

Early Modern English Trade Correspondence

The Variation of Three Linguistic Features in 16th-Century Written Correspondence from the York Merchants Adventurers Guild



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10-07-2014

Abstract

This thesis observes the variation of three distinct linguistic features in correspondence of the York Merchant Adventurers Guild between 1530 and 1580; variation of *ye/you* in subject position, the third person singular suffix (3SG) *-s/-th/-zero* and multiple/single negation. These findings are contrasted with previous research on similar features, particularly that of Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence. The gradual change of these features during the Early Modern English period concerns the change of *ye* to *you* in subject position, the change from 3SG form *-th* to *-s* as a supralocal form and the decline of multiple negation. A comparison is made between variation in letters from York and those from London in order to gain more insight into the local variation between these features. One major issue addressed by this thesis is the lack of information on this data, hence the problem of bad data is discussed.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to express my thanks to my BA thesis supervisor Prof. Anita Auer. Without your assistance and involvement throughout the process, this BA thesis would have never been accomplished. I would also like to thank you for showing patience and understanding when I was not able to work for a while due to personal circumstances. Additionally, you have motivated me to specialize in historical sociolinguistics by your enthusiastic and in-depth teachings. Allowing me to write my thesis within the Emerging Standards project and being an intern were great opportunities and I'm very grateful.

Dr. Marcelle Cole has been very supportive and motivating as well. Thank you for your great enthusiasm in your courses and your useful and open advice. Your aid outside of classes: writing a letter of recommendation, offering a last minute internship and helping me structure and manage the amount of content for my thesis, it is all very much appreciated.

Tamara Peeters has been very involved in my thesis writing. From the beginning you have been very eager to provide me with feedback and help out where possible. Attending conferences together in the past year has been very motivating and those last few days before the thesis deadline you have helped me to stay focused. Thank you!

I also want to thank the rest of my project colleagues, Moragh Gordon, Mike Olson and Femke van Hilten for helping out wherever needed and just being generally good company.

Time to thank my friends, who have been very understanding during those times I did not have time for them as well as being great distractions when I felt over encumbered

by work. Emma Deutekom, Toon Coppes, Jori Snels, Wivine Teuling, Jessica Hornstra, Mike Vijzelaar and Maaïke de Leeuw. Thank you, you guys are awesome!

I also want to thank my overseas friends, who have been very motivating and encouraging over our many Skype sessions. Cecilia Gazelius Skedinger, Thomas, Mattias and Johanna Ohlson, Sebastian Stenzl, Simone Trupia and Stuart Lengden. Tack så mycket!

Willeke van der Kallen, Imke Stevens, Kwinten Koëter, Johanna Rovers, Sanne Jongeleen, Sujin Kim and Suze Stuurman, thank you for helping me get through my BA degree by doing projects together, sitting through lectures and studying together for finals.

I want to thank my family. Thank you for all the years of support and continuing to believe in me. It means a lot and it is amazing to have such massive support from all of you. Especially Shari Schmidt, for always being there to listen to my worries and cheering me up with photos of my godchild. And Ilona Alders for always being there and taking care of me like one of her own children.

Lastly, I want to thank my mother, Sinie Klomp, for always having intellectually challenged me throughout my life. I am sure you would have been really proud of me.

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1 Introduction

The York Merchant Adventurers Guild (YMAG) was one of the most influential guilds in overseas trade from the late Middle Ages onwards. Especially between roughly 1300 and 1800 this guild was in extensive business contact with officials in London, Norwich and even foreign countries, such as the Low Countries. The growing trade activities in York from the 14th century onwards caused a major influx of merchants into York and consequently it became a regional urban center. Due to its significant growth it is generally assumed that the urban vernaculars used in York, influenced the emerging standardization. For example, during this time we see the distinct Northern feature third person singular suffix *-s* gradually becoming the supralocal form near the end of the 17th century. During this period a strong contrast can be seen with regards to language variation between the regional centers of York and London, thus it would be interesting to see whether merchant correspondence from both cities reflects this contrast. Based on a York and London dataset, both compiled from YMAG correspondence, this thesis aims to provide better insight into the use of three linguistic features which experienced significant change during the 16th century and seeks to contrast these findings to previous research by Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). These linguistic features include the variation between *ye* and *you* in subject position, variation between third person singular forms *-th*, *-s* and *-zero*, and the decline of negative concord in merchant correspondence between 1530 and 1580.

First, historical background information will be given on the proceedings of the YMAG and their influence on English trade. In the second section, contains a short description of the compilation of the two datasets and criteria for the selection of included

letters. In addition, this section discusses the corpus used by Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). The selection of transcriptions of the letters, the choice of letters and the influence of geographical mobility on these writings will be discussed as well. The results are presented based on each feature and are contrasted with previous studies. Based on the diachronic changes, several theories will be proposed with regards to any specific change.

2 Historical Background

2.1 Founding of the York Merchant Adventurers Guild

The York Merchant Adventurers' Guild was founded in 1357 as a religious and social mystery, the fraternity of the Blessed Mary. The fraternity itself was already active before the inauguration by King Edward III (1327-1377), however this date marks their official existence as a guild which combined religious, business and social favors for its members. The guild had a religious background and was founded "in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Mary." (Sellers 1918: iv) It was not uncommon for medieval guilds to honor their saints by providing extra religious services in the guild, as well as masses and prayer to honor their deceased members (Johnston & Rogerson 1979: 14).

Initially, the guild welcomed craftsmen from the countryside such as dryers, drapers, representatives of the wool industry and hosiers, though later on the guild favored urban citizens (Sellers 1918: iv). Following the establishment of the guild, the plans for the construction of a guildhall were issued in the same year. This building consisted of a hospital, a chapel and a meeting hall and was finished in 1568. The hospital was built three years after the founding of the guild, when the King had granted a second deed, which allowed the merchants to expand their area of work and build the hospital. In addition, the guild had acquired property in Walmgate, Castlegate, the parish of St. Denis and Fishergate (Sellers 1918: vii). As mentioned before, much attention was paid to religious practice, as the presence of the chapel suggests, as well as the fact that priests were paid to pray for both guild members and the royal family. Members of the guild benefited greatly from its perks. Institutional care was available to members and there are records of members receiving a pension after retiring. The guild even funded graves for

members who passed away (Kermode 1988: 102).

These perks caused many women to join their husbands in membership; in total 68 merchants and their wives joined the guild (Kermode: 19). During the first four years the guild had become very popular and it started to attract merchants from nearby cities such as Hull, Newcastle and Whitby. The guild provided the merchants with a decent income, distinguishing them from other townsfolk such as craftsmen and ordinary citizens. Wills show a much higher amount of valuable possessions among the members of the YMAG, ranging from silver bowls and tapestries to featherbeds and bejeweled religious images (Kermode: 19). From 1420 onwards the guild had downsized in the number of craftsmen and mainly contained merchants and mercers. In 1430 the guild was formally established with royal authorization under its common name, which is the York Merchant Adventurers Guild. As a fully established merchant guild, the group could focus more on trade instead of the religious and social aspects. In addition, this royal authorization was an effective way to establish a difference in importance of the YMAG as opposed to other smaller guilds and mysteries (Sellers 1918: xv).

2.2 Influence of the York Merchant Adventurers Guild on National Trade

The York Merchant Adventurer's Guild played a large role within the trade industry of England during the Early Modern period. The main profit throughout the course of the 14th century came from wool trade, which was later succeeded by cloth trade. One of England's most fruitful contacts was with the Low Countries, which was considered one of the largest textile manufacturers in Europe (Kermode 1998: 159). As a consequence, England's booming wool economy started to attract an increasing amount of foreign

traders, who came to the North of England to compete with the English merchants. The county of Yorkshire reportedly harbored the largest group of merchants during that time, even outnumbering those in Bristol and London (Kermode: 160). At the same time this influx of foreigners caused a loss of profits for native merchants and as a result the Crown increased control over the wool export in 1326. In order to support local merchants, York was assigned to be one of eleven home staples (Kermode: 160). This system safeguarded the York merchants and attempted to exclude foreign traders from exporting. In 1337 English merchants gained a monopoly on the wool trade when King Edward III (1327-1377) urged the merchants to invest in wool, based on a loan during the Hundred Year War. The King's plan to raise funds for war through the wool trade was extremely disadvantageous for Yorkshire merchants as increased smuggling activities, taxes and the extra share paid to the King left many merchants making losses rather than profit (Kermode: 162). During the early 15th century the cloth trade gradually gained profit over wool export. Although the wool trade had become less favorable, a few York merchants had still managed to gain wealth through wool stapling. Even around the beginning of the 15th century, wool was still being traded along the increasingly popular cloth trade.

Cloth had a favorable position, as the local textile manufacturing industry was growing due to the limitation of foreign import imposed from 1337 onwards (Kermode: 170). The cloth trade was more easily accessible to a larger group of merchants as this also included trade within the stages of textile production. Moreover, cloth could also be traded for precious goods such as wine and woad (Kermode: 171). Especially in the Yorkshire area the textile industry had expanded rapidly. During the 15th century the

trade scope of the English merchants had diminished; their trade was mainly restricted to the Low Countries and France in the early 15th century and later expanded to the Baltic region through the Hanseatic league, Spain and Portugal (Kermode: 173, 180). The merchants traded several types of cloth; broadcloths, straits and worsteds. These names refer to different sizes of cloths. Although the cloth trade was rather successful, many merchants started to trade in a wider amount of goods. Combining trade in cloth, wine, lead and other luxury goods started to become more common amongst merchants (Kermode: 180).

3 Method & Materials

3.1 The YMAG Letter Collection

In order to investigate these three linguistic features, two datasets were compiled of roughly equal word count. Due to factors described below, the choice was made to form two datasets with data from England which still describe two completely different areas. Since London and York are both urban areas which rapidly grew in size during the Early Modern period, these were considered viable options. Hence two datasets were compiled, the first containing 13 letters from York (see Appendix A) and another containing 11 letters from London (see Appendix B). The datasets range from 1530 to 1580 and contain a total of 24 letters, or 7,236 words. For this selection a few important factors were taken into consideration:

1. Length of the text

In order to have a clear understanding of the use of the three linguistic features in the letters on a diachronic level, it is of importance to ensure that the word count of the datasets is not extremely skewed. Although the results can be normalized per timeframe, the total word count of each dataset should be roughly equal.

2. Dating

The data contained in the corpus will be divided into ten-year intervals in order to see whether any clear changes occur on a diachronic level. Any letters which were not properly dated, either due to a missing date or illegibility have not been included in the corpus. There is one exception to these, which will be discussed in a different subchapter.

3. Author

Multiple letters which were written by the same author are of particular interest as they can show variety within his/her writings. Especially various letters written over time might show interesting changes in an individual's writing pattern.

4. Status and location

While selecting the letters suitable for the corpus, the difference in writing already suggests that government officials tend to have a much more concise style of writing which contains more collocations and formulas. This will be explained in more detail in the results section. Furthermore, the location where the letter was written is also of importance. Not all letters in the collection were written by merchants from the YMAG. However, the contrast between the York merchants and those from London might reveal interesting findings.

The datasets were compiled from five letter collections containing YMAG correspondence. These were arranged by city, or case; the Easterlings, for example, contains the correspondence based on a legal matter pertaining merchants from the Low Countries, whereas the London collection concerns correspondence with individuals from the city of London. Consequently, the York letters have been taken from several different letter collections¹ which contained material from a roughly similar time period. The London letters were mainly selected from the London collection, however a few additional ones have been taken from the Hamburg, Easterlings and Antwerp collections. Although little diversity in text type can be observed, the contents of the collections are noticeably diverse. Almost all letters concern formal correspondence between the YMAG

¹ The Antwerp, Easterlings, Hamburg and London collections

and the government officials of other cities. The available data had already been transcribed by the Emerging Standards project for the purpose of linguistic analysis and were possible cross-checked with earlier editions.

Dating of the Letters

The majority of the letters were dated by their authors. Several different formulas were used to indicate the date, for example:

- (1) "Thus commytting you to the twcione of allmyghtye god ffrome yorke thys vijth day of Novembre **1560**, " (York DS)
- (2) "At the said Citie of yorke this secund day of Octobre, *anno*, **1563**, and Seallyd with *our* Comon Seall" (York DS)
- (3) "Thus fare ye hartelie well from london the 3 of februarye **1573**" (London DS)

One of the letters within the York dataset was particularly challenging to date, since the date was not mentioned in the text. Though further inspection revealed it was a response to one of the letters in the London dataset, its date must be somewhere between 1576 and 1578. All letters without clear dating have been omitted from the datasets.

Influence of Geographical Mobility

Geographical mobility forms an issue in analyzing the data. A clear distinction has to be made between traveling authors and native authors. Many of the letters which are used in this study have been written in different countries or places, such as Antwerp, Norwich and Danzig. A small number of merchants were occasionally traveling abroad and some

of them even bought property in the places they frequented (Kermode 1998: 169). In order to make foreign trade more secure, the YMAG had arranged a mechanism that allowed merchants to send a servant abroad to arrange business for them there. However, these servant constructions often ended up in fraudulent affairs, which caused some merchants to permanently move abroad to arrange their own business and sometimes that of friends and family. It was not uncommon for these merchants to end up in marriage with a foreign bride. When the merchants died, their bodies were often buried in their last place of residence (Kermode 1998: 210). Government officials such as governors and deputies were most likely long-term local residents, though the letters written by individuals without such a title are conspicuous. Hence the decision was made to not include the overseas letters into the datasets as time constraints on this thesis did not allow for extensive research into the background of these individuals.

3.2 Previous Research on Contemporary Letter Collections

As mentioned previously, this thesis seeks to compare findings of three linguistic features with those of Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). For their analysis, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg used the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC)*. The CEEC corpus was compiled in order to "facilitate sociolinguistic research into the history of English" (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2011, August 29) and contains data from 1410 to 1681. The corpus consists of 2.7 million words, or 6,036 letters respectively. With regards to genre, the corpus consists of a wide selection of genres ranging from official to more private. Although levels of literacy amongst the lower classes formed a challenge, the corpus has been compiled with decent social coverage in mind and thus contains

letters from as many social strata as possible, as well as a broad age range and 20% letters were written by women (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2011, August 29). Moreover, for diachronic change in individual's writing the corpus contains at least 10 letters per individual. These factors allowed Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg to conduct real time analysis which is similarly reliable to modern sociolinguistics studies (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 43).

3.3 Historical Publications on the YMAG

Although no previous linguistic research has been conducted on this particular letter collection, there are a number of publications on the historical aspects of these letters. Bisset's (1991) MA thesis concerns the writings of James Hutchinson Junior, a merchant of the YMAG who shipped cargo from Danzig to Koenigsberg. Despite the fact that her study is primarily a general overview of this individual and his business, Bisset does make some interesting observations with regard to Hutchinson's stylistic features, the variability in his letters and his level of literacy. Moreover, her study discusses merchant lexicon, which is of particular interest as well. Bisset notes the following about Hutchinson's writing: "[...] he could write well enough to express his thoughts, often with some cogency, there are inconsistencies of spelling and phraseology" (28).

Other historical publications on the York Merchant Adventurers Guild include the *York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917* by Sellers (1918), *Records of Early English Drama* edited by Johnston & Rogerson (1979) and *Medieval Merchants* by Kermode (1998). *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917* contains in

depth background on the YMAG including its founding and relevant trade history. Especially the founding of the YMAG has been thoroughly described, including financial figures of the guild and the amount of members throughout the years and the estate which they owned. Sellers' work also includes many transcriptions from the YMAG letter collections which were used to cross-check the transcriptions used in this study. *The Records of Early English Drama* York volume contains quite some information on York up to the late 17th century. The hierarchical structure of the city is discussed and a long list of records from several religious and crafting guilds are included. The York merchants are also briefly mentioned in this section.

Kermode's *Medieval Merchants* concerns a broader group of merchants, though still contains quite some information about the YMAG. Her main focus is the group of Merchants which bartered in York, Beverley and Hull. Kermode's work contains many in-depth sections on the trade economy in the northern region, the political influence of local merchants, as well as archaeological evidence and wills which provide a better understanding of the socio-economic status of the York merchants.

3.4 Issues Regarding Bad/Incomplete Data

A common problem within the field of (historical) sociolinguistics is working with so-called bad data². In previous studies many of issues related to bad data have been discussed (Moore 2002; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brundberg 2003; Schneider 2003; Hernández-Campy&Schilling 2012). Issues range from more general to quite context-specific and will be listed in order of importance. First of all, it should be noted that one

² As first discussed in Labov 1994: 10–11

general problem exists within the field of historical sociolinguistics, which is the credibility and “generalizability” (Hernández-Campoy & Shilling 2012: 63) of the data. In principle, the data can lead to valid claims, however, these will always be contested with an amount of troubling factors. This phenomenon has been thoroughly investigated by Hernández-Campoy & Schilling (2012), who argue that this issue consists of several aspects: representativeness, empirical validity, invariation, authenticity, authorship, social and historical validity and standard ideology (63).

Representativeness is problematic within the field due to the fact that a lack of oral data forces researchers to analyze written material instead. The methods used in historical sociolinguistics were initially taken from the sociolinguistic field, which are based on observing phonological change using spoken rather than written language. It is the task of the researcher to take into account the limitations of the written word to represent the spoken word to such extent that its variation is weighted in a credible fashion. Schneider (2003) calls this phenomenon the *Principal of Filter Removal*; the linguist has to remove the filter of the written word and reconstruct the speech patterns as accurately as possible (68). The question whether this written data is in any way representative of the spoken word is highly conspicuous. The process of filter removal is useable for text types which are more closely related to the spoken word, i.e. informal letters, trial records or a recalled speech event. According to Schneider, a text needs to comply with four requirements to be representative for variationist analysis:

- 1 Texts should be as close to speech, and especially vernacular styles, as possible (Montgomery 1997a: 227). This condition largely excludes formal and literary writing - such texts may be of marginal interest, but, being shaped by

prescriptive traditions and conventions, they normally display categorical, invariant usage and fail to reflect natural speech behavior and associated processes. Notably, this is at odds with the esteem attributed to texts in related disciplines; typically, we want 'documents often of no particular interest to scholars in any field but linguistics' (Montgomery 1997a: 227), so there is but limited support available, and not infrequently do variationist linguists use unedited, even manuscript sources, which may cause readability problems.[...]

2 To facilitate correlations with extralinguistic parameters, the texts should be of different origins, i.e. stem from several authors from different social classes, possibly also age groups, and both sexes, and should represent varying stylistic levels.

3 Texts must display variability of the phenomenon under investigation, i.e. the use of functionally equivalent variants of a linguistic variable.

4 With quantification being the staple methodology of variationism, texts must fulfill certain size requirements. There is no figure specifying any precise minimum number of words required - but usable texts must provide reasonably large token frequencies of individual variants, and they should (though need not) allow quantitative analyses of several phenomena, i.e. display variation in a wider range of linguistic phenomena. (71)

Based on these requirements, letter collections are a viable source for variationist analysis. In addition, Schneider argues that the works of semi-literate writers are more valuable than those more literate; like Moore (2002), this is mainly based on the argument of the low exposure to prestige norms. This study, however, seeks to compare the works

of literate and semi-literate writers to illustrate the use of common formula in the collection and to point out the difference in writing between social classes, especially between merchants and government officials. Although this comparison is, as pointed out by Schneider, not very suitable for quantitative analysis, it will be thoroughly discussed through a qualitative approach. It should be noted however, that analysis of the written word has a few advantages as well. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) argue that although the lack of spoken word should be taken into account, it also eliminates the observer's paradox which is a common issue within the field of sociolinguistics. Despite the fact that methods have been developed to bypass the paradox in spoken language, one of the central issues which has not been resolved so far is participants who dissimilate their unique language features when being interviewed, in order to converge their speech with the interviewer. In addition, unique colloquial features are often not used in the company of strangers. Thomason (2007) has observed this as well in her article about deliberate language change. She states that, "A different but still related motive seems to have been at work in a much less sweeping, but still very interesting, case of withholding – specifically, the withholding of a single phoneme in the presence of outsiders" (53). She also remarks that "in a sizable number of contact situations around the world, there is direct evidence that people have deliberately withheld their language from others, either by refusing to speak it to outsiders at all or by distorting it"(52). Working with written material circumvents this issue entirely.

In addition, the preservation of letters and documents written before the 19th century has been rather gender biased; the scale on which a conclusion can be made is highly dependent on the amount of data available. In this case however, it should be noted

that most of the data is not representative of an entire community. The amount of data which consists out of neatly written letters by men in a position of authority, and thus a higher socio-economic status, greatly outweighs the letters written by barely literate merchants. Two main reasons can be given for this occurrence; first of all, the choice of preservation. It may well be that in some cases the archive of the YMAG would favor the preservation of business correspondence over private correspondence. Moreover, the handwriting of the merchants is often more difficult to interpret than that of government officials. This proves a challenge in transcription and even causes a number of letters to be of no value to study as the full context cannot be reconstructed.

Empirical validity is another aspect of concern. Due to the fact that the social background of writers, as well as entire social environments, is hard to recover, the conclusions which can be drawn from the data are limited. Statistically, linguists require between 15-30 tokens per dependent variable in order to be credible. In addition, sociolinguist Labov claims that at least 0.025% of the population needs to be tested in order to establish a clear empirically valid result (qtd. in Hernández-Campoy & Schilling 2012: 67). Moreover, the preservation issue which has been mentioned previously causes many letter and document collections to be incomplete. It is not uncommon for a letter collection to contain at least a couple of letters which are illegible, heavily damaged or which have been copied at a later time. This last process can severely impact the credibility of the letter as changes made by the copier in spelling and words can cause the letter to lose its historical linguistic value. The lack of individual specific background information and partly incomplete letter collections contribute to a questionable outcome of results.

Invariance in historical data should not be generalized unless enough data is available. The main reason for this is that the English language was not fully standardized until the late 18th century and hence it was more common for writers to use variable spelling. In addition, it should not be forgotten that dialectal, sociological and even stylistic differences existed between writers, and even among one individual's writings.

The issues of authenticity and authorship partly overlap, as any uncertainty regarding the author of a letter also affects the authenticity of the piece of data. Especially during the Middle English period not many people were able to write and in private correspondence it often occurred that the letter was written by an amanuensis and signed by the addresser (Moore 2002: 4; Schneider 2003: 76; Hernández-Campoy & Schilling 2012: 68). It might very well be that the dialectal differences of the addresser and the scribe might mix during the composition of the letter and thus it is challenging to determine which features were part of the addresser's grammatical features.

Not much is known of the division in social standard in the period 1400-1700 which creates the issue of social and historical validity. When stratifying data according to social status, it should be taken into account that there is variability in the weight and order of these statuses over the period of time. However, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 26) argue that "extensive background reading and good philological work" can greatly contribute to use bad data in a useful fashion. In addition, the level of literacy contributes to this issue, since the amount of individuals who were capable of both reading and writing are not representative for the entire English population. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg conclude that the main material which is accessible from this time period has been written by upper- and middle-class male authors. It should

always be noted that possible patterns of variation are hence not representative of the population of an entire regiolect (27).

Despite the existence of these issues it is still possible to observe incomplete data such as this YMAG letter collection. The data available is subject to a couple of restrictions such as illegibility and originality (i.e. copied letters) which had to be minimalized to such an extent that the majority of data used for the corpus is carefully transcribed and original. Naturally, a conclusion based on a quantitative analysis of this dataset becomes increasingly complicated due to these issues. However, since the amount of useable data is relatively small, a qualitative approach has been chosen to thoroughly observe any remarkable linguistic phenomena.

4 Linguistic Features

4.1 Ye/You Variation

One important shift during the Early Modern English period was a change in the use of second person singular pronouns. During the Middle English period, the second person plural subject form *ye* came to be used in the singular as well as the second person singular subject pronoun *thou*, although *thou* was used for informal usage and *ye* as a formal singular. It should be noted however that since *ye* was the nominative form, it mainly occurred in subject position. In addition due to the disappearance of case contrast *you*, initially the accusative form, replaced *ye* in subject position. The increased use of *you* over *ye* developed gradually and over a time span of roughly 200 years it became the dominant variant (Lass 2000:148; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 60, Auer & Withoos 2013: 142). It is noteworthy that the datasets relevant to this study contain data from 1530-1580, which according to Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's study, is the most distinctive period where use in these variants shifted the most.

Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 60) claim the shift from subject pronoun *ye* to *you* was related to the disappearance of case contrast in the English language; since both these forms had the same weak forms, the assumption is that they were phonologically confused and hence used interchangeably. Their results show a typical S-curve according to the model which is generally used to describe language change in sociolinguistics. It describes a pattern where a certain feature is introduced and increases in use slowly, followed by a sudden exponential growth and gradually slowing down until it has reached its final stage. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg investigated the time span between 1410 and 1619. According to their results, the period of increased innovation

was between 1480 and 1599 after which it gradually became the norm in 1660-1719. As mentioned above, the data pertaining to this study is dated within this steep curve and hence could show interesting variation.

Another previous study conducted by Auer & Withoos (2013) investigates the variation of *ye/you* amongst other features in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, a play by London playwright Thomas Dekker which was written in 1600. Auer & Withoos assume that the distinction between new subject variant *you* and old subject variant *thou* became blurred during the 16th century. This caused *you* to copy the function of *thou* and hence subject variant *you* began to compete with variant *ye* in subject position (146). Their data show a 97.7% of *you* tokens found in all socio-economic layers present in the play, as opposed to 2.3% *ye* tokens. Unfortunately, they were not able to discover a pattern in the use of *ye*, since the amount of tokens was minimal (4 *ye* tokens against 173 *you* tokens). Although the play dates from the beginning of the 17th century, this study is still of interest to this thesis; it shows the continuation of *ye/you* variation in subject position in the London area specifically. Similar findings in the current study could lead to interesting implications.

4.1.1 Data analysis

If we now turn to the results of this thesis: the most variation could be found between *ye* and *you*. It should be noted that aside from *ye* and *you* tokens, an alternative spelling variation was found, namely *yow*. Further analysis suggests that this is a spelling variant of *you*, as it also occurs in object position, whereas *ye* rarely does. Consequently, *you* and *yow* findings have been merged. The two variants would occur in the following manner:

(4) " what **ye** shall do for vs therin, we shall not onely affyrme the same to be our fact and deed[...]" (York DS)

(5) "and also wher **you** wrytt that by Report and other knowleg \had/ from Flussyng[...]" (York DS)

The results were stratified according to 10 year intervals in order to emphasize the gradual decline of *ye* during this time.

| Timespan | Ye | You |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| 1530-1540 | 3.2 (74%) | 1.1 (26%) |
| 1541-1550 | 0 | 0 |
| 1551-1560 | 7.6 (66.6%) | 3.8 (33.3%) |
| 1561-1570 | 3 (42%) | 4.1 (58%) |
| 1571-1580 | 1 (14%) | 6.1 (86%) |
| Total | 14.8 (51%) | 14.1 (49%) |

Table 4.1 Combined findings *ye/you*³ variation in subject position in York and London YMAG datasets.⁴

Table 4.1 shows a gradual decrease of *ye* in subject position. Although the independent amount of *ye* tokens does not seem to diminish significantly, the contrast between the amount of *you* tokens is quite striking; 74% *ye* in 1530-1540, which is reduced to 14% between 1571 and 1580. These findings show a similar trend to previous studies by Nevalainen & Raumonlin-Brunberg (2003) and Auer & Withoos (2013). According to Nevalainen & Raumonlin-Brunberg, the distribution of *you* was approximately 40% during the period 1520-1559 and increased to a little over 90% during 1560-1599 (60)⁵. A closer

³ In the letters from the period between 1541- 1550 no instances of second person pronouns occurred.

⁴ Data was normalized by 1000 words.

⁵ Percentages contrasted with the distribution of *ye*.

look at the distribution between the York and London datasets might explain these differences.

The variation between the York and London region seems worth mentioning; there is significant variation in the use of *ye*, however it should be noted that the London dataset included a letter from 1530, which contained a relatively high amount of *ye* tokens.

| York | Ye | You |
|---------------|-----------|------------|
| 1551-1560 | 7.6 (70%) | 3.8 (30%) |
| 1561-1570 | 1.3 (34%) | 2.5 (66%) |
| 1571-1580 | 0 (0%) | 5.4 (100%) |
| London | | |
| 1530-1540 | 3.2 (74%) | 1.1 (26%) |
| 1561-1570 | 4.4 (44%) | 5.5 (56%) |
| 1571-1580 | 3 (30%) | 6.8 (70%) |

Table 4.2 Distribution of *ye* and *you* variation in subject position found in letters from York and London YMAG datasets.⁶

Auer & Withoos (2013) report a 97.7% use of *you* against 2.3% *ye* in the *Shoemaker's Holiday* written in London in 1600. In contrast, this thesis found an 70% use of *you* in the London dataset during the period of 1571-1580, which is slightly lower than their findings. Although it should be mentioned that we are dealing with a 20 year discrepancy between the findings of Auer & Withoos and current thesis. Additionally, as can be seen from the London results in the last time intervals of this thesis, *you* use was rapidly increasing, hence it is not unthinkable the increase would be similar to Auer & Withoos at 1600; more research is necessary to confirm this. Moreover, a closer look at the distribution of *ye* and *you* suggests a more rapid decline of the use of *ye* in York letters,

⁶ Data was normalized by 1000 words.

whereas its use declines much slower in those from London. The use of *you* in both datasets seems to increase in a similar fashion, yet the York region once again seems more progressive in its increase. Per contra, it should be noted that the amount of tokens in the dataset is not sufficient to make any conclusive remarks with regards to London - York variation; further study is necessary to confirm this.

4.2 -s/-th/-zero variation

The years preceding the standardization of the 3SG showed ample fluctuation between the use of *-th*, *-s* and *-zero*. It has been shown that *-s* was initially used in the Northern parts of England and later became the supralocal form. Before looking into the issues regarding the composition of the dataset, it is necessary to look into previous research conducted on 3SG variation. The most crucial to this study are Kytö (1993), Moore (2002) and Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003).

Kytö's (1993) study concerns the development of the 3GS forms *-s*, *-th* and *-zero* in American English and Early Modern British. Her findings are based on the *Helsinki Corpus*, which contains a wide variety of texts from different genres, including letters. According to Kytö, the 3SG form *-s* was first found in Northumbrian texts from the 10th century (114). During the Middle English period the *-s* ending started to occur more in poetry from the London area, though on a larger scale the *-th* ending was still the norm. At the end of the 15th century, the *-s* became the standard (Kytö: 115). In Kytö's observations, she notes that the use of the *-zero* form is fairly rare; 29 tokens as opposed to 1,606 tokens for *-s* and *-th* combined. Moreover she does observe a correlation between female writers and the use of the *-zero* form. (Kytö: 118) Although the *-zero* form was a

part of the 3SG variation, it does not seem to be a common form since it was already in decline. According to Kytö, reason for this decline is that the *-zero* form had gained the marker for the 3SG present subjunctive over the years and thus an increased functional role (Kytö: 118). Due to its markedness the form was less used as a variant of the 3SG form. The study shows an increase of *-s* forms used from 3% in the time period 1500-1570 to 18% from 1570-1640 and finally 76% in 1640-1710. There are a few factors which seem to influence the use of the forms; verbs like *do*, *have* and those with stem-final sounds seem to behave differently. Kytö suggests that verbs which end in a consonant are more likely to take the *-s* ending, than those with vowel endings. Moreover, Kytö also notices a difference in use based on gender. Female writers are generally more likely to adopt the *-s* form in their writing (129). Kytö hypothesizes that this is due to the fact that women usually did not receive education and hence acquired their writing skill from informal sources. Consequently, they were not exposed to the current forms which were taught in formal education (Kytö: 128). Moreover, there seems to be a correlation between the text type and the use of *-s*; more formal text types showed change later than the less formal ones. Kytö considers official letters, sermons and trial proceedings as formal texts, while private letters and diaries are considered informal (127). She observes that *has* and *does* first emerge in informal texts, while they only become more common in formal texts during the second half of the 17th century (127).

Moore's (2002) study mainly focuses on Northern writings and their use of the *-s* and *-th* form. Moore argues the reason for the use of the *-th* form in the north might be prestige. Her study uses the Plumpton correspondence, written between 1433 and 1551, and compares the writings of members of the Plumpton family, stratifying the data with

respect to gender, age and socio-economic status. Two of the issues which she describes are also applicable to this study, of which the first concerns the issue of location. A letter written in a northern location does not necessarily entail that the writer lives in this area. However, Moore prefers to see the results in the scope of a northern network and regards the few southerners which might be included into the letter collection by mistake as a neglectable factor. Consequently, this could impact the credibility of the results as the northerners who were stationed in e.g. London, were more likely to adapt their writings to the local variant. This issue is also relevant to this study, where looking at the northern use of the 3SG forms could be troubled by the amount of originally York merchants which mostly lived and worked abroad. Furthermore, Moore mentions the issue of authorship, as many wealthy families hired a scribe or an amanuensis to write their letters. Moore questions the representativity of the senders' writing style, especially since the letters were copied in the 17th century, which makes it impossible to trace the original scribes back.

Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's (2003) study concerns various aspects of language change in both the Tudor and Stuart period in England. Their sections devoted to the *-s* and *-th* variables of the 3SG are quite detailed, describing various changes and factors. The study starts off with an analysis of the replacement of *-th* by *-s* from the 10th century onwards (67). The main findings of the study suggest that the replacement of *-th* by *-s* occurred in two waves, the first being in the mid-15th century and the second during the 16th century, similar to the S-curve model. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's age analysis shows a difference between age groups and thus a possible generational change. On an individual level the change from *-th* to *-s* also suggests a rapid replacement

between 1570 and 1659, as the change of the 3SG suffix was noted in the writing patterns of at least six individuals (97).

4.2.1 Data analysis

Moving on to the results from this analysis, as can be seen in table 4.3 on page 33, only *-th* tokens were found in both datasets. Seven out of 10 tokens were found in a present simple tense construction, whereas the rest occurred in the present perfect. The results stem from a rough 10-year interval, i.e. 1564-1579. Despite the fact that the number of tokens is rather low, some interesting observations can be made with regards to Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's (2003) data. Their data show a low use of *-s* from 1500-1579, which envelops the scope of this thesis; hence it is not surprising to find no variation between *-th* and *-s*, since the use of *-s* was extremely rare during this period. Kytö (1993) shows a similar trend with a 3% use of *-s* between 1500 and 1570.

Moore's (2013) findings show an increased use of *-s*, although it should be noted the time scope of her research only encompasses 1433-1551 and since Moore has not stratified her data according to time intervals it is impossible to judge whether her results contrast with this thesis. Altogether comparison to previous findings strongly suggest that the use of *-s* was extremely rare within the time scope of this thesis, i.e. 1530 to 1580, which explains the lack of variation. Moreover, as the majority of York correspondence was intended for a London audience, the *-th* suffix might have been used with prestige intentions. Further research is necessary to confirm this.

A general observation made while looking into this feature is that the amount of 3SG tokens in itself is exceptionally low. A feasible explanation might be the genre of the

letters. As we are dealing with a the subgenre of official letter writing, it seems apparent that the use of the simple present was generally avoided.

Alongside the *-th* distribution a rather high use of modality was found. Consequently, auxiliary verbs such as *shall*, *may*, *wold*, *shuld* and *wille* are extremely common in these datasets. The majority of these letters either express future events and requests, or report past activities, which also contributes to a low amount of 3SG tokens.

| York DS findings | -th/-s/-zero | Subject | Adjacent | Form | Date |
|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| CIMG0719 | drawy th | the spryng | near | present simple | 1573 |
| CIMG0721 | apperethe | the tyme appoynted | per your bookes | present simple | 1579 |
| CIMG0748 | haith | Owr Company | goodes | present simple | 1576 |
| CIMG0766 | hath | Mr vndergod wylliam pacok of hull | any goodes | present simple | 1576-1578 |
| CIMG0766 | belongeth | any goodes or marchaundyce | to any person | present simple | 1576-1578 |
| CIMG0766 | hath | the said master of the shype | taken | present perfect | 1576-1578 |
| CIMG0766 | aperteyneth | evere artyckel | of his parte | present simple | 1576-1578 |
| CIMG0766 | hath | the shyp nor the shypper | had no | present perfect | 1576-1578 |
| London DS findings | | | | | |
| CIMG0787 | hathe | | and shalbe deternyned | present perfect | 1564 |
| CIMG0731 | knowesth | the lord god | who ever wore | present simple | 1568 |

Table 4.3 Results *-s/-th/-zero* variation in York and London YMAG datasets.

4.3 Variation in negation

Over time the use of negation changed considerably. Whereas initially the use of negative concord (NC) was transferred from Old English to Middle English, over the course of the 15th and 16th century simple negation was introduced, followed by the use of negative polarity items (NPI), such as negated quantifiers. This process correlated with a steep decline of the Old English sentential negator *ne* (Ingham 2006: 79). During the Old English period NC was generally used to emphasize the negative polarity of a sentence, which is unlike Present-Day English where double negatives cancel out the negative polarity effect.

Previous research on this includes Iyeiri's (1998) paper concerning the use of multiple negation in Middle English prose texts. Iyeiri defines multiple negation "as clauses with two or more negatives which do not cancel each other out" (121). She also notes that the Northern parts of England were more rapid to converge to simple negation use, whereas the South seems to have retained multiple negation for a longer period of time. Iyeri distinguishes three different types of negation:

Group 1 includes texts where the adverb *ne* is preserved well

Group 2 includes texts where the use of the adverb *ne* has been reduced to a notable extent

Group 3 includes texts where the adverb *ne* is found only sporadically (124)

Iyeri's results indicate that roughly half of the negative clauses contain more than one negative in the Middle English period. Multiple negation briefly increases during this period, though later gradually falls into decline. Iyeiri has observed a difference between dialects, where the North was quicker to switch to single negation than the South; in

particular an early decline in the use of adverb *ne*.

This notion of a geographical division between dialectal regions is supported by Ingham's (2006, 2008) publications which investigate the correlation between the decline of *ne* and the diminished use of negative concord in similar 14th-century prose texts. Ingham also notes that the decline of *ne* in the 15th century caused negative concord to behave differently as: “ (i) the co-occurrence of *ne* and *not*, or (ii) the co-occurrence of *not* and a negative quantifier, and (iii) the co-occurrence of multiple negated quantifiers without a sentence negator” (79) could occur in late Middle English texts. As an illustration the following example sentences are given:

Type i: [...]that he ne mowe nought selle his fish

(Brembre II: 18; 1384).

Type ii: the aduersairs of John Northampton should noight have be in non offices

(Usk: 121; 1384).

Type iii: [...]that no man make none congregaciouns

(Brembre I: 4; 1384).

(qtd. In Ingham

2006:79)

Ingham reports a salient difference between the northern, midlands and southern regions, where the northern region showed an increase in NPI while still using NC, while the NPI count was significantly lower in the southern/midlands regions. His publication suggests a correlation between the fall of *ne* and NC and suggests influence of contact languages such Old Norse; Old Norse's use of NC was already in decline around the time Viking invasions took place in northern parts of England (Ingham 2008). These factors might

have influenced the increased use of single negation and NPI (93).

Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's (2003) research shows a similar trend where the use of simple negation has rapidly increased during the 15th century. Results suggest that correlative coordinators such as *neither* and *nor* were retained in coordinating and additive constructions rather late, as opposed to simpler constructions (71). In simple constructions the use of single negation increases from approximately 68% to well over 95% during the 16th century.

4.3.1 Data analysis

Turning to the current study, the data was divided according to Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's stratification where single negation is subdivided in simple and coordinate sentential structures. In order to illustrate the difference between these categories, examples are given of the simple, coordinate and multiple occurrences respectively:

(6) " Thies be **not** onley to aduertys you of the premisses[...]"

(York DS)

(7) "[...] mr Rayff hall who is **neyther** an occupyar **nor** Inabettyng in the citty of [of] york[...]"

(York DS)

(8) "[...] so that **neither** any *our* laden shippes shall passe from sluse hither **nor noe** appoint **any more**"

(London DS)

| | Single | | Multiple |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Date | Simple | Coordinate | |
| 1530-1540 | 5.4 (71%) | 0 (0%) | 2.1 (29%) |
| 1541-1550 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1551-1560 | 7.6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1561-1570 | 5.3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1571-1580 | 4.2 (72.6%) | 0.2 (3.4%) | 1.4 (24%) |
| Total | 22.5 (86%) | 0.2 (2%) | 3.5 (13%) |

Table 4.4 Combined findings of the York and London YMAG datasets of single/multiple negation variation with division between simple and coordinate constructions.⁷

Table 4.4 shows a predominant usage of single negation in simple sentence constructions.

The number of NC sentences seems to increase in the datasets between 1530 and 1580, though not dramatically. The majority of the NC sentences contained 2 negators, the latter three or more.

| | Single | | Multiple |
|---------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| York | Simple | Coordinate | |
| 1551-1560 | 7.7 (100%) | 0 | 0 |
| 1561-1570 | 7.7 (100%) | 0 | 0 |
| 1571-1580 | 5.4 (71%) | 0.4 (1%) | 1.8 (24%) |
| Total | 20.8 (90%) | 0.4 (2%) | 1.8 (8%) |
| London | | | |
| 1530-1540 | 5.3 (71%) | 0 | 2.1 (29%) |
| 1561-1570 | 3.3 (100%) | 0 | 0 |
| 1571-1580 | 2.3 (61%) | 0 | 1.5 (39%) |
| Total | 10.9 (75%) | 0 | 3.6 (25%) |

Table 4.5 Separate findings of the York and London YMAG datasets of single/multiple negation variation with division between simple and coordinate constructions.⁸

As for the contrasts between York and London, the York dataset showed a lower percentage of NC sentences over single negation tokens (8%) while for the London

⁷ Data was normalized by 1000 words

⁸ Data was normalized by 1000 words

dataset this was slightly higher (25%). No instances of *ne* were found, while the occurrence of *no* and *not* were quite high. This might suggest that *ne* had already been replaced by *no* and *not* during this period. It should also be noted that the single negation occurrence in the London dataset tends to fluctuate rather unpredictably instead of gradually declining. Further research needs to be done on the decline of NC in the London area during 1530-1580 with a larger dataset to investigate whether the cause of this fluctuation is due to the size of the dataset.

The data corresponds with Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's data who found single negation increase from 69% to surpassing 90% in 1579. Hence, these results contribute to the assumption that the use of NC was not common between 1500-1580. Moreover, these findings also correlate with Ingham (2006) and Iyeiri (2002) with respect to the continued use of NC in the London area, whereas the York region shows rapid change.

4.4 Other observations

Especially with regards to the variation in negation, the use of quantifiers should be mentioned briefly. According to Ingham (2006) the shift in sentential negation was paired with the introduction of negated quantifiers. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) also include these as a separate feature in their work, combined with nonassertive, assertive and universal quantifiers. Both datasets contained one instance of a negated sentence combined with the use of a negated quantifier, both of which are illustrated below:

(9) "we may have **no** caus to be put to such charges and Imembrancs to come to

london for ovr certificat **any more**" (York DS)

(10) " It is enacted that a generall restraint of shipping to and from those parties shalbe observed from the said daye for the so that **neither** any our laden shippes shall passe from sluse hither **nor noe** appoint **any more**..." (London DS)

The main difference observed in these sentences is that (9) is a single negated sentence and (10) shows NC. (9) is a clear example of the structure to which negated sentences were evolving, as it does not express NC, though emphasizes negation through the use of a negated quantifier. (10), on the other hand, shows a double application of standards as the construction is overly complex, containing a correlative conjunction, multiple negation and the insertion of a negated quantifier. Hence (10) is a good example to indicate that during this period these two forms still vigorously competed against each other.

Use of formula

It should be noted that due to the fact that these letters are official business correspondence, they contained a considerable amount of formulaic sentences. The presence of these formulaic sentences is of importance to this thesis, as they might include older variants. Wray (2002) mentions in her publication on formulaic language and lexicon that:

The effect of bypassing an examination of the internal composition of a string can be to protect the meaning from the normal pressures of language change, leading,

in some cases, to a sort of ‘fossilization’, by which antiquated words may be preserved (49).

Within the scope of this thesis it might well be that the ‘fossilizing’ aspect of these formulaic sentences influenced the variation within these letters. In order to assure that the use of formula did not have a major impact on the results of this thesis, further analysis of the general structure of these letters is required. The letters from York were opened with the following formulas:

(11) (Right worshipfull Sir and Sirs/ after *our hartie commendaciouns*) may it please you
to be advertysed

(York DS)

(12) Right worshipfull \Sir/ this is to signyfie you

(York DS)

(13) Right worshipfull (*Sir/ and Sirs*) after *owr hartie comendaycions* ((I/we) hav (me/vs) comendid vnto yowr worship/ I hau me comendid vnto you whisshing yow helth as my Self)

(York DS)

Out of these three, (13) can be considered the most common greeting, followed by (11). For the London set these formulas were slightly different:

(14) *Wurshipfull Sirs* In *our right heartie manner*, (I/we) commend (me/vs) vnto you

(London DS)

(15) After (my/our) hartly comendacons vnto you

(London DS)

(15) was the most common greeting in London letters. When comparing the York and London greetings, it seems that the London greetings are quite uniform. The only linguistic feature under scrutiny which is present in these formulas is the second person pronoun, however it should be noted that it only occurs in object position within these formulas. Conclusion of the letters showed similar findings:

(16) " Thus commytting you to the twcione of allmyghtye (who preserve you to his good pleasure/ who preserve yow with all yowr ffamilie) (god) ffrome yorke thys _____ "

(York DS)

(17) " And thus the holy Trinitie long preserve *your* (worships) in helth, At the said Citie of yorke this _____, and Seallyd with *our* Comon Seall"

(York DS)

(18) " so I byd you hartlye ffare well (in the lord/ from london the _____)"

(London DS)

(19) " And so we rest / Comittinge *your* wurshippes vnto the tuition of allmightye god ffrom London this _____ "

(London DS)

Altogether it seems that the use of formulas did not have a significant impact on the findings of this thesis, as the possible fossilizations do not include the three linguistic features investigated.

5 Conclusion

In this investigation, the aim was to assess the use of the three linguistic features: *ye/you* in subject position, *-s/-th/-zero* 3SG suffixes and the use of negative concord in data from London and York for the period 1530-1580 by looking at data from merchant correspondence, and contrast the findings with previous research on similar features, particularly that of Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). The findings of current study have shown a similar trend to Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's results.

The distribution of *ye* and *you* in subject position in the datasets resembled the findings of Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003); their findings show an increase of *you* usage from 40% to 90% between 1520-1599, whereas this thesis found a 26% to 86% increase between 1530-1580. In addition, findings suggest a more rapid decline of the use of *ye* in the York region than in the London region. It should be noted that the number of second person pronoun tokens in subject position was relatively low, so a future study investigating this distinction on a larger scale would be worthwhile.

The 3SG findings for *-s/-th* and *-zero* suffixes show no variation between 1530 and 1580 and hence support previous research by Kytö (1993) and Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), which both show rare use of *-s* and *-zero* between 1530-1580. Furthermore, the possibility has been suggested of the York merchants using the 3SG *-th* suffix with prestige intentions because they corresponded with London government officials, where *-th* was the most commonly used suffix during that time. It would be interesting to include this factor in further study to test this possibility. While examining the findings a large number of modal constructions were found, as the use of the simple present was generally avoided. Hence, another viable option for further study is the rise of

modality during this period in time.

This thesis has found that the use of negative concord in the datasets declined similarly to previous investigations by Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). In addition, the distinction between the York and London region seemed to correspond with findings by Iyeiri (1998) and Ingham (2006), who noted a more rapid decline of negative concord in the northern region than in the South. The correlation with the increased use of negated quantifiers was also briefly discussed. It would be particularly interesting to investigate this correlation in more detail in further research.

Finally, a number of important limitations need to be considered. This excludes the issue of bad data, which has already been thoroughly discussed previously. The scope of this study was limited in terms of available texts. Due to on the restricted scope of this thesis, many of the letters which were problematic to date or did not specify a location could not be traced by other factors. This had an impact on the size of the datasets, which would have yielded more significant results, had they been larger. However, the results still provide implications which can be used for further study. Moreover, the lack of background information on authors in the dataset prevented this thesis to look more thoroughly at their individual writing styles and changes therein. Especially in the York dataset the authors of many letters where almost impossible to identify, due to the use of simple initials or illegible autographs. Future research should be wary of this and should reserve time to trace back the origins of these authors, which would make this data significantly more useful.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the study shows similar findings to previous studies, thus strengthening the assumptions made with regards to the diachronic variation of these three linguistic features.

6 Bibliography

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7.0 Appendices

7.1 Appendix A: Comparative tables

| York DS findings | Ye | You | Yow | Prec. | Adj. | Note | Year | Subj? |
|---------------------------|----|-------|-----|----------------|------------------|---------|-----------|-------|
| CIMG0561 | | x | | please | to be | P. Form | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0561 | | x | | requyring | hartelye | | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0561 | x | | | somme as | shall thinnke | | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0561 | x | | | what | shall do | | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0561 | x | | | the frendes | can possyble | | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0561 | x | | | possible | shuld travell | | 1560 | v |
| CIMG0588 | | x | | please it | to be | P. Form | 1562 | v |
| CIMG05785 | | x | | it please | to be | P. Form | 1563 | v |
| CIMG05785 | x | | | that | wille geve | | 1563 | v |
| CIMG719 | | x | | strange | neyther did know | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG719 | | x | | wher | wrytt | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG719 | | | x | wher as | do warne vs | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG719 | | | x | yat | wrytt | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG719 | | | x | that | wyll | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG719 | | | x | yf | hav no cowrt | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0768 | | | x | other thynges | wytt | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG0768 | | | x | that | wyll derecte | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG0768 | | x | | as | do | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG0756 | | x + e | | to lett | vnderstand | P. Form | 1575 | ? |
| CIMG0756 | | | x | that | answered | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG0756 | | | x | that | may grant | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG0750 | | | x | fore | have | | 1575 | v |
| CIMG066 | | x | | that | Remayn | | 1576-1578 | v |
| CIMG066 | | x | | that | wyll help | | 1576-1578 | v |
| London DS findings | | | | | | | | |
| CIMG0774 | x | | | that | shuld | | 1530 | v |
| CIMG0774 | x | | | tyme | putt your selues | | 1530 | v |
| CIMG0774 | | x | | as | laufully | | 1530 | v |
| CIMG0774 | x | | | wherof | shalbe | | 1530 | v |
| CIMG0784 | x | | | premysses, | hereby be | | 1564 | v |
| CIMG0784 | x | | | Lowe countres: | procure the same | | 1564 | v |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|------------------|------------------------------|---------|------|---|
| CIMG0784 | | | x | that | faile | | 1564 | v |
| CIMG0787 | x | | | that | may vse | | 1564 | v |
| CMG0731 | | x | | god | be | | 1568 | v |
| CMG0731 | | x | | dessyringe | to see | | 1568 | v |
| CMG0731 | | x | | doinge | shall | | 1568 | v |
| CIMG0611 | x | | | acte, | shall herinclosed receiue | | 1569 | v |
| CIMG0611 | | x | | so | ensewe | | 1569 | v |
| CIMG0613 | | x | | adventures | maye | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0613 | | x | | that | so warelie procede | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0613 | | x | | if | send | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0613 | x | | | contryes | therin shalbe | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0613 | x | | | fare | hartelie well | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0778 | | x | | losse | will | | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0778 | x | | | fare | hartelye | P. Form | 1573 | v |
| CIMG0776 | x | | | as | intende | | 1574 | v |
| CIMG0762 | | x | | that hearwith | shall | | 1578 | v |
| CIMG0762 | | x | | that | haue | | 1578 | v |
| CIMG0746 | | | x | that | ar the governer | | 1578 | v |
| CIMG0746 | | | x | if | do myslyke | | 1578 | v |
| CIMG0746 | | | x | so euer | do like | | 1578 | v |

Table 7.1 *ye/you/yow* findings

| York DS findings | neg 1 | neg 2 | neg 3 | neg 4 | neg 5 | simple/multiple | Year |
|--------------------|---------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-----------|
| CIMG0561 | cannot | | | | | simple | 1560 |
| CIMG0561 | not | | | | | simple | 1560 |
| CIMG0561 | not | | | | | simple | 1560 |
| CIMG0561 | not | | | | | simple | 1560 |
| CIMG0588 | not | | | | | simple | 1562 |
| CIMG0588 | cannot | | | | | simple | 1562 |
| CIMG0588 | not | | | | | simple | 1562 |
| CIMG0588 | not | | | | | simple | 1562 |
| CIMG0589 | not | | | | | simple | 1562 |
| CIMG0605 | not | | | | | simple | 1568 |
| CIMG719 | not | | | | | simple | 1573 |
| CIMG719 | neyther | nor | | | | multiple | 1573 |
| CIMG719 | neyther | nor | non | | | multiple | 1573 |
| CIMG719 | can not | | | | | simple | 1573 |
| CIMG719 | no | | | | | simple | 1573 |
| CIMG0721 | not | | | | | simple | 1579 |
| CIMG0768 | no | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | no | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | not | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | no | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | not | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | no | notwythstandyng | | | | multiple | 1575 |
| CIMG0768 | no | neyther | | | | multiple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | no | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | not | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | not | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | no | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | not | | | | | simple | 1575 |
| CIMG0756 | no | any more | | | | multiple | 1575 |
| CIMG066 | nor | no | nor | | | multiple | 1576-1578 |
| CIMG066 | no | | | | | simple | 1576-1578 |
| total | 6 m | | | | | 25 s | |
| London DS Findings | neg 1 | neg 2 | neg 3 | neg 4 | neg 5 | simple/multiple | Year |
| CIMG0774 | not | | | | | simple | 1530 |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|-----|-----|--|-----|----------|------|
| CIMG0774 | no | | | | | simple | 1530 |
| CIMG0774 | not | | | | | simple | 1530 |
| CIMG0554 | not | | | | | simple | 1540 |
| CIMG0554 | no | | | | | simple | 1540 |
| CIMG0554 | not | nor | | | | multiple | 1540 |
| CIMG0554 | nor | nor | | | | multiple | 1541 |
| CIMG0784 | not | | | | | simple | 1564 |
| CIMG0787 | not | | | | | simple | 1564 |
| CIMG0611 | not | | | | | simple | 1569 |
| CIMG0778 | neither | nor | noe | | | multiple | 1573 |
| CIMG0778 | no | | | | | simple | 1573 |
| CIMG0778 | not | | | | | | 1573 |
| CIMG0776 | naither | nor | nor | | | multiple | 1574 |
| CIMG0776 | not | | | | | simple | 1574 |
| total | | | | | 4 m | 10 s | |

Table 7.2 Negation findings