# Addressing Formulæ and Politeness <br> in The Shepheards Calender 

Francisco Martín Miguel \& Santiago González<br>UNIVERSITY OF A CORUÑA

## Introduction

In the framework of contemporary linguistics, it has become widely acknowledged among those who favour the study of language from a social or anthropological point of view that verbal communication is not simply a means of conveying information, but also an equally outstanding means of establishing, maintaining, and even terminating social relationships with other people.

Linguistic theory cannot restrict its attention to the study of the linguistic code in itself and ignore the general social communicative conduct, since they have been proved to be closely interrelated in a variety of ways. The rules of politeness, that is rules which determine appropriate behaviour, are one of the aspects of culture which are clearly reflected in language. The relationship of the interactants, their age, the specific situation, and so on, will directly affect their language use to degrees determined by the culture.

It is commonly accepted (Baugh \& Cable 1993[1958], Pyles \& Algeo 1993[1964], Görlach 1991) that the sixteenth century witnessed the establishment of the personal pronoun in the form that it has had ever since. One of the most remarkable phenomena in the period is the use -and change in use- of the pronouns thou/you. Much has been argued about the second person pronoun system of Renaissance English, as Crystal (1995: 71) points out, "not simply because the forms provide an obvious point of contrast with Modern English, but because they perform a central role in the expression of personal relationships, and are thus crucial to any study of contemporary drama."

Within the socio-pragmatic approach to the study of language outlined above at least two social characteristics play a significant role in determining linguistic use. Following Brown \& Levinson (1978: 79), these variables are: i) the social distance (D) between the participants; and ii) the relative power ( P ) between them. The notions of power and solidarity provide, according to Hope (1994: 141), an explicative (even arguably a predictive) model for the pronoun usages, namely the use of thou and you, encountered in dramatic texts:
characters '+power' (monarchs, the rich, men, parents, masters and mistresses) can be expected to give thou and receive you when interacting with those '-power' (subjects, the poor, women, children, servants). Theoretically under this model we expect characters of equal power, or social class, to exchange reciprocal you if they are upper class, and thou if they are lower.

What follows is part of an ongoing research project, some results of which have already been put forward in González (1994 \& in press). There the author examined a singular corpus that
included all Spenser's Dedicatory Sonnets ${ }^{1}$ from the point of view of their formulæ of address and tentatively established a comparison with similar formulæ in other works by the same poet. In the past, several scholars have carried out analogous studies of sixteenth century texts on the basis of corpora which, in our opinion, have revealed themselves to be insufficient for the kind of results obtained from them. In addition, we think that these corpora do not contain the significant number of data so as to being able to arrive at tenable conclusions. This is true, in our opinion, of some influential studies, such as, for instance, that found in Barber (1976) dealing with the use of thoulyou: too small data bases and biassed texts have been employed as the starting point of such analyses.

Our main endeavour in this paper is to revise such data and our main claim is that the methodological procedures used to analyse such data are to be changed. Our intention is to sift through computer text files and produce a large and exhaustive number of data in the future that have to be interpreted correctly. For the modelling of this we have selected Spenser's The Shepheards Calender because, as a poet, he seems to represent the more educated layers of late sixteenth century sociolects. ${ }^{2}$

As regards computer implementation, we have used a computer program called Conc. A Concordance Generator, version 1.70beta (Antworth 1992). Conc is a program designed to facilitate the intensive study of a flat text or an interlinear text by producing a list of all the words occurring in it, with a short section of the context preceding and following each occurrence of a word. In many fields of study such a list is called a concordance. Conc can also produce a more conventional index, consisting of a list of the (distinct) words in a document, each with a list of the places where it occurs. It can also do some simple statistical studies of a text, such as counting the number of occurrences of words that match a given pattern.

## Methodological approach

First of all, we suggest considering the quantitative evidence from The Shepheards Calender. Using Conc we have analysed all forms of the following words: thou, thee, thy, ye, you and your. The quantitative results are shown in Table 1 and the full list of concordances can be found in Annex I: there is a total of 286 th-forms, whereas there are just 120 y -forms. At first sight these figures might indicate that the characters mainly belong to the same social class, ${ }^{3}$ since th-forms are more than double the number of $y$-forms: the level of familiarity between the shepherds is reflected in the use of the th-forms, which are significantly abundant. We will not discuss here whether these shepherds are real shepherds or not, as for our purpose, if they are not real shepherds, they are at least literary impersonations of characters of a similar social rank, and this implies both upper and lower classes.

## TABLE 1

${ }^{1}$ Id est, all sonnets by Spenser —or attibuted to him— addressed to —usually- important persons (the Queen, noblemen, patrons, etc.) appearing either before his own poems, or, as in The Faerie Queene, postponed to it, in which the author 'dedicates' the work in the expectation that the importance or fame of the prospective protector may help the poet and the advancement of his work.
2 The basic text chosen for the selection of data is that printed in the Shepheardes Calender copy at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, item 4.F2(11) Arts Bs, and converted into a machine-readable text by means of keyboard input into an ASCII text file, contanining 33,317 words -id est sets of charcaters separated by a blank space. We have used a microfilm provided by the Bodleian Reprographic Service, checking it against the original copy. This text has also been collated with J. C. Smith \& E. de Selincourt's Oxford Standard Authors version (we use the one volume edition as printed in 1970, although the text originally appeared in 1912), the Variorum text (C. G. Osgood \& al. 1943), and the Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser (W. A. Oram \& al. 1989). Collation has been both traditional and computer based, using in this case P. Robinson's program Collate 2 (see P. Robinson 1994). All page references to The Shepheards Calender in this article refer to Smith \& De Selincourt's edition, as above.
3 Theoretically a 'lower' class, as sixteenth-century real shepherds should be considered. However, these 'lower' characters tend to be 'feigned' shepheards rather than real ones. For further discussion, see, for instance, H. Cooper 1977.

| 286: | th-forms | y-forms | $: 120$ |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| thou | 112 | ye | 23 |
| thee | 54 | you | 47 |
| thy | 120 | your | 50 |

In order to develop a coherent detailed analysis of all the occurrences of the forms in Table 1, we have chosen to apply the syntactic criteria listed in Table 2. They comprise the identification of the forms above as functioning in subject or object position on the one hand, or else as vocatives on the other. Within each category, we have thought it relevant to check whether the pronouns are followed by an appositive structure or not. We have also been careful to register whether the pronouns function as subjects of a verb in the indicative, subjunctive or imperative mood, whether the word order is subject+verb or, on the contrary, a process of subject-verb inversion (SVI) takes place. Finally we have considered it appropriate to include analyses of the type [NP, XP], that is, the so-called small clauses.

TABLE 2

## Syntactic criteria

Subject
Subject: Apposition
Subject: Indicative
Subject: Indicative: SVI
Subject: Indicative: Apposition
Subject: Indicative: Apposition: SVI
Subject: Imperative: SVI
Subject: Subjunctive
Subject: Subjunctive: Apposition
Subject: Small-clause analysis
Object
Object: Apposition
Vocative: Apposition
Vocative: Imperative: Apposition
The next step in the process entails classifying, analysing and discussing every single occurrence of the forms. Annex II contains the classification and the analyses of the occurrences in Annex I. It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into every case at length. However, we will mark out and comment on some cases which, in our view, pose problems from the point of view of syntax. They are shown in Table 3. ${ }^{1}$

## TABLE 3

| 1) in heauens hight. I see | thee blessed soule, I see, Walke in | (November 177-179) |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| 2) Submitting me to | you good sufferance, And praying to | (February 187-188) |
| 3) lette me in your folds | ye lock, Ere the breme Winter breede | (December 147-148) |
| 4) hem emong, All for | thy casten too much of worlds care | (September 113-114) |

[^0]The first concordance under consideration includes the second person singular form of the personal pronoun in accusative/dative case, thee. It may be easily analysed as the direct object of the transitive verb see followed by an appositive NP, blessed soule. However, as can be seen in Annex II, of the five occurrences of thee followed by an apposition, only this one shows a non-personal appositive NP (blessed soule), whereas the others contain personal referents (shepheard, Hobbinoll, poore Orphane, Diggon). An alternative analysis is possible if we take into account the following occurrences:

| Wil. so cleaues | thy soule a sonder: Per. Or as Dame (August 88-89) |
| :--- | :--- |
| for shame hold vp | thy heauye head, And let vs cast with (October 1-2) |
| kydst not ene to cure | thy sore hart roote, Whose ranckling (December 93-94) |

Analogically, it would not be ilegitimate to suggest that thee blessed soule is in fact meant to be thy blessed soule. In the first case, soule is used in combination with thy in a genitive+noun construction; in the second and third cases the structure is of the type genitive+adjective+body part, similar to thee blessed soule. Besides, phonetic reasons might support this use of thee/thy: the Northern pronunciation /ÍI / could also be an argument for the case.

Much of the same could be said of the second concordance, which illustrates a similar problem. The second person plural form of the personal pronoun in accusative case, you, with a singular, polite meaning, is followed by the adjective+noun combination. It is somewhat difficult to interpret this adjective+noun construction as the apposition to the pronoun due to the nature of its semantic reference (good sufferance). Whenever a similar structure is found in the text (you+apposition), the semantics of the apposition is mainly human or human-like, as the following concordances indicate:

| Whose cause I pray | you Sir, yf Enuie shall stur vp any (Epistle §5) |
| :--- | :--- |
| yt is already donne. | You naked trees, whose shady leaues (January 310-31) |
| my request: And eke | you Virgins, that on Parnasse dwell (April 40-41) |

We believe that the most logical interpretation for you good sufferance is a structure of genitive+adjective+noun, that is, your good sufferance, by analogy with cases such as:

| defend with | your mighty Rhetorick and other your (Epistle §5) |
| :--- | :--- |
| can, and shield with | your good wil, as you ought, against (Epistle §5) |
| that vpon sight of | your speciall frends and fellow Poets (Epistle §6) |
| But I be relieued by | your beastly head. I am a poore (May 265-266) |

The third problematic concordance is special in the sense that it is the only occurrence in which the pronoun ye appears in object position. Out of the 23 occurrences of the form ye, we believe that the only syntactic and semantic interpretation of this form is as the object of the transitive verb lock. The context is:

Gather ye together my little flocke,
My little flock, that was to me so liefe:
Let me, ah lette me in your folds ye lock,
Ere the breme Winter breede you greater griefe.
Winter is come, that blowes the balefull breath,
And after Winter commeth timely death. (December 145-150)
As can be checked in Annex II, the other 22 occurrences of the form ye function as the subject of several syntactic structures, mainly indicative and imperative sentences.

Finally, it is important to note that going through computer files has a clear advantage: to enable us to spot transcription mistakes. This is what happens with concordance number 4 in Table 3:
hem emong, All for thy casten too much of worlds care (September 113-114)
The form thy raises problems as far as its syntactic analysis is concerned, since a noun is expected to head an NP construction containing a genitive word. However, casten is a third person plural present indicative verb form of cast. Thy does not seem to be the appropriate subject form of the verb. It was thanks to the computer implementation that it was possible to locate a transcription mistake in the computerized text: thy is a misprint for they. This particular problem of misprints and alterations is apparently seldom taken into account by scholars doing research by means of computer quantitative analysis. The correct concordance should then read as follows:
hem emong, All for $\quad$ they casten too much of worlds care (September 113-114)
So far we have focussed our analysis on the nominative and accusative forms of the second person pronouns in The Shepheards Calender. In order to address a pragmatic study of the differences in use of the second person pronouns in the sixteenth century, and thus try to draw some conclusions concerning the reasons for the change, a thorough analysis of the genitive pronouns thy/your is needed. We have searched for the anaphoric referents of such pronouns within a general sociological approach centered on politeness formulæ. The complete analyses of these forms, together with those of the forms ye and you, are shown in Annex II: the speaker is written before the arrow; the addressee appears after the arrow. Table 4 and Table 5 contain the different speakeraddressee relationships attested with the forms thy and your, together with the number of times each relationship occurs in the text.

```
thy
    3 (XX) -> the president of noblesse and of cheualree
    Colin -> Pan 4 Colin -> barrein ground
    Colin -> feeble flocke 4 Colin -> Hobbinol
    Cuddie -> Thenot 4 Thenot -> Cuddie
    Thenot -> my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all
    Willye -> Thomalin 1 Thomalin -> Willye
    Thenot -> Hobbinol 2 Thenot -> Cynthia
    Palinode -> Piers }10\mathrm{ Piers -> Kidde
    Hobbinol -> Colin 1 Colin -> Menalcas
    Morrell -> Thomalin 1 Morrell -> shepheardes
    Thomalin -> sheepe
    Willye -> Perigot 2 Willye -> Bellibone
    Cuddie -> Fayth of my soule
    Perigot -> Colin
    Hobbinol -> Diggon 4 Diggon -> Hobbinol
    Piers -> Cuddie 2 Cuddie -> Piers
    Thenot -> Colin 2 Colin -> Thenot
    Piers -> pierlesse Poesye
    Colin -> Lobbin 1 Colin -> my Muse
    Thenot -> francke shepheard
    Piers -> (impersonal reference)
    Cuddie -> (impersonal reference)
    (narrator) -> Pan
    (narrator) -> Colin
    (narrator) -> (reader)
    [gloss]
    [misprint] Total: 120
```

TABLE 5

| your |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 12 | E.K. -> Maister Haruey |
| 1 | Colin -> Gods of Love |
| 4 | Colin -> naked trees |
| 4 | Thenot -> heardgroomes |
| 3 | Thenot -> my liege Lord, the God of my life |
| 2 | Thenot -> my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all |
| 2 | Hobbinol -> daynte Nymphs |
| 1 | Hobbinol -> Elisa |
| 3 | Hobbinol -> ye shepheards daughters |
| 1 | Hobbinol -> ye daintie Damsells |
| 4 | Piers -> Kidd (=good young maister) |
| 1 | Collin -> ye gentle shepheards |
| 1 | Collin -> shepheards |
| 1 | Colin -> ye shepheards daughters |
| 1 | Colin -> ye shepheards boyes |
| 1 | Hobbinol -> Colin |
| 1 | Cuddie -> Willy \& Perigot |
| 2 | Cuddie -> birds |
| 1 | Cuddie -> shepherds |
| 1 | Cuddie -> Nightingale |
| 1 | Collin -> my little flock |
| 2 | [gloss] |

Total: 50
In view of these pragmatic data, one should emphasize a striking fact: some characters apparently employ at random thy and your to refer to the same addressee. ${ }^{I}$ Thenot addresses the "Lord of creatures all" a total of 3 times in the whole text, twice using the polite form you, once employing thy. Likewise Piers uses thy 10 times and your 4 times to refer to Kid. Finally, Hobbinol basically treats Colin as of equal rank (thy), but there is one case in which he employs the polite mode (your). All these data are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

|  | Total | thy | your |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Thenot -> my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Piers -> Kidde | 14 | 10 | 4 |
| Hobbinol -> Colin | 9 | 8 | 1 |

[^1]
## Concluding remarks

It seems prudent at present to show but some provisional results. Table 7 is a more complete and improved version of Table 1. It contains quantitative data of the occurrences of the second person singular, plural and polite forms of the personal pronoun system in Spenser's The Shepheards Calender. However, these quantitative data, as demonstrated, have been submitted to a qualitative 'old style' analysis as we proposed in our methodological approach. We would particularly like to highlight one of the figures in the Table: out of the 50 occurrences of your, 23 correspond to polite, singular uses. Of these 23 cases, 12 refer to Gabriel Haruey (prefatory letter), 5 to the 'soueraigne Lord', 1 to Elisa, and 1 to Colin.

| TH-FORMS |  |  | $Y-F O R M S$ |  |  | Total | TH | Y |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| PLURAL |  |  |  | POLITE | \% |  | \% |  |
| NOM. | THOU | 112 | YE | 23 | 1 | 135 | 82 | 18 |
| Acc. | THEE | 54 | YOU | 47 | 24 | 101 | 54 | 46 |
| GEN. | THY | 120 | YOUR | 50 | 23 | 170 | 70 | 30 |

We believe that we have demonstrated that applying a quantitative/qualitative methodology in the study of texts is needed if we want to obtain more reliable data than those used so far by many scholars that have dealt with Middle and Modern English texts. Besides, computer assistance forces us to face evidence that, by following different methodological strategies, might have escaped our notice.

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## ANNEX I: A LIST OF FORMS AND THEIR CONTEXT (SAMPLES) ${ }^{1}$

| 1. | aske thy name, Say | thou wert base begot with blame: For |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. | blame: For thy thereof | thou takest shame. And when thou art |
| 3. | shame. And when | thou art past ieopardee, Come tell |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 112. | as spring doth ryse. | Thou kenst not Percie howe the ryme |
| THEE |  |  |
| 1. | if that Enuie barke at | thee, As sure it will, for succoure |
| 2. | wing, And asked, who | thee forth did bring, A shepheards |
| 3. | swaine saye did | thee sing, All as his straying flocke |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 54. | watch and ward: I | thee beseche (so be thou deigne to |
| THY |  |  |
| 1. | Goe little booke: | thy self present, As child whose |
| 2. | But if that any aske | thy name, Say thou wert base begot |
| 3. | begot with blame: For | thy thereof thou takest shame. And |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 120. | of some iouisaunce? | Thy Muse to long slombreth in |
| $\underline{Y E}$ |  |  |
| 1. | yeare. But eft, when | ye count you freed from feare, Comes |
| 2. | Violet. Tell me, haue | ye seene her angelick face, Like |
| 3. | royall aray: And now | ye daintie Damsells may depart |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 23. | oftentimes resound: | Ye carelesse byrds are priuie to my |
| YOU |  |  |
| 1. | flew Theocritus, as | you may perceiue he was all ready |
| 2. | or profitable, be | you iudge, mine own good Maister |
| 3. | Whose cause I pray | you Sir, yf Enuie shall stur vp any |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 47. | bewray least part) | You heare all night, when nature |
| YOUR |  |  |
| 1. | both in respect of | your worthinesse generally, and |
| 2. | defend with | your mighty Rhetorick and other your |
| 3. | Rhetorick and other | your rare gifts of learning, as you |
|  | ETC. |  |
| 50. | English poemes of | yours, which lye hid, and bring them |

> ANNEX II: CASE ANALYSIS

THOU
A. Subject: Indicative

| aske thy name, Say | thou wert base begot with blame: For |
| :--- | :--- |
| blame: For thy thereof | thou takest shame. And when thou art |
| shame. And when | thou art past ieopardee, Come tell |

shame. And when thou art past ieopardee, Come tell
ETC.
Thou kenst not Percie howe the ryme TOTAL: 59 cases
B. Subject: Indicative: SVI
14. downe, So semest thou like good fryday to frowne. But
23. Willye. How kenst thou, that he is awoke? Or hast thy so sweete? Or art thou of thy loued lasse forlorne? Or

[^2]
A. Object
if that Enuie barke at wing, And asked, who swaine saye did ETC.
54. watch and ward: I TOTAL: 43 cases
B. Object: Apposition

Cvddie. Now I pray so trimly dight, I pray did creepe) God blesse Hobbinoll. Fye on in heauens hight. I see TOTAL: 5 casew
C. "Methinks" constructions tale I tasted. Hye ouerture. But if Willy: then sitte wars, of giusts, Turne fayre Elisa rest, Or if aye remaine, Whether TOTAL: 6 cases
thee, As sure it will, for succoure thee forth did bring, A shepheards thee sing, All as his straying flocke
thee beseche (so be thou deigne to
thee shepheard, tel it not forth: Here thee Hobbinoll, recorde some one: The thee poore Orphane, as he mought me thee Diggon, and all thy foule leasing thee blessed soule, I see, Walke in
thee home shepheard, the day is nigh thee lust, to holden chat with seely thee downe swayne: Sike a song thee to those, that weld the awful thee please in bigger notes to sing thee list thy loued lasse aduaunce, Or

1. Goe little booke:
thy self present, As child whose
XX --> the president of noblesse and of cheualree (p.416, Epistle) But if that any aske thy name, Say thou wert base begot
XX --> the president of noblesse and of cheualree (p.416, Epistle)
2. begot with blame: For thy thereof thou takest shame. And

XX --> the president of noblesse and of cheualree (p.416, Epistle) ETC.
76. hem emong, All for thy casten too much of worlds care

MISPRINT --> All for they casten... (p.453, September 114) ETC.
83. with pleasaunce of thy vaine, Whereto thou list their

Piers --> IMPERSONAL REFERENCE (p. 457, October 23)
84. as thou gynst to sette thy notes in frame, O how the rurall

Piers --> Cuddie (p. 457, October 25)
85. him ere the more for thy? Or feedes him once the fuller by

Cuddie --> IMPERSONAL REFERENCE (p. 457, October 33) ETC.
104. pleasaunce mought thy fancie feede) Hearken awhile
[NARRATOR] --> Pan (p. 464, December 16)
105. Hearken awhile from
[NARRATOR] --> Pan (p. 464, December 17)
106. kydst not ene to cure
[NARRATOR] --> Colin (p. 465, December 93)
107. thou stil, and yet hast
y sore hart roote, Whose ranckling
[NARRATOR] --> Colin (p. 465, December 95)
108. Dare not to match thy pype with Tityrus hys styl, Nor
[NARRATOR] --> Reader? (p. 467, December Gloss)
109. and after hasted
120. of some iouisaunce?

Thy sommer prowde with

Thenot --> Colin (p. 460, November 3) TOTAL: 120 cases

Thy Muse to long slombreth in

| A. Subject: Indicative |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | yeare. But eft, when | ye count you freed from feare, Comes |
|  | Cuddie. Gynne, when | ye lyst, ye iolly shepheards twayne |
| 7. | pypes as ruthful, as | ye may. Ye wastefull woodes beare |
| 9. | my nightly cryes: : | ye heare apart, Let breake your |
| B. Subject: Indicative: SVI |  |  |
| 2. | Violet. Tell me, haue | ye seene her angelick face, Like |
| C. Subject: Indicative: Apposition |  |  |
|  | royall aray: And now | ye daintie Damsells may depart |
|  | as ruthful, as ye may. | Ye wastefull woodes beare witnesse |
|  | oftentimes resound: | Ye carelesse byrds are priuie to my |
| D. Subject: Imperative: SVI |  |  |
|  | downes abyde, Waile | ye this wofull waste of natures |
| E. Object |  |  |
|  | lette me in your folds | ye lock, Ere the breme Winter breede |
| F. Vocative: Apposition |  |  |
|  | loued sheepe, Adieu | ye Woodes that oft my witnesse |
| G. Vocative: Imperative: Apposition |  |  |
|  | to goe: Then ryse | ye blessed flocks, and home apace |
|  | Gynne, when ye lyst, | ye iolly shepheards twayne: Sike a |
| 8. | woe: Helpe me, | ye banefull byrds, whose shrieking |
|  | dust ygoe. Sing now | ye shepheards daughters, sing no moe |
|  | herse, Make hast | ye shepheards, thether to reuert, O |
| 13. | ouercast. Now leaue | ye shepheards boyes your merry glee |
|  | does hast. Gather | ye together my little flocke, My |
|  | shepe there fedde. | Ye Gods of loue, that pitie louers |
|  | vnto the Waters fall. | Ye dayntye Nymphs, that in this |
|  | bene principall. | Ye shepheards daughters, that dwell |
|  | not, as I wish I were, | Ye gentle shepheards, which your |
| H. Gloss |  |  |
|  | of a Queenes roialty. | Ye daintie) is, as it were an Exordium |
| Referents |  |  |
|  | yeare. But eft, when | ye count you freed from feare, Comes |
| Thenot $->$ heardgroomes (p. 424, February 42) |  |  |
|  | Violet. Tell me, haue | ye seene her angelick face, Like |
| Hobbinol -> dayntye Nymphs (p. 432, April 64) |  |  |
|  | royall aray: And now | ye daintie Damsells may depart |
| Hobbinol -> daintie Damsells (p. 433, April 147) |  |  |
|  | to goe: Then ryse | ye blessed flocks, and home apace |
| Hobbinol -> blessed flocks (p. 442, June 118) |  |  |
|  | Cuddie. Gynne, when | ye lyst, ye iolly shepheards twayne |
| Cuddie -> ye iolly shepheards twayne (p.449, August 51) |  |  |
|  | Gynne, when ye lyst, | ye iolly shepheards twayne: Sike a |
| Cuddie -> ye iolly shepheards twayne (p.449, August 51) |  |  |
|  | pypes as ruthful, as | ye may. Ye wastefull woodes beare |
| Cuddie -> Willy, Perigot (p. 450, August 150) |  |  |
|  | woe: Helpe me, | ye banefull byrds, whose shrieking |
| Cuddie -> banefull byrds (p. 450, August 173) |  |  |
|  | my nightly cryes: : | ye heare apart, Let breake your |
| Cuddie -> Nightingale (p. 450, August 188) |  |  |
|  | downes abyde, Waile | ye this wofull waste of natures |
| Colin -> Shepheards (p. 461, November 64) |  |  |
|  | dust ygoe. Sing now | ye shepheards daughters, sing no moe |
| Colin -> shepheards daughters (p. 461, November 77) |  |  |
|  | herse, Make hast | ye shepheards, thether to reuert, O |
|  | shepheards (p.462, N |  |


| 13. ouercast. Now leaue | ye shepheards boyes your merry glee |
| :---: | :---: |
| Colin -> shepheards boyes (p. 466, December 139) |  |
| 14. does hast. Gather | ye together my little flocke, My |
| Colin -> my little flocke (p. 466, December 145) |  |
| 15. lette me in your folds | ye lock, Ere the breme Winter breede |
| Colin -> my little flocke (p. 466, December 147) |  |
| 16. loued sheepe, Adieu | ye Woodes that oft my witnesse |
| Colin -> Woodes (p. 466, December 154) |  |
| 17. shepe there fedde. | Ye Gods of loue, that pitie louers |
| Colin -> Gods of loue (p. 421, January 13) |  |
| 18. vnto the Waters fall. | Ye dayntye Nymphs, that in this |
| Hobbinol -> dayntye Nymphs (p. 432, April 38) |  |
| 19. bene principall. | Ye shepheards daughters, that dwell |
| Hobbinol -> shepheards daughters (p. 433, April 129) |  |
| 20. of a Queenes roialty. | Ye daintie) is, as it were an Exordium |
| [Gloss] |  |
| 21. not, as I wish I were, | Ye gentle shepheards, which your |
| Colin -> gentle shepheards (p.442, June 106) |  |
| 22. as ruthful, as ye may. | Ye wastefull woodes beare witnesse |
| Cuddie -> wastefull woodes (p. 450, August 151) |  |
| 23. oftentimes resound: | Ye carelesse byrds are priuie to my |
| Cuddie -> carelesse byrds (p.450, August 153) |  |


| A. Subject |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | flew Theocritus, as | you may perceiue he was all ready |
| 4. | gifts of learning, as | you can, and shield with your good |
|  | with your good wil, as | you ought, against the malice and |
|  | ETC. <br> bewray least part) <br> TOTAL: 23 casew | You heare all night, when nature |
| B. Subject: Apposition |  |  |
|  | So loytring liue | you little heardgroomes, Keeping |
| C. Subject: Imperative: SVI |  |  |
|  | or profitable, be | you iudge, mine own good Maister |
| D. Subject: Small-clause analysis |  |  |
|  | With mourning pyne I, | you with pyning mourne. A thousand |
| E. Object |  |  |
|  | the Author vnto | you, as vnto his most special good |
|  | and my selfe vnto | you both, as one making singuler |
|  | so choise frends, I bid ETC. | you both most hartely farwel, and |
|  | breme Winter breede TOTAL: 16 cases | you greater griefe. Winter is come |
| F. Object: Apposition |  |  |
|  | Whose cause I pray | you Sir, yf Enuie shall stur vp any |
| G. Vocative: Apposition |  |  |
|  | on the greene, hye | you there apace: Let none come there |
|  | yt is already donne. | You naked trees, whose shady leaues |
| H. Vocative: Imperative: Apposition |  |  |
|  | my request: And eke | you Virgins, that on Parnasse dwell |
| ??? |  |  |
|  | Submitting me to | you good sufferance, And praying to |

## Referents



| Lambes, that by | you trace. Colins Embleme. Gia |
| :---: | :---: |
| Hobbinol -> blessed flocks (p. 442, June 120) |  |
| 34. my thought: Wil. so | you may buye gold to deare. Per. But |
| Willye -> Perigot (p.449, August 108) |  |
| 35. be the priefe. Per. And | you, that sawe it, simple shepe, Wil |
| Perigot -> simple shepe (p.450, August 117) |  |
| 36. Colin made, ylke can I | you rehearse. Perigot. Now say it |
| Cuddie -> shepheards (p. 450, August 142) |  |
| 37. bred her woe: And | you that feele now owe, : : when as |
| Cuddie -> Nightingale (p. 450, August 187) |  |
| 38. pypes shepheards, til | you be at home: The night nigheth |
| Cuddie -> shepheards (p.451, August 194) |  |
| 39. shepheards swayne | you cannot wel ken, But it be by his |
| Diggon -> IMPERSONAL REFERENCE (p. 453, September 42) |  |
| 40. For such encheason, If | you goe nye, Fewe chymneis reeking |
| Diggon -> IMPERSONAL REFERENCE (p.453, September 116) |  |
| 41. chymneis reeking | you shall espye: The fatte Oxe, that |
| Diggon -> IMPERSONAL REFERENCE (p.453, September 117) |  |
| 42. breme Winter breede | you greater griefe. Winter is come |
| Colin -> my little flocke (p.466, December 148) |  |
| 43. yt is already donne. | You naked trees, whose shady leaues |
| Colin -> naked trees (p.422, January 31) |  |
| 44. sunne laugheth once, | You deemen, the Spring is come |
| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p.424, February 38) |  |
| 45. made of greene corne, | You thinken to be Lords of the yeare |
| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p. 424, February 41) |  |
| 46. suggestion. Embleme | You remember, that in the fyrst |
| [Gloss] |  |
| 47. bewray least part) | You heare all night, when nature |
| Cuddie -> banefull byrds (p.450, August 177) |  |
| YOUR |  |
|  | your worthinesse generally, and |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 418, Epistle) |  |
| 2. defend with | your mighty Rhetorick and other your |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 3. Rhetorick and other | your rare gifts of learning, as you |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 418, Epistle) |  |
| 4. can, and shield with | your good wil, as you ought, against |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 418, Epistle) |  |
| 5. and commit you and | your most commendable studies to |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 6. that vpon sight of | your speciall frends and fellow Poets |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 7. sonne, and also | your selfe, in smoothering your |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 418, Epistle) |  |
| 8. selfe, in smoothering | your deserued prayses, and all men |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 418, Epistle) |  |
| 9. might conceiue of | your gallant English verses, as they |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 10. haue already doen of | your Latine Poemes, which in my |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 11. remaine, And bowe | your eares vnto my dolefull dittie |
| Colin -> Gods of Love (p. 421, January 16) |  |
| 12. ... ossomes, wherewith | your buds did flowre: I see your |
| Colin -> naked trees (p.422, January 34) |  |
| 13. buds did flowre: I see | your teares, that from your boughes |
| Colin -> naked trees (p.422, January 35) |  |
| 14. your teares, that from | your boughes doe raine, Whose drops |
| Colin -> naked trees (p.422, January 35) |  |
| 15. teares descend, As on | your boughes the ysicles depend |
| Colin -> naked trees (p.422, January 42) |  |
| 16. ... ardgroomes, Keeping | your beastes in the budded broomes |


| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p. 424, February 36) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 17. the harte. Then is | your carelesse corage accoied, Your |
| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p. 424, February 47) |  |
| 18. paye you the price of | your surquedrie, With weeping, and |
| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p. 424), February 49 |  |
| 19. Pleaseth you ponder | your Suppliants plaint, Caused of |
| Thenot -> my liege Lord, the God of my life (p. 425, February 151) |  |
| 20. constraint, Which I | your poore Vassall dayly endure: And |
| Thenot -> my liege Lord, the God of my life (p. 425, February 153) |  |
| 21. dayly endure: And but | your godnes the same recure, Am like |
| Thenot -> my liege Lord, the God of my life (p. 425, February 154) |  |
| 22. That bene the honor of | your Coronall. And oft he lets his |
| Thenot $\rightarrow$ m my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all (p. 425, February 178) |  |
| 23. such outrage, Crauing | your goodlihead to aswage The |
| Thenot -> my soueraigne, Lord of creatures all (p. 425, February 184) |  |
| 24. Brooke doe bathe | your brest, Forsake your watry |
| Hobbinol -> daynte Nymphs (p.432, April 39) |  |
| 25. your brest, Forsake | your watry bowres, and hether looke |
| Hobbinol -> daynte Nymphs (p.432, April 40) |  |
| 26. Of fayre Elisa be | your siluer song, that blessed wight |
| Hobbinol -> Elisa (p. 432, April 48) |  |
| 27. is in place, See, that | your rudenesse doe not you disgrace |
| Hobbinol -> ye shepheards daughters (p. 433, April 132) |  |
| 28. you disgrace: Binde | your fillets faste, And gird in your |
| Hobbinol -> ye shepheards daughters (p.433, April 133) |  |
| 29. faste, And gird in | your waste, For more finesse, with a |
| Hobbinol -> ye shepheards daughters (p.433, April 134) |  |
| 30. feare, I haue troubled | your troupes to longe: Let dame Eliza |
| Hobbinol -> ye daintie Damsells (p.433, April 149) |  |
| 31. studies. Binde | your) Spoken rudely, and according to |
| [Gloss] |  |
| 32. I espye, And keepe | your corpse from the carefull |
| Piers -> good young maister (=Kidd) (p.438, May 257) |  |
| 33. But I be relieued by | your beastlyhead. I am a poore |
| Piers -> Kidd (p. 438, May 265) |  |
| 34. sybbe to you: So be | your goodlihead doe not disdayne The |
| Piers -> Kidd (p. 438, May 270) |  |
| 35. then I you pray, With | your ayd to forstall my neere decay |
| Piers -> Kidd (p. 438, May 273) |  |
| 36. shepheards, which | your flocks do feede, Whether on |
| Collin -> ye gentle shepheards (p.442, June 106) |  |
| 37. you forsloe, And wett | your tender Lambes, that by you |
| Hobbinol -> Collin (p. 442, June 120) |  |
| 38. heauy laye, And tune | your pypes as ruthful, as ye may. Ye |
| Cuddie -> Willy, Perigot (p. 450, August 150) |  |
| 39. to my cryes, Which in | your songs were wont to make a part |
| Cuddie -> birds (p. 450, August 154) |  |
| 40. Increase, so let | your yrksome yells augment. Thus all |
| Cuddie -> birds (p. 450, August 178) |  |
| 41. apart, Let breake | your sounder sleepe: : and pitie |
| Cuddie -> Nightingale (p. 450, August 189) |  |
| 42. Shepheards, that by | your flocks on Kentish downes abyde |
| Colin -> shepheards (p. 461, November 63) |  |
| 43. into weeping turne | your wanton layes, O heauie herse |
| Colin -> ye shepheards daughters (p.461, November 79) |  |
| 44. ye shepheards boyes | your merry glee, My Muse is hoarse |
| Colin -> ye shepheards boyes (p. 466, December 139) |  |
| 45. Let me, ah lette me in | your folds ye lock, Ere the breme |
| Colin -> my little flock (p.466, December 147) |  |
| 46. of the greatest. | Your owne assuredly to be |
| E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p.418, Epistle) |  |
| 47. corage accoied, | Your carefull heards with cold bene |
| Thenot -> heardgroomes (p. 424, February 48) |  |
| 48. Ladies of learning. | Your siluer song) seemeth to imitate |

[Gloss]
49. should it not yshen

Cuddie -> shepherds (p. 450, August 140)
50. English poemes of
E.K. -> Maister Haruey (p. 419, Epistle)

Your roundels fresh, to heare a
yours, which lye hid, and bring them

*     *         * 


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ For some individual references of the examples in our tables (with concordance line and edition page), see our annex II.

[^1]:    1 'Apparently', because there may be pragmatic (at least) reasons for some of the uses of thy and your. See C. Calvo (1992 and this volume), T. Fanego (this volume), and also S. González (forthcoming).

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ The full range of data is excessively long to be reproduced in full here, hence that a sampling of each list is offered. Actually, there are 286 TH - forms and 120 Y - forms, totalling 406 2nd person pronominal forms.

