: 1681

Place where the trial was held: City of Oxon

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Thomas Beset at the George in Fleetstreet, and John Fish near the Golden Tun in the Strand

Word count (including title): 80 169

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
20	6	1	0	20 (3)	0	0	1 911	1	370 (38)	1	3	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial and Condemnation ff George Busby, for High-Treason, As a Romish Priest and Jesuite, upon the Statute of 27. Eliz. Cap. 2.*

At the Assizes and General Goal-Delivery, held at Derby, for the County of Derby, the 25th day of July, in the 33th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, &c.

Before the Honourable Sir Thomas Street Knight, one of the Barons of his Majesties Exchequer.

As it was faithfully taken, by a Person of Quality.

London, Printed for Randolph Taylor. 1681.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 33th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second (Charles II reigned from 1660 to 1685)

Place where the trial was held: Derby

Year of publication: 1681

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Randolph Taylor

Word count (including title): 13 297

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes (marked)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
7	1	0	0	5 (0)	0	0	189	0	55 (4)	0	0	3

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Nathanael Thompson, John Farewell, William Pain, Before the Right Honourable Sir Fran. Pemberton Kt. Lord Chief Justice of England, by Nisi Prius. AT Guild-Hall, London, the Twentieth of June, 1682. For Writing, and Publishing, Scandalous Letters to Mr. Miles Prance, in Relation to the Death of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey.*

London, Printed for William Mason, 1682.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1682

Place where the trial was held: Guild-Hall, London

Year of publication: 1682

Place of publication: London

Publisher: William Mason

Word count (including title): 5 480

Crime: Writing, and Publishing, Scandalous Letters to Mr. Miles Prance, in Relation to the Death of Sir Edmund-Bury Godfrey

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	1	0	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Tho. Pilkington, Esq Sheriffs. Samuel Shute, Esq Sheriffs. Henry Cornish, Alderman. Ford Lord Grey of Work. Sir Tho. Player, K ned. Chamberlain of London. Slingsby Bethel, Esq. Francis Junks. John Deagle. Richard Freeman. Richard Goodenough. Robert Key. John Wickham. Samuel Swinock. John Jekyll, Sen. for the Riot at Guild-Hall, on Midsommer-Day, 1682. Being the Day for Election of Sheriffs for the Year ensuing.*

London, Printed for Thomas Dring at the Harrow at the Corner of Chancery-Lane end in Fleetstreet, 1683.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1682

Place where the trial was held:

Year of publication: 1683

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Thomas Dring at the Harrow at the Corner of Chancery-Lane end in Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 33 123

Crime: Riot at Guild-Hall

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
2	2	3	0	0	0	0	565	2	143 (3)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Arraignment, Tryal & Condemnation of Algernon Sidney, Esq. for High-Treason ... before the Right Honourable Sir George Jeffreys ... Lord Chief Justice of England at His Majesties Court of Kingsbench at Westminster on the 7th, 21th and 27th of November, 1683*¹⁹²

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: Court of Kingsbench at Westminster

Year of publication: n.a.

Place of publication: n.a.

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 34 810

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
2	4	0	0	8 (2)	0	0	493	0	89 (7)	0	0	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

¹⁹² The title is not present within the document.

Title: *The Trial of the Lord Russel. July 13. 1683.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: London

Year of publication: n.a.¹⁹³

Place of publication: Dublin

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 30 288

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
6	4	0	0	6 (2)	0	0	353	0	148 (5)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

¹⁹³ Another source, concerning a collection of trials, reports the following information: *The tryals of Thomas Walcot, William Hone, William Lord Russell, John Rous & William Blagg for high-treason for conspiring the death of the King, and raising a rebellion in this kingdom at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, London, on a commission of oyer and terminer held there for the city of London and county of Middlesex, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, July 12, 13 and 14, 1683.*

Title: *The Trial of William Hone. For High-Treason, for Conspiring the Death of the KING, &c. On Thursday, July 12. 1683. Dublin, Printed by J. Ray on College green, 1683.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: London

Year of publication: 1683

Place of publication: Dublin

Publisher: J. Ray on College green

Word count (including title): 3 586

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
4	1	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	58	0	18 (6)	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial and Conviction of Sr. Sam, Bernardiston, Bar t. for High-Misdemeanor at the Session of Nisi Pri?s, Holden at Guild-Hall, London, for his Majesties Court Of Kings Bench, Before the Right Honourably Sir George Jeffreys, Knight and Baronet, Lord Chief Justice of England, on Thursday, Feb. 14. 1683. London: Printed for Benjamin Took, at the Ship in S. Pals Church-Yard, 1684.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: Session of Nisi Pri?s, Holden at Guild-Hall, London

Year of publication: 1684

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Benjamin Took, at the Ship in S. Pals Church-Yard

Word count (including title): 10 546

Crime: High misdemeanour

Scribal intervention: No

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
1	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	136	0	25 (0)	0	3	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of the Lord Russel. July 13. 1683.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: London

Year of publication: n.a.¹⁹⁴

Place of publication: n.a.

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title):

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
6	4	0	0	6 (2)	0	0	353	0	148 (5)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

¹⁹⁴ Another source, concerning a collection of trials, reports the following information: *The tryals of Thomas Walcot, William Hone, William Lord Russell, John Rous & William Blagg for high-treason for conspiring the death of the King, and raising a rebellion in this kingdom at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, London, on a commission of oyer and terminer held there for the city of London and county of Middlesex, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, July 12, 13 and 14, 1683.*

Title: *The Tryal and Conviction of Sr. Sam. Barnardiston, Bart. for High Misdemeanor at the Session of Nisi Prius holden at Guild-Hall, London, for his Majesties Court of Kings Bench before the Right Honorable Sir George Jeffreys ...Lord Chief Justice of England on Thursday, Feb. 14, 1683 London, Printed for Benjamin Tooke.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: Guild-Hall, London

Year of publication: 1684

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Benjamin Tooke

Word count (including title): 10 563

Crime: High misdemeanor (“done against the peace of the King, his Crown and Dignity”)

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethce	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	136	0	25 (0)	0	3	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials of Thomas Walcot, William Hone, William Lord Russell, John Rous & William Blagg. for High - Treason, For Conspiring the Death of the King, and raising a Rebellion in this Kingdom: At the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily London, on a Commission of Oyer and Terminer held there for the City of London and County of Middlesex, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, July 12, 13, and 14. 1683. London, Printed for Richard Royston, Benjamin Took and Charles Mearn. M DC LXXXIII.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: Old-Bailey, London

Year of publication: 1683

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Richard Royston, Benjamin Took and Charles Mearn

Word count (including title): 70 037

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
22	10	0	0	8 (2)	0	0	970	0	294 (29)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Henry Baron Delamere for High-Treason, in Westminster-Hall, the 14 th Day of January, 1685. Before the Right Honourable George Lord Jeffreys, Baron of Wemm, Lord High Chancellor of England, Constituted Lord High Steward on that Occasion. On which Day, after a full Hearing, the Lord Delamere was Acquitted from all Matters laid to his Charge.*

London, Printed for Dorman Newman at the Kings Arms in the Poultry. MDCLXXXVI.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1685

Place where the trial was held: Westminster-Hall, London

Year of publication: 1686

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Dorman Newman at the Kings Arms in the Poultry

Word count (including title): 42 197

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Priethe	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
25	10	3	0	19 (1)	0	0	472	0	331 (9)	0	2	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

Title: *The Trials of Henry Cornish, Esq; for Conspiring The Death of the King, And raising a Rebellion in this Kingdom; and Iohn Fernley, William Ring, and Elizabeth Gaunt, For Harbouring and Maintaining Rebels: AT THE Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, London, on a Commission of Oyer and Terminer held there for the City of London and County of Middlesex, on Monday, Octob. 19. 1685.*

London: Printed and Sold by George Croom, at the Sign of the Blue-Ball in Thames-street, near Baynard's Castle. MDCLXXXV.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1685

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, London

Year of publication: 1685

Place of publication: London

Publisher: George Croom, at the Sign of the Blue-Ball in Thames-street, near Baynard's Castle

Word count (including title): 33 968

Crime: High treason (more details in the title)

Scribal intervention: Yes (minimal)

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
22	4	0	0	16 (1)	0	0	762	0	220 (17)	0	0	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of John Hamlden, Esq*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1683

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly, London

Year of publication: 1685

Place of publication: London

Publisher: E. Mallet, for D. Mallet

Word count (including title): 75 703

Crime: Misdemeanour

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	502	0	113 (10)	0	0	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: The defendant was fined

Title: *The Trials, Convictions & Sentence of Titus Oates, Upon Two Indictments for Wilful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury: At the Kings-Bench-Barr at Westminster, Before the Right Honourable George Lord Jeffreys, Baron of Women, Lord Chief Justice of His Majesties Court of Kings-Bench, and the rest of the Judges of that Court.*

Upon Friday the 8th. and Saturday the 9th. days of May, Anno Domini, 1685.

And in the First Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King JAMES the II. &c.

London, Printed for R. Sare at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and are to be sold by Rendal Taylor, 1685.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1685

Place where the trial was held: Kings-Bench-Barr at Westminster

Year of publication: 1685

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for R. Sare at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and are to be sold by Rendal Taylor

Word count (including title): 75 652

Crime: Perjury

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethce	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yoursel ^f	Yours	Pray you
12	4	7	0	4 (1)	0	0	1 260	6	274 (22)	0	0	12

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial of Rowland Walters, Gent. Dearing Bradshaw, Gent. and Ambrose Cave, Gent. (For Murdering of Sir Charles Pymm, Bar t.) At the Sessions held at the Old-Bailey, On Friday the First day of June, 1688.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1688

Place where the trial was held: Old-Bailey

Year of publication: 1688

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed by George Croom, at the Blue-Ball in Thames-street, near Baynard's Castle¹⁹⁵

Word count (including title): 4 864

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	0	10 (1)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Walters: guilty; Bradshaw: not guilty; Cave: not guilty.

¹⁹⁵ The information is reported at the end of the document at issue.

Title: *The Proceedings and Trial in the Case of the Most Reverend Father In God William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, And the Right Reverend Fathers in God, William Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, Francis Lord Bishop of Ely, Iohn Lord Bishop of Chichester, Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Lord Bishop of Peterborough, And Ionathan Lord Bishop of Bristol. In the Court of Kings-Bench at Westminster, in Trinity-Term in the Fourth Year of the Reign of King James the Second, Annoque Dom. 1688.*

Licensed and Entered according to Act of Parliament.

London, Printed for Thomas Beset, at the George in Fleet Street, and Thomas Fox, at the Angel in Westminster-Hall. 1689.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1688

Place where the trial was held: Court of Kings-Bench at Westminster

Year of publication: 1689

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for Thomas Beset, at the George in Fleet Street, and Thomas Fox, at the Angel in Westminster-Hall

Word count (including title): 108 223

Crime: Misdemeanour

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	1 (0)	0	0	1 149	0	472 (8)	0	2	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: No

Title: *The Arraignment, &c. of Sir Richard Grahme, Baronet, Viscount Preston in the Kingdom of Scotland, and John Ashton, Gent.*

Anno Regni Domini Willielmi & Domino Mariae, Angle. &c. Secundo. Die Veneris, 16. die Januarii, Anno Dom. 1690. The King and Queens Writ of Habeas Corpora was sent to the Governor of the Tower of London, to bring up the Bodies of Sir Richard Grahme Baronet, Viscount Preston in the Kingdom of Scotland, John Ashton and Edmund Elliot Gent. to the Sessions-house in the Old-Baily, London;

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1690

Place where the trial was held: Old-Baily, London

Year of publication: 1691

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for Samuel Heyrick and Thomas Cockeril, at Grays-Inn-gate in Holbourn, and at the Three Legs in the Poultry¹⁹⁶

Word count (including title): 87 540

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	0	1	6	4 (0)	0	0	1 416	7	569 (31)	2	9	1

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

¹⁹⁶ The information is reported within the text of the document at issue.

Title: *The Trial between Henry Duke of Norfolk, Plaintiff, and John Jermaine Defendant, in an Action of Trespass on the Case at the [Co]urt of Kings-Bench at Westminster, on the 24th of November, 1692*¹⁹⁷.
 By the Direction of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk.

London: Printed by H. Hills, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1692.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1692

Place where the trial was held: Court of Kings-Bench at Westminster

Year of publication: 1692

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed by H. Hills, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster

Word count (including title): 10 026

Crime: Adultery

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	212	0	25 (0)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

¹⁹⁷ In the title of the document, the first two letters of the word “Court” were absent; they were added by the author of the present dissertation.

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial, Conviction and Condemnation of Henry Harrison, Gent. For the Barbarous Murder of Andrew Clenche, of Brownlowe-street, in the Parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, in the County of Middlesex, Doctor of Physic. At the Sessions of Goal-delivery of Newgate, holden for the City of London, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, on the 6th, 7th, and 9th, days of April, 1692. in the Fourth Year of their Majesties Reign: And also the Examination of the said Henry Harrison, taken the 6th, day of January, 1691. before the Right Honourable Sir John Holt, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of their Majesties Court of King 's and Queens Bench at Westminster. To which is also added, the Trial of John Cole, for the Murder of the said Doctor Clenche.*

London, Printed by Thomas Braddyll, and are to be Sold by William Battersby at Thavies-Inn-Gate, and R. Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-lane, MDCXCII.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1692

Place where the trial was held: Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily (trial), Court of King 's and Queens Bench at Westminster (examination)

Year of publication: 1692

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed by Thomas Braddyll, and are to be Sold by William Battersby at Thavies-Inn-Gate, and R. Baldwin near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-lane

Word count (including title): 24 243

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
1	0	0	0	6 (0)	0	0	354	1	105 (4)	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Henry Harrison guilty; John Cole not guilty

Title: *The Trial of Capt. Henry Wickham, Late Commander of Their Majesties Ship The Diamond.*
London, Printed in the Year 1695.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1694

Place where the trial was held: Court-Marshall holden on Board the Britannia at Spithead

Year of publication: 1695

Place of publication: London

Publisher: n.a.

Word count (including title): 5 734

Crime: losing the King's Ship The Diamond

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	0	14 (1)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial and Condemnation of Sir Iohn Friend, Knight. for Conspiring to Raise Rebellion in these Kingdoms, in Order to a French Invasion: Who upon full Evidence was found Guilty of High-Treason, at the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey, March 23 th 1695/6.*

London, Printed for Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhil, MDCXCVI.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1695-1696

Place where the trial was held: Old Bailey

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Brabazon Aylmer, at the Three Pigeons over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhil

Word count (including title): 23 479

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithce	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	1	0	0	6 (1)	0	0	444	0	84 (1)	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial and Condemnation of Sir William Parkins Knt. For the Most Horrid and Barbarous Conspiracy to Assassinate His Most Sacred Majesty King William; And for Raising of Forces, in order to a Rebellion, and Encouraging a French Invasion into this Kingdom.*

Who was found Guilty of High-Treason, March 24. 1695/6. At the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily.

Together With a true Copy of the Papers delivered by Sir William Parkins, and Sir John Friend, to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, at the time of their Execution.

London. Printed for Samuel Heyrick, at Grays-Inn Gate in Holborn, and Isaac Cleve, at Serjeants-Inn Gate in Chancery-Lane. 1696.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1695/1696

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-House in the Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for Samuel Heyrick, at Grays-Inn Gate in Holborn, and Isaac Cleve, at Serjeants-Inn Gate in Chancery-Lane

Word count (including title): 37 236

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
9	2	0	0	8 (2)	0	0	566	9	172 (8)	0	2	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial, and Condemnation of Peter Cooke, Gent. for High-Treason, in Endeavouring to procure Forces from France to Invade this Kingdom, and Conspiring to Levy War in this Realm for Assisting and Abetting the said Invasion, in order to the Deposing of His Sacred Majesty, King William, and Restoring the Late King. Who upon full Evidence was found Guilty at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, on Wednesday the 13th of May, 1696. And received Sentence the same Day. With the Learned Arguments both of the King's and Prisoner's Council upon the new Act of Parliament for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason. Perused by the Lord Chief Justice Treby, and the Council present at the Trial. London: Printed for Benjamin Took at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet. MDCXCVI.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1696

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-House in the Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: Sessions-House in the Old-Baily

Publisher: Printed for Benjamin Took at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet

Word count (including title): 43 769

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
2	1	0	0	4 (1)	0	0	706	1	145 (6)	1	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Arraignment, Trial, and Condemnation of Ambrose Rookwood, For the Horrid and Execrable Conspiracy to Assassinate His Sacred Majesty King William, in Order to a French Invasion of this Kingdom. Who upon full Evidence was found Guilty of High Treason before His Majesty's Justices of Oyer and Terminer, at Westminster, on Tuesday the 21 st. of April, 1696. and received Sentence the day following. And was Executed at Tyburn on the 29 th. day of the said Month.*

In which Trial is contained All the Learned ARGUMENTS of the King's Council, and likewise the Council for the Prisoner, upon the New Act of Parliament for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason.

London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grays-Inn-Gate, Holborn; and Isaac Cleave at the Star next Serjeants-Inn-Gate in Chancery-Lane. MDCXCVI.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1696

Place where the trial was held: Westminster

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grays-Inn-Gate, Holborn; and Isaac Cleave at the Star next Serjeants-Inn-Gate in Chancery-Lane

Word count (including title): 44 040

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
12	3	0	0	5 (0)	0	0	394	11	159	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trial, and Condemnation of Capt. Thomas Vaughan. for High Treason, In Adhering to the French-King, And for Endeavouring the Destruction of His Majesty's Ships in the Nor. Who upon full Evidence was found Guilty at the Sessions-House in the Old-Baily, on the 6 th. of November. 1696. With all the Learned Arguments of the King's and Prisoners Council, both of the Civil and Common Law, upon the New Act of Parliament for Regulating Trials in Cases of High Treason. Perused by Sir Charles Hedges, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty; the Lord Chief Justice Holt, the Lord Chief Justice Treby, and the Council Present at the Trial. To which is Added, Captain Vaughan 's Commission. at Large, which he had from the French king. As also an Account of the TRIAL of John Murphy for High Treason. London, Printed for John Everingham at the Star near the Westend of St. Paul 's. 1697.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1696

Place where the trial was held: Sessions-House in the Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1697

Place of publication: London

Publisher: John Everingham at the Star near the Westend of St. Paul 's

Word count (including title): 24 099

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun: Yes

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
8	2	2	0	6 (1)	0	0	385	0	56 (3)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Arraignments, Trials and Condemnations of Charles Cranburne, and Robert Lowick, for the Horrid and Execrable Conspiracy to Assassinate His Sacred Majesty King William, in order to a French Invasion of this Kingdom. Who upon full Evidence were found Guilty of High-Treason, before His Majesty's Justices of Oyer and Terminer at Westminster, and Received Sentence the 22d. of April, 1696. And were Executed at Tyburn the 29th. of the said Month. In which Trials are contained All the Learned Arguments of the King's Council, and likewise the Council for the Prisoners, upon the New Act of Parliament for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason.*
 London, Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and Isaac Cleave at the Star, next to Sergeants-Inn in Chancery-lane, M. DC. XCVI.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1696

Place where the trial was held: Westminster

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Samuel Heyrick at Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, and Isaac Cleave at the Star, next to Sergeants-Inn in Chancery-lane

Word count (including title): 45 139

Crime: High treason

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
3	0	0	0	9 (1)	0	0	670	6	157 (10)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Trials of Ioseph Dawson, Edward Forseith, William May, William Bishop, Iames Lewis, and Iohn Sparks. For several Piracies and Robberies By them committed? In the Company of Every the Grand Pirate, near the Coasts of the East-Indies; and several other Places on the Seas. Giving an Account of their Villainous Robberies and Barbarities. At the Admiralty Sessions, begun at the Old-Baily on the 29th of October, 1696. and ended on the 6th. of November.*

LONDON, Printed for Iohn Everingham, Bookseller, at the Star in Ludgate-street, 1696.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1696

Place where the trial was held: Admiralty Sessions at the Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1696

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Iohn Everingham, Bookseller, at the Star in Ludgate-street

Word count (including title): 17 079

Crime: Piracy

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
29	4	0	0	15 (0)	0	0	253	0	49 (2)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: Yes

Title: *The Several Trials of Edward Earl of Warwick and Holland, and Charles Lord Mohun, Before the House of PEERS in Parliament, Upon the 28 th and 29 th Days of March, 1699. For the Murder of Mr. Richard Coote; the Right Honourable John Lord Sommers Baron of Evesham, Lord High Chancellor of England, being Lord High Steward upon that Occasion. Published by Command of the House of Peers. In the Savoy: Printed by Edward Jones, for Jacob Tonson, at Grays-Inn-Gate next Grays-Inn Lane. MDCXCIX.*

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1699

Place where the trial was held: House of Peers in Parliament

Year of publication: 1699

Place of publication: London

Publisher: by Edward Jones, for Jacob Tonson, at Grays-Inn-Gate next Grays-Inn Lane

Word count (including title): 63 340

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	583	1	414 (15)	0	1	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: No

Conviction: Not guilty (both defendants)

Title: *The Trial and Conviction of Mary Butler, alias Strickland, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, in London, on the 12th Day of October, 1699. For Counterfeiting a Bond of 40000 l. as the Bond of Sir Robert Clayton, Kc. and Alderman of London.*

London: Printed by F. C. in the Old-Baily, 1700.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1699

Place where the trial was held: Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily

Year of publication: 1700

Place of publication: London

Publisher: F. C. in the Old-Baily

Word count (including title): 7 045

Crime: Counterfeit

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	96	1	13 (2)	0	0	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: The defendant was fined

Title: *The Trial of Spencer Cowper, Esq John Marson, Ellis Stevens, and William Rogers, Gent. Upon an Indictment for the Murder of Mrs Sarah Stout, a Quaker. Before Mr Baron Hatsell, at Hertford Assizes, July 18. 1699. Of which they were Acquitted.*

With the Opinions of the Eminent Physicians and Surgeons on both sides, concerning Drowned Bodies, delivered in the Trial. And The several Letters produced in Court.

London, Printed for Isaac Cleave in Chancery-lane, Matt. Wotton in Fleetstreet, and Iohn Bullord. 1699.

Author: n.a.

Year of the trial: 1699

Place where the trial was held: Hertford Assizes

Year of publication: 1699

Place of publication: London

Publisher: Isaac Cleave in Chancery-lane, Matt. Wotton in Fleetstreet, and Iohn Bullord

Word count (including title): 43 636

Crime: Murder

Scribal intervention: Yes

Forms of the second person pronoun:

Thou	Thee	Prithee	Prethee	Thy (includes thy self)	Thyself	Thine	You (singular and plural)	Ye	Your (includes your self)	Yourself	Yours	Pray you
5	0	0	0	6 (0)	0	0	592	1	190 (10)	1	6	0

Presence of formulaic forms including T-forms: Yes

Conviction: No

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