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1. INTRODUCTION

The poet and playwright William Shakespeare and his plays have been the subject of numerous scientific investigations, whereby from a linguistic point of view the focus has been aimed primarily at vocabulary and grammar. (Blake 2002: 8) On the one hand, attention has been paid regularly to lexical items because Shakespeare is supposed to have been "a great innovator of words" (Blake 2002: 8) due to his coinage of approximately 1500 new lexemes and his usage of several unknown expressions (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 39). On the other hand, linguistic studies have also been concerned with grammatical constructions which are typical of the English at Shakespeare's time. However, in addition to these two major areas of study, eventually pragmatic phenomena have been examined as well. (Blake 2002: 13)

One such aspect with regard to pragmatics is politeness which concerns verbal expression not only in politeness strategies but also in terms of address. In particular the latter, namely forms of address which can be defined very roughly as "words and phrases used for addressing" (Braun 1988: 7) and representing "a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s)" (ibid. 7), is the topic of this thesis, whereby primarily nominal and pronominal forms of address which were used in Shakespeare's days and which can be discovered in Shakespeare's dramatic texts will be discussed. Hereby the whole research project is based on the underlying assumption that written texts such as plays composed by Shakespeare contain some vital evidence for the spoken language of the past centuries and allow valid conclusions, for example, about the common usage of terms of address in everyday conversations during the decades in which Shakespeare lived and worked.

However, before rules about the employment of nominal and pronominal terms of address at Shakespeare's times are formulated in detail in the fifth section of this thesis, the basic research context is outlined which provides information, among others, about the period under investigation and the data available as a basis. Furthermore, theoretical concepts with reference to the politeness

phenomenon are briefly discussed as they reflect the understanding of politeness by various scholars and highlight the usage of terms of address which are judged as either polite or impolite. More precisely, the major politeness theories by R. Lakoff, Leech and Brown & Levinson are outlined which are all linked to the concept of the Cooperative Principle proposed by Grice. As these theoretical concepts clearly indicate, a great deal of research effort has been devoted to the investigation of the phenomenon of politeness and related pragmatic aspects including the address theory. Thereby, essential terms such as the 'T/V distinction', the 'power semantics' and the 'solidarity semantics' were introduced which will be explained in the fourth section of this thesis. Finally, the usage of nominal and pronominal terms of address as they appear in Shakespeare's plays forms the core of the fifth and last section of this analysis. Different types of address forms will be listed, some historical address rules will be stated, certain deviations from norms will be discussed and linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors which were involved in the selection of terms of address in Shakespeare's days will be examined. After having dealt with terms of address in Shakespeare's dramatic texts at length, it will become obvious that nominal and pronominal forms of address are not only used for referring to addressees but that they also carry an essential social meaning.

All in all, five plays by Shakespeare will serve as a corpus which will be examined in order to broaden the understanding of the employment of terms of address at that time, whereby these theoretical insights will be exemplified with the help of sample passages from selected Shakespeare's dramatic texts.

2. METHODOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES

2.1. The period

As William Shakespeare lived from 1564 to 1616, the period under investigation is the late 16th and early 17th century. From a linguistic point of view, these decades cover more than a quarter of the Early Modern English period, which lasted from 1500 to 1700.[1] It was a period of remarkable transition, whereby change did not only affect social, political and religious structures but also the language itself. (Singh 2005: 139) Among others, the Early Modern English period is characterised by a different pronunciation due to the Great Vowel Shift (Jucker 2002: 41), the inflection of verbs in the third person singular by means of –th or –s and a different pronoun system. (Busse 2002: 10)

The latter is of particular importance for the study of terms of address since second person pronouns are part of the address system and since they were realized as two variants in the Early Modern English period, namely as *thou* and *you.* Their development constitutes "one of the most interesting of the grammatical changes that have taken place in English over the centuries" (Wales 1983: 107). Concerning the Early Modern English period, there was a steady decline of the usage of *thou*. While at the beginning of the 16th century *thou*, *you* and their derivatives[2] were used for similar functions, by the end of the 17th century the address pronoun *thou* was already of marginal importance so that consequently the dominant form was *you*. (Busse 2002: 3)

In order to emphasize the use of the Early Modern English period as a subject of investigation on terms of address, it should be pointed out that, first of all, the

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[1] These dates mark the beginning and the end of the Early Modern English period. However, sudden linguistic changes are rare and, therefore, the years mentioned should not be regarded as strict boundaries between the Early Modern English period, its preceding Middle English period and the subsequent Modern English period, but rather as rough approximations to influential events on the development of the English language. (Jucker 2002: 7) Thus, the year 1500 signals the introduction of the printing press by William Caxton in 1476, which contributed to the standardisation of the English language (Jucker 2002: 8), and the year 1700 refers to the linguistic fact that at that time Modern English was already well-established and set for a gradual world-wide expansion. (Jucker 2002: 41)

[2] The pronouns *thou*, *thee*, *thy* and, *thine* as well as *you*, *ye*, *your* and *yours* were in common use. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 77)

hierarchal society in Shakespeare's time was largely based on status, which consequently had an influence on the selection of terms of address. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171) Different pronouns of address were used for different addressees, whereby the choice depended primarily on the interlocutors' status and power. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 547) For example, while less powerful persons addressed superiors with *you* and received *thou*, those members of society who enjoyed a high status generally gave *thou* to inferiors and received *you*.[3] (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255)

As these examples illustrate, the Elizabethan society was governed by particular politeness rules which were also recorded in written form in so-called courtesy books (Kopytko 1993: 55), such as *The Book of Courtier*, which was primarily published for the gentlemen in those days. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 183) These works belonged to a genre which emerged in Shakespeare's time (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171) and which served as guidelines for appropriate behaviour. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 183) Not only did members of the hereditary nobility benefit from courtesy books but the works also proved advantageous for "people [who] themselves advanc[ed] socially during their lifetimes" (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33). Social mobility was fairly common between 1540 and 1640 and caused a high amount of insecurity as it aggravated the situation in terms of not being able to judge easily who truly belonged to the upper classes of society. For socially advancing people courtesy books were ideal sources in order to gain insights into politeness rituals which prevailed among those who occupied the upper parts of the social ladder and in order to copy these types of polite behaviour accurately. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171)

As Brown & Gilman (1989: 171) argued "[t]he period of Early Modern English […] is a good period for the study of politeness", whereby not only the reasons mentioned above are the deciding factors but also the argument that William Shakespeare pursued his writing career between 1589 and 1613 which spanned the middle of the Early Modern English period (Busse 2002: 3) and which witnessed the production of a large number of his plays.

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[3] For a comprehensive description of pronominal address rules at the time of Shakespeare see "Section 5.3.2. Historical Address Rules".

2.2. The data

William Shakespeare is assumed to be the author of approximately forty plays (Blake 2002: 2). His outstanding writing ability was promoted by the flowering cultural life in the Elizabethan Age[4]. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 17) Theatres[5] were popular types of amusement, attracted a large number of visitors and encouraged playwrights to produce a great deal of dramas (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 12) of which many have survived in written form.

Such written documents are the only sources which are available to provide insights into the English language of periods long past, such as the Early Modern English period. Although Brown & Gilman (1989: 170) claim that "there is nothing else" than plays, researchers can draw on various other written material as well, such as personal letters (Freedman 2007: 8), trial depositions, parliamentary proceedings, witness depositions and accounts. (Culpeper & Kytö 2000: 176). These types of data can be subsumed under the category of speech-related genres[6], which "are defined as varieties originating in speech that have been permanently preserved in writing" (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 7). In the case of Shakespeare, his plays were primarily written to be performed on theatrical stages by professional actors who pretended to be "real people talking" (Barber 1997: 31), because

> [a]lthough Shakespeare's texts exist for us only in printed form, it is, I think, none the less important to remember that what Shakespeare wrote was originally understood as spoken language. (Hulme 1987: 145)

With this in mind, it becomes apparent that speech-related texts resemble at least to some extent spoken interaction and, therefore, provide useful

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[4] Large parts of Shakespeare's life coincided with the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, who ruled from 1533 until 1603.

[5] Due to the establishment of various permanent playhouses, such as the Theatre in 1576, the Rose in 1587, the Swan in 1595, the Globe in 1599, the Fortune in 1600 and the Hope in 1605, London became the centre of a new form of drama. Plays were no longer performed exclusively in inns and guild halls but in permanent playhouses which featured a round shape, galleries, an open area for the groundlings (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 25ff) and frequently sufficient space for up to 2000 theatregoers. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 12)

[6] The genre of speech-related texts comprises not only recordings of speech, such as trial depositions, parliamentary proceedings, witness depositions and accounts, but also constructions of speech, such as dramatic texts. (Culpeper & Kytö 2000: 176)

information on colloquial speech as they contain orality features, i.e. "[f]eatures that are typical of the spoken code" (Jucker 2002: 13). By including some of these orality features dramatists try "to create an illusion of "spokenness" for the purpose of performance" (Culpeper & Kytö 2000: 195). Such an effect is achieved by incorporating, for example, informal lexical items, proverbs, terms of address, oaths, weak forms (Barber 1997: 32) and pragmatic particles. (Östman 1982: 147) To show how playwrights imitated real conversations a passage taken from Shakespeare's *Henry IV* can serve as an illustration:

(1) *Gads*. Good morrow Cariers, whats a clocke?
      Car. I thinke it be two a clocke.
      Gads. I prethe lend me thy lanterne, to see my
              gelding in the stable.
      1.Car. Nay by God soft, I knowe a tricke worth two
              of that I faith.
      Gads. I pray thee lend me thine.
      2.Car. I when canst tell? lend me thy lanterne
              (quoth he) marry ile see thee hangd first.
      Gads. Sirrah Carrier, what time doe you meane to
              come to London?
      2.Car. Time enough to go to bed with a candle, I
              Warrant thee, come neighbour Mugs, weele
              call vp the Gentlemen, they will along with
              company, for they haue great charge. *Exeunt.*
      (Barber 1997: 32)

Scene (1) above is written in a fairly simple style[7] since it lacks difficult sentence structures. (Barber 1997: 33) In addition, as spoken language usually favours informal lexical items over formal ones (Östman 1982: 157), some informal expressions are used in the example passage as well, such as *I when canst tell*. What also contributes to colloquialism is the use of proverbs, because these ready-made chunks, such as *a tricke worth two of that* or *time enough to go to bed with a candle*, are typical of spontaneous and fluent speech. (Barber 1997: 33) Further characteristics of spoken language are instances of oaths and asseverations, e.g. *by God*, as well as terms of address. The short extract mentioned above contains, for example, some nominal address terms, such as

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[7] A simple style is characteristic of scenes in which low class characters are included. (Barber 1997: 31) However, it must be emphasized that Shakespeare's plays also contain more complex passages, because upper class speakers had a gift for rhetoric and elaborate speeches. Therefore, it is not surprising that their conversations appear to be more complex and more neatly structured. (Barber 1997: 36)

Cariers, *Sirrah Carrier* and *neighbour Mugs* and many pronominal address forms including *thy*, *thee* and *thine*. Occasionally, pronouns of address are not inserted in a particular phrase, such as in *canst tell* where *thou* is omitted. (Barber 1997: 34) In spoken language such a practice is common because there is the possibility to use fragmentary structures (Östman 1982: 166) and to omit lexemes "which would be considered essential in the written language" (Barber 1997: 34). Finally, the passage shows a number of weak forms, because in spoken interaction particular words are stressed whereas others remain unstressed. On stage the actors can occasionally determine themselves which lexical items they wish to stress, but sometimes the written version of the play already provides clues for the correct pronunciation. In *Henry IV* Shakespeare, for example, indicated by means of spelling that *will* is supposed to be a weak form as it appears in the text as *ile* or *weele*. (Barber 1997: 34)

Passage (1) can be accepted as an accurate imitation of everyday spoken interaction, although it must be admitted that there is a lack of some features of face-to-face conversations, because the extract does not show any switches of construction (Barber 1997: 35), repetitions (Salmon 1987b: 266) or pause fillers (Östman 1982: 162), which are all frequently part of informal speech. It can be assumed that these features are not part of Shakespeare's play so that, on the one hand, the desired dramatic tension can be maintained (Salmon 1987b: 266) and so that, on the other hand, halting, desultory and obscure conversations can be avoided, because

> the straightforward reproduction of everyday speech, with its formlessness and incoherence, would probably have bored the audience stiff. (Barber 1997: 31)

Therefore, it is very likely that dramatists like Shakespeare modified their plays so that they are in conformity with their artistic purposes. (Walker 2003: 316) They might have exploited language to comply with "the wish to convey information about character and plot" (Culpeper & Kytö 2000: 195) and they probably have tried to be in line with a particular rhyme scheme. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255) Subsequently, the role of the author as a creator and manipulator of "language, written to be uttered as though spontaneously arising

form a given situation" (Salmon 1987b: 265) must not be neglected. Nevertheless, Shakespearean drama proves to be a good source, because it is generally argued that dialogues in "texts from the Middle Ages tend to be more realistic than today's fictional works" (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 7). Only from the 17th century onwards a development occurred towards a more literate rather than an oral style in plays. (Culpeper & Kytö 2000: 190) Therefore, with reference to the employment of terms of address, one can assume that Shakespeare was still

> for the most part, mirroring the conventional usage of [his] time: in a popular medium like theatre, there would be little point in employing the T/V distinction[8] at all unless its use was understood and appreciated because it correlated with common usage. (Freedman 2007: 4)

Moreover, despite raising objections concerning the reliability of dramatic texts because of the influential role of the playwright, Shakespeare's works are definitely ideal for the study of terms of address since, first of all, he "may be the greatest practitioner of English […] because he accounts for about 40 per cent of the recorded English of his time" (Spevack 1972: 108, quoted in Busse 2002: 1). Therefore, it is reasonable to consult Shakespeare when an investigation on linguistic features of Early Modern English is conducted.

For the present purposes I decided to focus primarily on some of Shakespeare's tragedies, because these plays were produced throughout Shakespeare's entire writing career which lasted from 1589 to 1613. (Busse 2002: 3) The tragedies are ascribed not only to the initial stage but also to the final stage of his production era. Undoubtedly, Shakespeare was at the peak of his career between 1600 and 1608, because within these eight years six major tragedies were penned by him. These masterpieces include, among others, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 289) These four tragedies are also notorious plays which have been translated into numerous languages, have attracted a wide readership and have been performed on stage relatively frequently. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 293)

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[8] The term "T/V distinction" refers to the fact that Elizabethan contemporaries distinguished between two different types of pronominal address, namely *thou* and *you*, whereby the former is referred to as the T pronoun and the latter as the V pronoun.

A work for which this holds true as well is *Romeo and Juliet*, which is regarded as Shakespeare's first great tragedy. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 305)

Taking into consideration the facts mentioned above my choice fell on precisely these five tragedies, namely *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. This sample of texts is regarded to constitute a sound basis for a study on terms of address, because in line with Brown and Gilman (1989: 159) I am of the opinion that

> (1) dramatic texts provide the best information on colloquial speech of the period; (2) the psychological soliloquies in the tragedies provide the access to inner life […]; and (3) the tragedies represent the full range of society in [this] period […].

More precisely, as to the first argument, William Shakespeare is supposed to provide an accurate picture of the linguistic features of his time, because as Salmon (1987b:265) convincingly argues

> the more skilful the dramatist, the more skilful he will be, if presenting the normal life of his time, in authenticating the action by an acceptable version of contemporary speech.

Since Shakespeare is regarded as a genius in his field, it is obvious that his plays form a sound basis for the study on term of address. Secondly, sometimes one wonders what makes a character use a particular term of address and in such a case it is useful to know his or her underlying motivation. Information on innermost emotions and genuine intentions can be received with the help of soliloquies and asides (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171), because these dramatic techniques offer "access to the speaker's inner life" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171). Soliloquies occur most frequently in the tragedies *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 292) Finally, the speakers which are presented in Shakespeare's tragedies are members of all the layers of Elizabethan society. The plays do not only depict the lives of the nobility and gentry but they also represent those of the lower classes (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171) ranging, for example, from kings, dukes and earls to clowns, murderers, servants, friars and supernatural beings, such as ghosts and

witches. The relationships which are portrayed are one between parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants as well as monarchs and subjects. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171) These characters participate in one-to-one confrontations which are characterised by the experience of bitter conflicts (Bruti 2000: 34), the development of social relations (Bruti 2000: 44) and the vast variety of terms of address.

2.3. The role of historical pragmatics

A field of study which is concerned with the extensive investigation of different terms of address in past centuries and, thus, also in the Early Modern English period is historical pragmatics. This is a relatively new research area which was established at the end of the 20th century, namely in the mid-1990s. (Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007: 12) The year which is regarded as the inauguration of this linguistic branch is 1995, because then *Historical Pragmatics* by Jucker was published (Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007: 30) and the *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* was introduced.

The emergence of the field of historical pragmatics is due to the co-operation of pragmatics and historical linguistics. (Jucker 1995: ix) The first component of historical pragmatics, namely pragmatics, is defined differently in various textbooks. For example, it is suggested to be "the study of how utterances have meanings in situations" (Leech 1983: x) or "[t]he study of the knowledge and procedures which enable people to understand each other's words" (Cook 2003: 130). In short, one can claim that "[p]ragmatics is the study of language use" (Jucker 2002: 90) which pays attention to the fact that different meanings can be attributed to lexemes so that "the same words uttered in two different contexts may have two totally different pragmatic meanings" (Walker 2007: 4). In contrast to pragmatics, historical linguistics as the second underlying methodology of historical pragmatics is primarily concerned with the study of linguistic change and its possible determinants. (Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007: 12)

Both pragmatics and historical linguistics exert influence on the role of historical pragmatics and account for the fact that historical pragmatics deals with "the application of pragmatics to the language of the past" (Walker 2007: 4). Thereby, written documents which provide linguistic evidence of past centuries are used. (Jucker 2002: 90) In the course of investigating these data two different approaches can be applied – pragmaphilology and diachronic pragmatics. (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 4) While the former pursues the aim of discovering clues in texts which allude to a possible context (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 11), the latter has the intention of investigating linguistic developments which occurred during the history of a particular language. (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 13)

Concerning the realization of diachronic pragmatics, two starting points are available. Researchers can either decide to focus on form or on function, which is referred to as form-to-function or as function-to-form mapping. This means that, with reference to the first opportunity, a certain lexical item is selected to be the subject of investigation and is, subsequently, examined for any pragmatic function. As an illustration the employment of the address pronouns *thou* and *you* can be mentioned, because they are frequently the core of studies in the field of diachronic pragmatics. (Jucker 2002: 91) In contrast, the function-to-form approach first of all selects a function which should be investigated and then tries to discover evidence for the use of such a phenomenon as politeness at different stages in the history of a particular language. (Jucker 2002: 92)

Regardless of which approach is favoured, historical pragmatics has two major aims. Firstly, in the foreground is

> the description and the understanding of conventions of language use in communities that once existed and that are no longer accessible for direct observation. (Bax 1981: 425, quoted in Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 6)

This means that the only available sources, namely written documents, are used, because these texts contain information about how language was realized in past centuries. (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 5) Besides, historical pragmatics fulfils the role of providing a "description and […] explanation of the

development of speech conventions in the course of time" (Bax 1981: 425, quoted in Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 6). In order to achieve all these aims a special set of methods is employed.

2.4. Methods in address research

When doing historical address research, scientists face a central problem of any historical study, namely that of limited methodological opportunities. Since documents which date from a period prior to the 20th century are not accessible directly, there are no opportunities to draw conclusions from observations, questionnaires or interviews. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 35) Although these methods of observing and eliciting information prove useful for contemporary address research, they can be disregarded for studies on terms of address in the past, because as Early Modern English is a dead language, native speakers can neither be observed in everyday situations nor can they be inquired about their personal habits concerning the employment of terms of address.

However, a method which has proved to be adequate and efficient for historical address research is accessing data indirectly via text analyses. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 36) Thereby, "written texts of a language no longer spoken" (Romaine 1982: 126) are investigated and can be cracked with regard to the employment of terms of address, whereby possible sources do not only comprise literary texts, such as plays, expedition reports and courtesy books, but also epistolary and documentary pieces of material, for example, accounts of state trials, pamphlets, diaries and biographies. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 41-42) In the course of analysing this data, prevailing linguistic theories are applied to gain profound insights into the use of address terms in past centuries. (Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007: 15)

By doing so, different approaches can be applied. Firstly, a socio-linguistic study can be conducted which puts emphasis on the social meaning of address expressions (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 38). Human beings regularly communicate with others and in the course of talking with their interaction

partners they also address them. Referring directly to interlocutors is a central part of any verbal exchange and can affect the course of such a conversation. It is important for us as speakers to bear in mind that

> [w]hen we open our mouths to say something, we usually feel we are just talking, but what we say and how we say it are chosen from a great range of possibilities. And others react to our choices." (Tannen 1986: 45)

Therefore, the selection of such vital discourse markers as address terms should be a careful one, because pronominal as well as nominal address forms convey information about the speaker, the addressee and the relationship between them. In other words, address terms can be regarded as "carriers of social information" (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 38).

Secondly, a linguistically-oriented research procedure can be used which concentrates on the form. Hereby the intention is to receive information about the linguistic environment in which a particular term of address occurs. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 39) For example, data is collected on the frequency and the occurrence of address pronouns in a sample corpus in order to gain insights whether

> the choice of the pronouns can, at least to a certain extent, be influenced by intralinguistic factors such as [...] different types of verbs and different sentence types. (Busse 2002: 213)

Thirdly, extra-linguistically oriented analyses can be made, whereby attention is devoted to "the social structure and/or the socio-political history of the speech community concerned" (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 39). For the study of address terms it is vital to consider "the socio-historical context of the period under investigation" (Walker 2007: 5) and to realize the importance of such social factors as a speaker's "sex, age, class and religion" (ibid. 5) of which some are subject to historical circumstances. All of these three approaches can be applied for the investigation on aspects of the politeness phenomenon which subsumes terms of address and politeness strategies.

3. THEORIES OF POLITENESS

3.1. The meaning of politeness

The employment of various types of address is constantly judged in terms of politeness. Nominal as well as pronominal forms of address which are used in conversations are considered to be either polite or impolite (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 10), whereby the assignment of these adjectives is done almost intuitively so that one can, for example, assess correctly the passages stated below. Extract (2) shows an order by Macbeth to his servant whom he wishes to convey a message to his wife Lady Macbeth.

(2)   *Macb.* Go, bid thy mistress, when my drink is ready,
              She strike upon the bell. Get thee to bed.
         (*Macbeth* 2.1.31-32)[9]

In contrast, example (3) illustrates a messenger's command issued at Lady Macduff to take flight with her children immediately. Although this is an urgent request, it is formulated in a courteous way as the messenger, among others, opens the conversation with a salutation (*bless you*), refers to the woman with the polite address pronoun *you* and the polite expression *fair dame* and thereby constantly shows deference (Brown & Gilman 1989: 160), because despite offering a strong recommendation the speaker still finds himself in a situation in which respect has to be paid to the superior addressee. (Verschueren 1999: 45)

(3)   *Mess.* Bless you, fair dame! I am not to you known,
              Though in your state of honour I am perfect.
              I doubt, some danger does approach you nearly:
              If you will take a homely man's advice,
              Be not found here; hence, with your little ones.
              To fright you thus, methinks, I am too savage;
              To do worse to you were fell cruelty,
              Which is too nigh your person. Heaven preserve you!
              I dare abide no longer.
         (*Macbeth* 4.2.64-72)

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[9] In this thesis "Rojahn-Deyk, Barbara, ed. *Macbeth*. By William Shakespeare. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 2004." serves as a source of reference for sample passages from *Macbeth*.

Comparing these two examples, it becomes obvious that sample text (3) is more polite than passage (2). However, the questions which arise are, on the one hand, what the term *polite* means and, on the other hand, how it can be defined clearly. Although the adjective *polite* is frequently utilized, it is a fairly ambiguous lexical item as different people assign different meanings to it (Watts 2003: 13). Some mean polite behaviour (Watts 2003: 1), such as establishing and maintaining eye-contact, avoiding shouting at each other, refraining from interruptions and participating in turn-taking procedures (Brown & Gilman 1989: 358). However, others refer to polite language use (Watts 2003: 1) which includes not only the content of an interaction but also the manner of talking. This means that the way how something is formulates is as essential as the lexemes themselves which are actually uttered. (Leech 1983: 139)

With regard to the employment of terms of address in Shakespeare's plays, the focus of attention is on polite language use. The nominal and pronominal forms of address can be considered to be used in a polite way when they are adequate in a certain situation, i.e. the forms of address are selected from a whole range of possible nouns and pronouns which conform to a normal and natural usage. (Braun 1988: 49)

> Thus, a form of address which is appropriate to the relationship of speaker and addressee, and which is in accord with the rules of the community, or at least those of the dyad, will always be regarded as adequately polite. (Braun 1988: 49)

Besides the notion of adequacy, the concepts of absolute and relative politeness should be considered as well since they account for various types of politeness. The former, namely absolute politeness, is based on the underlying assumption that there is a scale of politeness expressions with two opposing poles, namely a positive and a negative one, so that some nominal and pronominal forms of address are regarded to be polite whereas others are assumed to be impolite. (Leech 1983: 83)

In contrast to absolute politeness, relative politeness is defined as "relative to some norm of behaviour" (Leech 1983: 84) and "relative to a particular context"

(Culpeper 1996: 350) so that the degree of politeness is never stable but varies depending on the situation. For example, the exchange of the pronoun *you* between friends who normally thou each other causes a situation in which the polite pronominal address is interpreted as everything but inherently polite. (Braun 1988: 48) Therefore, *you* only appears to be polite under some circumstances, while it is perceived to be too polite or far less polite in others. (Leech 1983: 102)

3.2. Reasons for employing polite terms

From the perspective of pragmatics, polite language use is concerned with "putting things in a way that takes account of other person's feelings[10]" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 160). The motivation for showing serious concern for the collocutors' emotions and desires is many-folded, whereby human beings primarily use polite lexical items or formulate statements in a courteous way because of psychological reasons. They make an effort to avoid negative consequences ranging from preventing direct appeal to castration and face loss. (Braun 1988: 54)

More precisely, the avoidance of a direct appeal to the addressee is achieved by choosing the pronoun *you* in preference to *thou*, because this practice aids in creating and maintaining more distance between the interaction partners. This wish of keeping distance between the speaker and the addressee is explained from a psychological perspective with reference to the human fear of castration. (Braun 1988: 54) Regarding Elizabethan society, it seems that people used to be confronted with a wide range of different anxieties of which one main fear was the unconscious fear of castration. (Silverberg 1940: 524) This fear is supposed to be the result of a possible link which can be established between a person's name and the person him/herself. (Silverberg 1940: 513)

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[10] The precise nature of these feelings is described in more detail by Brown and Levinson, who introduced the technical term 'face' which they even subdivided into two types, namely 'positive face' and 'negative face'. An in-depth outline of Brown and Levinson's concept of face is provided in "3.6.1.The notion of face".

> [T]he savage commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two […]. In fact, primitive man regards his name as a vital portion of himself and takes care of it accordingly. Thus, for example, the North American Indian "regards his name, not as a mere label, but as a distinct part of his personality, just as much as are his eyes or his teeth, and believes that injury will result as surely from the malicious handling of his name as from a wound inflicted on any part of his physical organism". (Frazer 1925: 244ff, quoted in Silverberg 1940: 512-513)

Consequently, referring to a person by means of the familiar pronoun *thou* might be considered to be an act which threatens his or her own personality. Since one's personality finds expression in the psychological symbol of the penis, the selection of address terms which are assumed to represent more distance, such as the polite pronoun *you*, can be regarded as a measure to protect the penis and to avoid castration. (Silverberg 1940: 514)

Likewise, Brown and Levinson (1992: 72) state a further anxiety as a plausible reason, namely the fear of face loss. In order to ensure that the addressee's face is maintained the speaker decides to select polite expressions. (Braun 1988: 54) What is generally perceived to be polite is the fact that the speaker changes his or her habit of addressing the hearer directly and instead chooses to use a different pronoun, a nominal or a passive construction. (Braun 1988: 55) The insight that these techniques are regarded as polite ways of communicating has been gained by a large number of scientists among whom there have not only been psychologists but also linguists. Primarily in the 1970s and 1980s these scholars undertook research in the area of politeness, were concerned with address theory and intended to establish a general principle of politeness. (Fairclough 1992: 162)

3.3. Grice's Cooperative Principle

The key principle underpinning all theories of politeness is the Cooperative Principle (Watts 2003: 203) which was formulated by the philosopher H. Paul Grice. (Finch 2000: 159) He explicitly stated that human beings are normally not isolated from each other and therefore do not only talk to themselves but

participate frequently in conversations with at least one other speaker. (Ellis & Beattie 1986: 151) In such verbal exchanges their communicative behaviour is influenced by the intention to show mutual cooperation. This habit was described in the notorious cooperative principle which is usually abbreviated as CP (Verschueren 1999: 32):

> Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction. This purpose or direction may be fixed from the start […], or it may evolve during the exchange; it may be fairly definite, or it may evolve during the exchange; it may be fairly definite, or it may be so indefinite as to leave very considerable latitude to the participants […]. But at each stage, SOME possible conversational moves would be excluded as conversationally unsuitable. We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected (ceteris paribus) to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. One might label this the COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE. (Grice 1975: 45)

This principle which serves the aim of effective communication is further subdivided into several maxims. Altogether Grice proposed four maxims, whereby they need not be regarded as strict rules (Fasold 2006: 160) which have to be obeyed but rather as features of "an unspoken pact" (Finegan & Besnier 1989: 332) which allow the assumption that participants generally display cooperative behaviour. (Verschueren 1999: 32) In order to ensure that communication is effective and cooperative the interactants rely on the four maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner whose implicit requests are defined in Table (1).

(1) Maxim of Quality	Try to make your contribution one that is true. (a) Do not say what you believe to be false. (b) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
(2) Maxim of Quantity	(a) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange). (b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

(3) Maxim of Relation	Be relevant.
(4) Maxim of Manner	Be perspicuous. (a) Avoid obscurity of expression. (b) Avoid ambiguity. (c) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity). (d) Be orderly.

Table 1: The four maxims of the cooperative principle (based on Grice 1975: 45-46)

On the whole, the first maxim listed in Table (1) is the most crucial one of all four maxims, because if the maxim of quality is violated and the speaker makes an erroneous statement, it is unnecessary to follow the maxim of quantity, the maxim of relation or the maxim of manner. (Finegan & Besnier 1989: 334) Therefore, correct statements should be uttered exclusively and in addition they should provide a sufficient amount of information. That it is unsatisfactory to be confronted with a lack of information can be illustrated with example (4) which clearly indicates that Romeo does not adhere to the maxim of quantity as he first of all hesitates and eventually withholds some pieces of information from his friend Benvolio by not admitting who he has fallen in love with and by not even telling him the woman's name. The reply to Benvolio's request, *a woman*, is not as informative as it should have been.

(4)   *Benvolio*   Tell me in sadness, who is it that you love?
          Romeo   What, shall I groan and tell thee?
          Benvolio   Groan? Why, no.
                        But sadly tell me who.
          Romeo   Bid a sick man in sadness make his will.
                        Ah, word ill urged to one that is so ill!
                        In sadness, cousin, I do love a woman.
      (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.198-203)[11]

Concerning the maxim of relation, the order of being relevant has caused serious discussions about what the term *relevant* actually means and, thus, it is advantageous to define it as follows: "An utterance U is relevant to a speech situation if U can be interpreted as contributing to the conversational goal(s)" (Leech 1983: 94). Finally, the maxim of manner is concerned with clarity and refers to the fact that statements should be formulated in conformity with the

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[11] In this thesis "Geisen, Herbert, ed. *Romeo and Juliet*. By William Shakespeare. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1994." serves as a source of reference for sample passages from *Romeo and Juliet*.

syntax, phonology and semantics of a language which is spoken by all interactants and that these utterances should be expressed in an audible way too. (Clark & Clark 1977: 122)

If all of these rules are observed, effective and cooperative communication is usually guaranteed. However, occasionally interaction partners refuse to cooperate. (Finegan & Besnier 1989: 334) This does not only occur in real life conversations but is also reflected in dramatic texts. In my opinion example (5) taken from *Hamlet* shows that the gravedigger ignores the need for cooperation and thereby creates a situation in which his lack of cooperation eventually represents a sense of humour and invites the audience to burst into laughter. (Blake 2002: 311)

(5)	*Hamlet*	Whose grave's this, sirrah?
	First clown	Mine, sir. […]
	Hamlet	I think it be thine indeed, for thou liest in't.
	First clown	You lie out on't, sir, and therefore 'tis not yours; for my part, I do not lie in't, yet it is mine.
	Hamlet	Thou dost lie in't, to be in't and say it is thine, 'tis for the dead, not for the quick – therefore thou liest.
	First clown	'Tis a quick lie, sir, 'twill away again from me to you.
	Hamlet	What man dost thou dig it for?
	First clown	For no man, sir.
	Hamlet	What woman, then?
	First clown	For none neither.
	Hamlet	Who is to be buried in't?
	First clown	One that was a woman, sir, but rest her soul, she's dead.

(*Hamlet* 5.1.110-127)[12]

In particular in plays the maxims of the cooperative principle are exploited and frequently broken in order to achieve particular theatrical purposes. Besides the effect of creating funny scenes, paying attention to the theatregoers' information gap is essential as well, because the audience does not have the same amount of information available as the players on stage. Consequently, the visitors need to be provided, for example, with facts about the context and the characters. Obviously, this causes some disregard for the maxims of the cooperative-

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[12] In this thesis "Klein, Holger, ed. *Hamlet*. By William Shakespeare. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1993." serves as a source of reference for sample passages from *Hamlet*.

principle. (Blake 2002: 305) For example, I think as an illustration of the breach of the maxim of quantity the beginning of the prologue in *Romeo and Juliet* can be mentioned where it is announced to the audience, "it is '[i]n fair Verona, where we lay our scene' (Geisen 1994: 7)". Although this does not resemble reality where everyone would know at which location he or she is at the moment, it is worth mentioning the setting for the viewers.

As already mentioned, the violation of the maxims of the cooperative principle can be an essential part of a play since a break of the rules can, on the one hand, create a humorous effect or, on the other hand, can constitute an additional piece of information. In other words, the disregard of a maxim definitely carries a special meaning, because if somebody does not follow the cooperative principle, he or she intends to express something different with this kind of communicative behaviour, which the interaction partner probably tries to make sense of. (Verschueren 1999: 33) Instances in which the hearer is urged to interpret the utterances in line with a special meaning are, for example, a situation in which the speaker commits a noticeable violation by telling a lie, a case of total withdrawal from conversation by not willing to provide a reply to a request, the acceptance of a clash of maxims so that one of them is not abide to and a deliberate flout. (Short 1981: 190)

One obvious reason for breaking the maxims of the cooperative principle is the intention to show politeness. (Watts 2003: 203) When a speaker expatiates such as the messenger in passage (3), the breach of the maxim of quantity is thereby accepted in order to ensure to formulate the request in a polite way. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 160) This example clearly shows that politeness is also an essential feature of communication and sometimes even has top priority. (Leech 1983: 82) Grice was aware of this phenomenon as he admitted that „[t]here are, of course, all sorts of other maxims […], such as 'Be polite', that are normally observed by participants in talk exchanges" (Grice 1975: 47) and therefore he proposed to improve his theory by adding a maxim of politeness. On his suggestion a large group of linguists including R. Lakoff, Leech, Brown and Levinson paid attention to the importance of politeness and developed their own theories of politeness. (Watts 2003: 58)

3.4. R. Lakoff's approach

R. Lakoff focused on the concept of pragmatic competence (Kopytko 1993: 18) which every speaker possesses in order to produce "an utterance [that] is well or ill-formed" (Kopytko 1993: 18). The aim of displaying pragmatic competence successfully is achieved by following two main requests and the rules belonging to them. What is expected from a speaker is, first of all, to be clear when formulating an utterance and, secondly, to be polite in conversational exchanges. The demand for being clear is expressed in more detail in the rules of conversation which are equivalent to Grice's four maxims of the Cooperative Principle – the maxim of quality, the maxim of quantity, the maxim of relation and the maxim of manner. (Watts 2003: 60)

By postulating the need of being clear and by formulating the rules of conversation, Lakoff confirmed Grice's theory and eventually succeeded in augmenting it by introducing the call for being polite and its appropriate sub-rules. On the whole Lakoff (1973: 298) proposed three rules of politeness and formulated them as (1) Don't impose, (2) Give options, and (3) Make A (i.e. addressee) feel good, or in other words, Be friendly.

These instructions can be put into practice, for example, by starting cooling the relationship and formulating sentences with the necessary distance so that a question such as *May I ask you how to get to Soho?* is regarded to be more polite than *May I ask you how much is two plus two?*. Moreover, an utterance should allow the possibility for the hearer to determine on his or her own to offer a reply. This means that the interaction partner must have the opportunity to choose from particular options and must be able to take advantage of the chance to either accept or reject a request or invitation. As illustrations serve the example sentences *I guess it is time to leave* and *It is time to leave, isn't it?*, which both are in accord with the need of giving options. Finally, the third rule of politeness, namely being friendly, can be applied by creating the impression that the addressee is considered to be a friend. (Kopytko 1993: 20) This practice can be found in Shakespeare's plays with regard to the employment of

the familiar pronoun of *thou* instead of the more formal address type of *you.*
(Brown & Levinson 1992: 107)

With the help of the three rules of politeness a type of communication should be developed which "strengthen[s] the social bonds or friendly relationship of the participants in the discourse" (Kopytko 1993: 18). Unless certain strategies are applied to ensure that interactants get on with each other fairly well, some potential for conflicts can arise and prevail, which should be intended to be prevented by all parties. (Watts 2003: 50)

3.5. Leech's Politeness Principle

In the same way as Lakoff's approach, Leech's theory aims at avoiding friction by observing six maxims of politeness. Leech argues that "linguistic behaviour […] is [among others] governed by […] interpersonal rhetoric" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 4), which is a system consisting, on the one hand, of Grice's cooperative principle with its four maxims and, on the other hand, of the politeness principle with its six maxims proposed by Leech himself.[13] (Watts 2003: 64) Both Lakoff's approach and Leech's politeness principle are quite similar in that their functions resemble each other since they are supposed to regulate communication and to prevent conflicts. (Leech 1983: 82) The politeness principle above all intends "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations" (Leech 1983: 82) so that effective cooperation among interaction partners is possible. (Kopytko 1993: 21) A striking scene which exemplifies an attempt of regaining a state of equilibrium is in *Macbeth* when after King Duncan's death Macbeth and his wife Lady Macbeth hold a banquet in their castle and invite some lords which they try to flatter. (Culpeper 1996: 364) For example, the lords receive a "hearty welcome" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 90) which they accept gratefully and are addressed as "worthy friends" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 90).

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[13] In addition to the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle, the Irony Principle belongs to the system of interpersonal rhetoric as well. (Watts 2003: 64)

According to Leech (1983: 81) the politeness principle is applied in conversations in order to "[m]inimize (other things being equal) the expressions of impolite beliefs" or in order to "[m]aximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs". This decrease of linguistic impoliteness and hence the increase of politeness in verbal exchanges are achieved by observing the six maxims of politeness which Leech (1983: 132) referred to as the Tact Maxim, the Generosity Maxim, the Approbation Maxim, the Modesty Maxim, the Agreement Maxim and the Sympathy Maxim. In Table (2) the precise requests indicated by the six maxims are outlined in a positive as well as in a negative way of formulating rules.

Tact Maxim	(a) Minimize the cost to other. (b) Maximize benefit to other.
Generosity Maxim	(a) Minimize benefit to self. (b) Maximize cost to self.
Approbation Maxim	(a) Minimize dispraise of other. (b) Maximize praise of other.
Modesty Maxim	(a) Minimize praise of self. (b) Maximize dispraise of self.
Agreement Maxim	(a) Minimize disagreement between self and other. (b) Maximize agreement between self and other.
Sympathy Maxim	(a) Minimize antipathy between self and other. (b) Maximize sympathy between self and other.

Table 2: The six maxims of Leech's politeness principle, cf. Leech (1983: 132)

These six maxims of politeness are strongly oriented towards the speaker's and the hearer's cost and benefit. Nevertheless, in addition to cost and benefit there are further features which influence the employment of politeness rules so that altogether three different types of scales can be distinguished "along which each of the maxims of the PP [i.e. politeness principle] must operate" (Watts 2003: 68). These three scales are the cost-benefit scale, the optionality scale and the indirectness scale. (Leech 1983: 123) More precisely, while the cost-benefit scale aids in considering carefully "the amount of cost to her/himself and the amount of benefit his utterance will bring the hearer" (Watts 2003: 68), the optionality scale proves useful to estimate whether the hearer is given the

opportunity to decide on his or her own how to respond to a particular speech act and the indirectness scale helps to judge how much effort is required on part of the addressee in order to understand the meaning of a speaker's speech act. (Watts 2003: 68)

3.6. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

In comparison to Leech's politeness principle which primarily concentrates on the hearer in a conversational interaction, the theory proposed by Brown and Levinson is more concerned with the speaker. (Watts 2003: 85) In line with this focus, Brown and Levinson developed "the best available descriptive framework for politeness phenomena" (Kopytko 1993: 516). In the course of producing "the most influential pragmatic theory of politeness" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 50), Brown and Levinson discovered and formulated, among others, different politeness strategies which the speakers apply in order to communicate with others.

All the insights which Brown and Levinson gained on politeness and which they published in their books *Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena* in 1978 and in the first revised edition *Politeness: Some universals in language usage* in 1987 are based on utterances by native speakers of various nationalities ranging from Indian and Mexican to US American and British. On the basis of this data Brown and Levinson established a universal theory of politeness, highlighted the use of a large number of strategies which are applied by speakers to incorporate politeness in their linguistic behaviour (Grundy 2000: 156) and introduced essential terms for the discussion on the politeness phenomenon such as 'face', 'face-threatening acts' and 'Model Person'. The latter is a term to which Brown and Levinson refer in short as MP and such a model person (MP) is assumed to possess special characteristics such as rationality and face. (Kopytko 1993: 23) By definition, the first characteristic, namely that of rationality, is "the ability to rationalise from communicative goals to the optional means of achieving those goals" (Watts 2003: 85) and the second characteristic, namely the concept of face, will be explained in detail in the subsequent section.

3.6.1. The notion of 'face'

The technical term 'face' is an abstract one and although it has a distinct meaning with regard to the politeness phenomenon, it is still closely linked to the common understanding of face as something whose loss can cause a feeling of intense embarrassment and a sense of great humiliation. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 61) These are some of the feelings which people generally do not want others to suffer from and, thus, they apply polite verbal behaviour, because as mentioned previously "politeness means putting things in such a way as to take account of the feelings of the hearer" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 161). Precisely such feelings are taken into consideration by the notion of face[14], which is defined as "the public self image that every member wants to claim for himself" (Kopytko 1993: 25). A speaker's face is the driving force underlying every conversational exchange, because the interactants wish to maintain the balance between them by paying attention to each other's feelings and by preventing to disturb each other's faces. (Blum-Kulka 1997: 50) Therefore, cooperate behaviour is shown by all participants due to the fact that "everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 61).

However, a speaker's face which represents his or her "public self-image" (Peccei 1999: 64) need not resemble the real self. (Kopytko 1993: 31) Occasionally the "imagined self" (Kopytko 1993: 30) differs widely from the real self, which, for example, is in my opinion the case with the character of Macbeth who admits that a "[f]alse face must hide what the false heart doth know" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 42). I think there seems to be a discrepancy between how Macbeth is regarded by others due to his public behaviour and how he acts privately. The general image Macbeth enjoys is one of a great hero who defeated many enemies and who is granted the title 'Thane of Cawdor' as a token of King Duncan's thanks for his courage and commitment. However, in reality he is everything but a strong and loyal soldier and rather depicts himself

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[14] Brown and Levinson's understanding of the concept of face derives from Goffman (Watts 2003: 85), who assumed that it is "the positive said value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Watts 2003: 104) and who, in line with this definition, roughly equated it in with a person's self-esteem. (Grundy 2000: 156)

as a tyrant who does not shrink back from cruel deeds such as several murders. For instance, while on one occasion Macbeth publicly displays polite behaviour when he invites Banquo to a banquet, in private he already plans to assassinate him. Gradually his countrymen notice his real self and realize that he is a "hellhound" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 160), a "bloodier villain" (ibid. 160) and a "butcher" (ibid. 164).

Nevertheless, the notion of face is vital in conversations as it makes allowance for two particular wants which are referred to as positive face and as negative face. The former is by definition "the individual's desire that her/his wants be appreciated and approved of in social interactions" (Watts 2003: 86). Among others, people try to present themselves in a positive light (Diamond 1996: 20) and make their interaction partners wish to like them, to understand them, to include them in their circle of friends, (Grundy 2000: 156) to set the same goals (Peccei 1999: 64) and to be filled with envy for particular material and non-material values. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 63) Every person feels "the want […] that his wants be desirable to at least some other" (Kopytko 1993: 25), whereby these desirable properties include achievements of various kinds, possessions, personal aims, values and actions. They should be especially tempting for a particular group of people so that, for example, a woman who is interested in gardening and has grown beautiful roses mainly tries to attract gardeners and wishes them to admire her rose garden. Consequently, this woman is glad (Brown & Levinson 1992: 63) when some other dedicated gardener tells her, "What lovely roses; I wish ours looked like that! How do you do it?" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 63).

In contrast to positive face, negative face refers to "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" (Brown and Levinson 1992: 62). It stands for the wish to enjoy "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Watts 2003: 86). People desire to have the opportunity to determine on their own which actions to set. However, sometimes people's wishes for negative and positive face cannot be fulfilled, which can be exemplified by example (3) from *Macbeth*, where the messenger orders Lady Macduff to flee and thereby restricts her right of self-determination. (Brown &

Gilman 1989: 161) Additionally, the messenger is not capable of satisfying "what each person wants […] that others want for him what he wants for himself" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 161), because he informs her about the fact that others intend to do her some harm and this clearly constitutes a deprival of one of the greatest goods, namely the right of life. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 162) Within the scope of politeness theory, the lack of self-determination and the loss of the claim to life are called threats to the negative and to the positive face.

3.6.2. Face-threatening acts

"Those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 65) are called face-threatening acts (FTAs) and can pose a risk for the positive as well as for the negative face (Brown & Levinson 1992: 65), whereby the degree of risk which is involved in the performance of a face-threatening act can vary greatly as it depends on various sociological variables. The influential factors can be demonstrated with the help of example passages (2) and (3), because they clearly show that three figures are of great importance, namely social distance (D), relative power (P) and ranked imposition (R) (Kopytko 1993: 26) which refers to the "risk posed by the message which the speaker has to convey to the addressee" (Blake 2002: 322).

In extract (2) where Macbeth addresses his servant seems to be less polite than extract (3) where a messenger speaks to Lady Macduff. This difference in politeness results from the different levels of social distance, relative power and ranked imposition. In extract (2) Macbeth and his servant have a long-standing relationship because they know each other and have been confronted with each other before, whereas the relationship between the messenger and Lady Macduff is a distant one since they are not familiar to each other and enter a conversation with each other for the first time. Concerning the variable of status, in example (2) Macbeth is the superior one and due to his social superiority he is able to exert power and to give orders to the servant (Brown & Gilman 1989: 160), whereby what Macbeth requests his servant to do is nothing special but

he solely demands "a routine service" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 161) so that the factor of "how great a thing is requested" (ibid. 161) from the hearer is rather low. In comparison, example (3) presents a socially inferior messenger who requests Lady Macduff to do something extraordinary, namely to take flight with her children. (ibid. 161)

Of all three sociological variables, the factor of social distance is the one that has attracted most attention from the researchers. One the one hand, Brown and Gilman split social distance into two parts which are affect (i.e. personal liking) and intimacy and, on the other hand, Kopytko (1995: 515) argued that with regard to Shakespeare's texts social distance seems to comprise even more variables and, therefore, listed the additional factors of cunning (C), importance (Im) and negative affect (An). In this context the terms which probably require further explanation are importance and cunning. In the course of committing face-threatening acts, 'importance' means the significance which is assigned to an act and cunning refers to a

> premeditated act of S [i.e. speaker] to deceive H [i.e. hearer] by making him believe that an act X performed by S for H is sincere, unselfish or simply for the benefit of H. (Kopytko 1995: 515)

By taking into consideration all the sociological variables, Brown and Levinson managed to devise a formula which aids in calculating the weightiness of a face-threatening act: $W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 163) Thus, the seriousness of a face-threatening act can be defined as

> a function of the social distance between the speaker (S) and addressee (H) plus the power of the addressee (H) over the speaker (S) plus the culturally ranked intrinsic threat R_x posed by the FTA. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 163)

Inferring from this formula, the risk of a face-threatening act becomes greater if the addressee is superior, if the interaction partners are strangers and if the request is demanding. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 163) Obviously, speakers always tend to make an effort to avoid face-threatening acts or at least to reduce their weightiness. (Kopytko 1993: 24)

3.6.3. Politeness strategies

The risk of a face-threatening act towards an interaction partner's positive and negative face can be minimized by applying particular politeness strategies. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 68) Altogether a set of five different politeness strategies (Figure (1)) is at the speaker's disposal in order to show consideration for the addressee's face wants and in order to formulate utterances in a polite manner. The speaker can thus decide whether s/he wishes to perform the face-threatening act or not, and if the speaker intends to do the FTA, he or she can say something off record or on record. With regard to the employment of on-record strategies, there are two possibilities available, namely the speaker is able to choose to formulate his or her utterance, on the one hand, without a redressive action by using bald on-record strategies and, on the other hand, with a redressive action. Concerning the latter, i.e. saying something with a redressive action, the speaker can choose again between two opportunities, which means that he or she can use either positive or negative politeness strategies. In summary, the five politeness strategies which are available in order to utter statements in a polite fashion are (1) bald on-record strategies, (2) positive politeness strategies, (3) negative politeness strategies, (4) off-record strategies and (5) opting out. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 60)
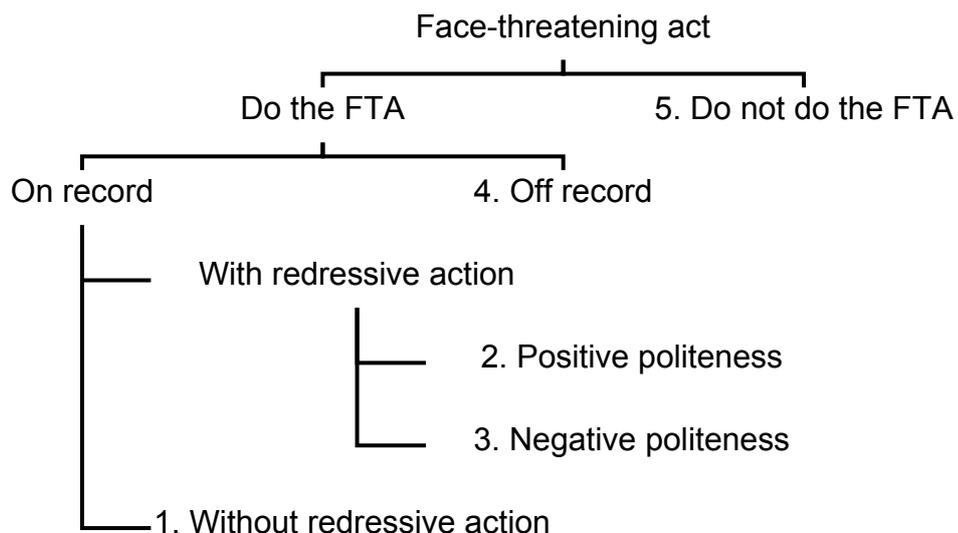
Figure 1: Politeness strategies (based on Brown & Levinson 1992: 60)

The type of politeness strategy which is finally selected by the speaker depends largely on the actual risk of the face-threatening act. (Blum-Kulka 1997: 52) If the seriousness of the FTA is too high, the speaker will at the best decide not to do the FTA at all and to refrain from conveying his or her utterance. However, if the weightiness of the FTA is acceptable, the speaker will probably apply strategies (1) to (4), whereby according to Brown and Levinson these strategies occupy different positions on a scale of politeness ranging from off-record strategies, which are the most polite ones out of these four strategies, to the positive and negative politeness strategies, followed by the bald on-record strategies. (Sell 1991: 212) As this ranking clearly indicates, "the more indirect the utterance, the more considerate and the more polite it is considered to be" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 52).

3.6.3.1. Bald on-record

Bald on-record strategies are the least polite ones of all strategies which are available to minimize a face-threatening act (Sell 1991: 212) since they suggest that a message is uttered in the most direct and most open way so that the speaker does not make any effort to express statements in concordance with the hearer's face wants (Verschueren 1999: 45) but intends to formulate his or her statements as unambiguously as possible. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 162) This practice is usually feasible "[i]f the risk is minimal, or if there are overwhelming good reasons for ignoring face risk" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 51). Such situations in which the seriousness of face-threatening acts is solely of secondary importance are ones which are characterised by the fact that "other demands […] override face concerns" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 98).

In particular, there are three main reasons which account for the disregard of face risks. Firstly, the attempt to take the addressee's face wants into consideration is in the background when there is a situation in which urgency and desperation prevail so that a high level of efficiency is in the foreground. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 95) For example, the situation when Lady Macbeth faints and cries for help can in my opinion be taken as an illustration of

immediate urgency and extreme desperation, because she does not lose precious minutes by extensively explaining that she desperately needs help but shouts, "Help me hence, ho!" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 62). By this act the characters' attention is distracted to herself from her husband Macbeth, who is requested to clarify why he killed the guards who in his opinion had murdered King Duncan. If Macbeth had continued talking about the king's assassination, he would have risked admitting being the murderer. Therefore, Lady Macbeth's fainting fit can be seen as a diversionary manoeuvre from which Macbeth greatly benefits.

Acting in somebody's interest is also of importance in explaining the employment of bald on-record strategies, because uttering statements in the benefit of the hearer constitutes the second reason for ignoring the addressee's face wants. Occasionally, speakers refrain from formulating sentences politely if they rather focus on emphasizing that they take care of the addressee. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 98) In my view this usage can be exemplified by a scene from *Macbeth* where Lady Macduff's son, who tried to defend his father's good reputation is stabbed by a murderer, orders his mother in the throes of death to "[r]un away" (Rojahn-Deyk 2004: 120) and emphasizes this urgent warning by adding "I pray you!" (ibid. 120). By doing so, a sense of urgency is expressed as the son wishes her not to hesitate and to flee immediately and, moreover, a feeling of sincere care for his mother is represented as the son wants her to flee in order to survive.

Finally, the employment of bald-on-record strategies can be explained by means of power relations. It is argued that a speaker who feels to be superior in terms of power and status and who feels to be able to trust in mutual cooperation frequently desists from using face-saving acts. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 97) For example, in extract (6) Romeo, who arrives with his servant Balthasar at the tomb, gives him the following direct orders:

(6)   *Romeo*   Give me that mattock and the wrenching iron.
              Hold, take this letter. Early in the morning
              See thou deliver it to my lord and father.
       (*Romeo and Juliet* 5.3.22-24)

Romeo is supposed not to take advantage of any polite expressions because in this relationship he is the superior one and he can be sure that his servant obeys his orders.

3.6.3.2. Positive politeness

There are further possibilities for speakers to go on record which, in contrast to bald on-record strategies, are oriented towards the addressee's face. While strategies which show some redressive action towards the hearer's positive face are called positive politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1992: 101), strategies which represent attempts to save the negative face are referred to as negative politeness strategies. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 129) The former of these two varieties for going on record with redressive action is discussed in detail in this section. These positive politeness strategies are aimed at "preserving the positive face of other people" (Peccei 1999: 64) and are geared towards the establishment of some common ground between the speaker and the addressee. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 103) In order to achieve these goals, Brown and Levinson argued that speakers can use a large number of strategies and introduced a list of fifteen substrategies of positive politeness (Kopytko 1993: 27) which is presented in Table (3) below.

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to the hearer (his interests, wants, needs goods)
Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with the hearer)
Strategy 3: Intensify interest to the hearer
Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers
Strategy 5: Seek agreement
Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement
Strategy 7: Presuppose, raise, assert common ground
Strategy 8: Joke
Strategy 9: Assert the knowledge of and concern for the hearer's wants
Strategy 10: Offer, promise
Strategy 11: Be optimistic
Strategy 12: Include both the speaker and the hearer in the activity
Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons
Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity
Strategy 15: Give gifts to the hearer

Table 3: The fifteen substrategies of positive politeness (based on Kopytko 1993: 27)

The first strategy of positive politeness states the need to "notice admirable qualities, possessions, etc." (Kopytko 1995: 517) of the hearer which refers to the fact that the speaker is urged to pay attention to "noticeable changes [and] remarkable possessions" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 103) on part of the addressee or to anything that the hearer might desire others to admire as well. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 103) Linguistically, this strategy is, for example, put into action via the employment of terms of address in combination with preceding elements which express the addressee's admirable qualities, possessions and achievements. (Kopytko 1995: 517) By way of illustration, in *Othello* the Duke of Venice, who is of superior rank compared to Othello himself who holds the command of the Venetian army, refers to Othello as 'valiant Othello' (McDonald 2001: 18)[15], and in *Romeo and Juliet* Montague is addressed by Benvolio as 'my noble uncle' (Geisen 1994: 16) and Romeo is called by Mercutio 'gentle Romeo' (Geisen 1994: 34).

The second strategy belonging to the set of positive politeness strategies requests from the speaker to exaggerate, whereby the exaggeration of one's interest in the hearer or of one's approval of the addressee is also prone to some exaggeration of speech elements such as intonation patterns, stress and intensifying modifiers. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 104) Although this strategy is only of minor importance[16] in Shakespeare's texts (Kopytko 1995: 518), some passages taken from *King Lear* can be mentioned.

(7)   *Goneril*   Sir, I love you more than word can wield the matter;
                        Dearer than eyesight, space and liberty;
                        Beyond what can be valued, rich or rare;
                        No less than life, with grace, health, beauty, honor;
                        As much as child e'er loved, or father found;
                        A love that makes breath poor, and speech unable.
                        Beyond all manner of so much I love you.
        (*King Lear* 1.1.55-61)[17]

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[15] In this thesis "McDonald, Russ, ed. *Othello*. By William Shakespeare. New York: Penguin Books, 2001." serves as a source of reference for sample passages from *Othello*.

[16] Detailed information on the frequency of occurrence of any positive or negative politeness strategy mentioned in this thesis is provided in Kopytko (1995) where results of an analysis of four of the tragedies which are also dealt with in this project, namely of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *King Lear*, are presented.

[17] In this thesis "Orgel, Stephen, ed. *King Lear*. By William Shakespeare. New York: Penguin Books, 1999." serves as a source of reference for sample passages from *King Lear*.

In example (7) Goneril, King Lear's daughter, speaks to her father King Lear and in this relationship Goneril is definitely inferior, because not only were children inferior to their fathers but subjects were also inferior to monarchs. In particular such less powerful speakers frequently apply the strategy of exaggeration to more powerful addressees. (Kopytko 1995: 518) Likewise, in example (8) the Earl of Kent, who occupies a lower position on the social ladder than King Lear, embroiders his utterance with elements of exaggeration.

(8)   *Kent*   Royal Lear,
                Whom I have ever honoured as my king,
                Loved as my father, as my master followed,
                As my great patron thought on in my prayers –
        (*King Lear* 1.1.141-143)

While the second strategy aims at intensifying the interest of the speaker towards his interaction partner, the third strategy intends to intensify the hearer's interest towards the speaker's utterances. The speaker should attract the addressee's attention to the stories he or she tells (Brown & Levinson 1992: 106), such as in example (9) where Horatio tells the following:

(9)   *Horatio*   In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
                      A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
                      The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
                      Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets…
        (*Hamlet* 1.1.113-116)

The fourth strategy of positive politeness which also aims at establishing a sort of involvement of the hearer urges the speaker to "use in-group identity markers" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 107) so that the addressee feels to be part of a particular group. This sense of membership can be achieved by talking in a shared dialect, using lexical items belonging to a certain jargon, taking advantage of ellipsis or employing particular address terms, such as the familiar pronoun *thou* and nominal address terms like *honey*, *dear*, *mom*, *brother*, *sister* or *sweetheart* (Brown & Levinson 1992: 107). With regard to Shakespeare's tragedies, the fourth type of positive politeness strategies is applied in the scene where Othello addresses his wife Desdemona with *sweeting* as a term of affection in *All's well now, sweeting*. (McDonald 2001: 55). Likewise, in *Romeo*

and Juliet the "pair of star-crossed lovers" (Geisen 1994: 7) exchanges the address term *love* when they discuss if they hear birdcalls from the nightingale or the lark in order to discover whether they have to separate so that Romeo can go into the enforced exile, which is illustrated in example (10).

(10) *Juliet*   Believe me, love, it was the nightingale.
     Romeo   It was the lark, the herald of the morn;
               No nightingale. Look, love, what envious streaks
               Do lace the severing clouds in yonder East.
     (*Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.5-8)

Still sad that Romeo has left, Juliet is informed that she is supposed to marry Paris and refuses to do so, which causes a quarrel with her father who does not want to accept that his daughter ignores her parents' wish. In the course of their serious conversation, of which a short passage is illustrated in example (11), Juliet refers to her father with *good father*, and requests the following from him:

(11) *Juliet*   Good father, I beseech you on my knees,
               Hear me with patience but to speak a word.
     (*Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.158-159)

As this example shows, the basis underlying an argument is normally a difference of opinion and in order to avoid such conflicts the fifth and the sixth strategy are primarily applied since they request from the speaker to seek agreement (Brown & Levinson 1992: 112) and to avoid disagreement. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 113) More precisely, the fifth strategy of positive politeness urges the speaker to "seek ways in which it is possible to agree with him" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 112), i.e. with the interaction partner, whereby common methods include the selection of safe topics and the use of repetition. If the speaker decides to talk, for example, about the weather, which constitutes a safe topic, he or she can assume that the hearer is of the same opinion on this typical conversational topic. Moreover, if a speaker repeats what the hearer said previously, as this is the case in example (12), the speaker can ensure the addressee that he or she agrees with what was stated. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 112) This strategy of seeking agreement is usually employed by persons

of lower power who wish to reach agreement with an interlocutor of higher power or with equally powerful partners. (Kopytko 1995: 519)

(12)   *Duke*   There's no composition in this news
                       That gives them credit.
       First Senator Indeed, they are disproportioned.
       (*Othello* 1.3.1-3)

Furthermore, strategies which aim at seeking agreement and, thus, at avoiding disagreement are white lies (Brown & Levinson 1992: 115), which occur when the speaker who is "confronted with the necessity to state an opinion, wants to lie […] rather than damage [the hearer's] positive face" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 115-116), and hedges. Not expressing one's own opinion clearly by using hedges like *sort of*, *kind of*, *like* and *in a way* can aid in avoiding disagreement. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 116)

Next, the seventh strategy of positive politeness states the need to "presuppose[,] raise [or] assert common ground" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 117), which means that the speaker is requested to emphasise the points of similarity between his opinions, attitudes or experiences and those of his interaction partner. (Kopytko 1995: 520) This conformity is achieved, among others, by keeping small talk as this type of conversation indicates that the speaker takes time and devotes some effort to concern himself or herself with the interlocutor, and this behaviour again represents a gesture of friendship and deep interest. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 117) Additionally, the employment of familiar address terms presupposes common ground as well, because one can assume that the underlying motivation for using such familiar address forms is some kind of familiarity between the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, if familiar address terms are chosen, one can presuppose that the conversation partners know each other. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 123) On the whole, opportunities for raising common ground are primarily seized "for softening requests for favours" (Kopytko 1995: 520), such as in example (13) where Hamlet asks Rosencrantz and Guildenstern for their reason of visiting him. In the course of putting them under the pressure of admitting that they arrived by the kings' and the queen's request, Hamlet emphasises their long friendship and their shared youth.

(13)   *Hamlet*   [B]ut let me conjure you, by
                      the rights of our fellowship, by the consonancy of our youth,
                      by the obligation of our ever-preserved love, and by what
                      more dear a better proposer can charge you withal, be even
                      and direct with me, whether you were sent for or no.
        (*Hamlet* 2.2.278-282)

Equal to the seventh strategy, the eight strategy of positive politeness, namely employing jokes, is also concerned with some common basis, namely an amount of shared background knowledge without which jokes would fall flat since the hearer would not be responsive to them. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 124) Although the strategy of making jokes does not occur frequently in Shakespeare's plays, it fulfils an essential function, namely that of "put[ting] the hearer at ease" (Kopytko 1995: 520). This is illustrated in example (14) where Macduff, who occupies the upper ranks of the social ladder, talks to the porter who is inferior in this relationship.

(14)   *Macduff*   Was it so late, friend, ere you went to bed,
                      That you do lie so late?
        (*Macbeth* 2.3.22-23)

Similar to the infrequency of the eighth strategy in Shakespeare's plays, the ninth strategy of positive politeness, which states that the speaker should "assert or presuppose [the speaker's] knowledge of and concern for [the hearer's] wants" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 125), is as unpopular. The act of paying attention to the addressee's wants, such as in *I know you can't bear parties, but this one will really be good – do come*, is hardly included in Shakespeare's text. (Kopytko 1995: 521) However, on one occasion in *King Lear* Regan says, "I know you are of her bosom" (Orgel 1999: 104).

In contrast to the two last-named strategies, the tenth strategy of positive politeness which is concerned with offers and promises is frequently used by Shakespeare. While providing offers and by making promises, the speaker is able to make the addressee believe that they pursue the same goals (Kopytko 1995: 52) and that the speaker "is willing to help to achieve these goals" (Kopytko 1995: 52). By way of illustration, in *Othello* Desdemona stresses her

readiness to cooperate and to support Cassio by claiming, "Be thou assured, good Cassio, I will do / All my abilities in thy behalf" (McDonald 2001: 62).

Furthermore, one strategy of positive politeness urges the speaker to be optimistic. This request is subsumed in the eleventh strategy which refers to the fact that the speaker should be ensured that the interaction partner constantly observes the need for cooperation (Brown & Levinson 1992: 126) so that he or she "wants what the speaker wants" (Kopytko 1995: 522). In example (15) taken from *Hamlet* this eleventh strategy is put into action in the following way:

(15)   *Polonius*   You shall do marvellous wisely, good Reynaldo,
                    Before you visit him, to make inquire
                    Of his behaviour.
       Reynaldo   My lord, I did intend it.
       (*Hamlet* 2.1.3-6)

Again a passage from *Hamlet* can be provided in order to exemplify the twelfth strategy of positive politeness which states that the speaker should "include both [the speaker] and [the hearer] in the activity" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 127), for example, by means of the inclusive *we*. (ibid. 127) On one particular occasion not only *let us* is used but *we* is also inserted after a verb by Horatio, who says, "Well, sit we down, / And let us hear Bernardo speak of this." (Klein 1993: 7).

The thirteenth strategy of positive politeness states to "[g]ive (or ask for) reasons" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 128) why somebody wants something because a plausible explanation aids the hearer in considering the speaker's desires as reasonable. (ibid. 128) This strategy, which has a high frequency of occurrence in Shakespeare's plays (Kopytko 1995: 522), can be found, for instance, in passage (16).

(16)   *King*   Sweet Gertrude, leave us too,
                For we have closely sent for Hamlet hither,
                That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
                Affront Ophelia.
       (*Hamlet* 3.1.28-31)

The underlying motivation for somebody's actions is a core topic for the fourteenth strategy of positive politeness as well, because the request to "[a]ssume or assert reciprocity" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 129), which according to the principle "I'll do X for you if you do Y for me" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 129), aims at offering proofs for "reciprocal exchange" (Kopytko 1995: 523). The assumption that you do somebody a favour and that in return this person owes you a favour results in utterances like in extract (17) where the reciprocity is expressed in a conditional sentence.

(17)   *Macbeth*   If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis,
                              It shall make honour for you.
       (*Macbeth* 2.1.25-26)

Finally, the last strategy of positive politeness which was introduced by Brown and Levinson urges the speaker to offer gifts, whereby these gifts include not only objects with a material value but also immaterial ones. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 129) The latter refers particularly to psychological desires, such as the desire "to be liked, admired, cared about, understood [and] listened to" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 129). Although this is the last strategy in the list established by Brown and Levinson, it is not one of minor importance but has a high frequency of occurrence in Shakespeare's plays (Kopytko 1995: 523), for example, in passage (18) where Hamlet gives sympathy towards some players.

(18)   *Hamlet*   You are welcome, masters, welcome all - I am glad to see
                              thee well – Welcome, good friends - O, old friend! Why, thy
                              face is valanced since I saw thee last.
       (*Hamlet* 2.2.405-407)

This list of fifteen strategies which was compiled by Brown and Levinson was then extended by one further rule proposed by Kopytko in the course of conducting some investigations on Shakespeare's plays so that a total number of sixteen strategies seemed to be available to Elizabethan speakers. (Kopytko 1995: 523) Kopytko argued that a sixteenth strategy should be postulated which accounts for the need to "satisfy [the hearer's] informational deficit by offering information or an explanation of a state of affairs" (Kopytko 1995: 523). This practice can be exemplified with the help of passage (19) below.

(19)   *Horatio*   What does this mean, my lord?
       Hamlet   The King doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
                      Keeps wassail, and the swagg'ring up-rising reels:
                      And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
                      The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
                      The triumph of his pledge.
       (*Hamlet* 1.4.7-12)

3.6.3.3. Negative politeness

As outlined in the previous section, speakers can go on record with redressive actions by applying positive politeness strategies which take into consideration the hearer's positive face wants. However, there is a further possibility for speakers to go on record, namely they can use negative politeness strategies which constitute attempts to save the hearer's negative face. Such negative politeness strategies aim at reducing the weightiness of acts towards the negative face (Kopytko 1995: 524) so that the hearer's "desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition" (Watts 2003: 86) is satisfied. According to Brown and Levinson, the speaker is able to benefit from a set of ten substrategies of negative politeness (Table (4)) which can be applied in order to pay attention to the hearer's negative face wants (Kopytko 1993: 28) and in order to increase the social distance between oneself as the speaker and the addressee. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 120)

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect
Strategy 2: Question, hedge
Strategy 3: Be pessimistic
Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition
Strategy 5: Give deference
Strategy 6: Apologize
Strategy 7: Impersonalize
Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule
Strategy 9: Nominalize
Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt

Table 4: The ten substrategies of negative politeness (based on Kopytko 1993: 28)

The first strategy of negative politeness wants the speaker to "[b]e conventionally indirect" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 132), such as in the request *Can you (please) answer the phone?*. Although this type of indirectness is fairly

common in the contemporary usage of the English language, it seems not to have been the case in the Elizabethan Age since the degree of frequency of this first strategy is rare in Shakespeare's plays. (Kopytko 1995: 524) Nevertheless, the piece of advice in extract (20) taken from *Hamlet* is a characteristic example of the indirectness of the first strategy.

(20)   *Horatio*   'Twere good she were spoken with, for she may strew
                          Dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds;
         (*Hamlet* 4.5.14-15)

The second strategy of negative politeness requests the speaker "not [to] assume willingness to comply [but to] question [and] hedge" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 168). This is a device which can be encountered frequently in Shakespeare's texts (Kopytko 1995: 525) like in example (21) which illustrates an expression of deference, namely *I beseech you*, and the hedging elements *If you think fit*, *that it may be* (Kopytko 1995: 526) and *some*.

(21)   *Cassio*   Yet I beseech you,
                          If you think fit, or that it may be done,
                          Give me advantage of some brief discourse
                          With Desdemona alone.
         (*Othello* 3.1.49-52)

In addition to such verbal hedges as in passage (21), non-verbal types of hedging like raising one's eyebrow, giving a frown or including moments of hesitation are common in conversations as well. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 172)

Next, the third strategy of negative politeness urges the speaker to be pessimistic. More precisely, the speaker should "be pessimistic about [the hearer's] ability or willingness to comply" (Kopytko 1995: 526). Therefore, the speaker is supposed to remain doubtful and to express his or her absence of trust verbally (Brown & Levinson 1992: 173) by using expressions such as *I don't imagine/suppose there'd be any change/possibility/hope of you*. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 174) With regard to the Elizabethan usage of this third strategy, example (22) taken from *Hamlet* can be mentioned.

(22) *Queen* If it will please you
To show us so much gentry and good will.
(*Hamlet* 2.2.21-22)

A further possibility to show redress towards the hearer's negative face is to use the fourth strategy of negative politeness which states that the seriousness of the face-threatening act should be reduced, for example, by employing terms such as *a little*, *a bit*, *a drop*, *a sip* and *just.* (Kopytko 1995: 526) In Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Edgar, for instance, attempts to minimize the imposition of his verbal act by making the hearer believe that he will say few and keep his utterance short. In particular, Edgar says, "Hear me one word" (Orgel 1999: 125).

Moreover, there is a fifth possibility to make a face-saving act towards the hearer's negative face, namely the application of the strategy of negative politeness which says to "[g]ive deference" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 178). In fact, the speakers can fulfil their intention of offering deference in two different ways, namely they can either both derogate themselves and portray themselves in a less positive light or the speakers can glorify their interaction partners. Both of these opportunities result in the fact that the addressees are considered to be superior in these relationships. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 178) That this strategy of negative politeness was already familiar in Shakespeare's days can be demonstrated by example (23) where Othello himself praises the duke and some Venetian senators to the skies.

(23) *Othello* Most potent, grave, and reverend signors,
My very noble and approved good masters.
(*Othello* 1.3.76-77)

Furthermore, the sixth negative politeness strategy is concerned with apologies. This means that the speaker is eager to make an apology for the face-risk s/he imposes on the hearer. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 187) On the whole, the speaker can take advantage of four different ways of conveying an apology. Firstly, the speaker is able to "admit the impingement" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 188) on the hearer's face. Examples from contemporary English are *I'm sure you must be very busy but* and *I know this is a bore but*. Secondly, the speaker

can apologise by emphasising his or her aversion to making a face-threatening act. For doing so the speaker can use expressions like *I normally wouldn't ask you this but* and *I don't want to bother/interrupt you but*. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 188) Thirdly, the speaker can stress his or her apologies with the help of "overwhelming reasons" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 189). Phrases such as *I simply can't manage to* and *I'm absolutely lost* serve as illustration of this. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 189) Finally, the fourth way of making apologies is to "beg forgiveness" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 189), which is, for example, put in action in one of Shakespeare's plays by Hamlet, who offers an apology to Horatio, when he claims, "I am sorry they offend you" (Klein 1993: 51).

The seventh strategy of negative politeness wants the speaker to impersonalise. Utterances should be formulated in such a way as to pretend that the agent was not the speaker and that the addressee was not the hearer. This implies that the employment of the pronouns *I* and *you* should be avoided (Brown & Levinson 1992: 190) and, therefore, the following linguistic expressions are preferably applied: passive constructions, impersonal verbs (Kopytko 1995: 527), imperatives (Brown & Levinson 1992: 191) and nominal address terms. For example, instead of addressing an interlocutor directly via *you*, the address noun *sir* or *miss* can be used, such as in phrases like *Excuse me, sir/miss*. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 203) As an illustration from Shakespeare a scene from *King Lear* can be stated where the knight claims, "Your highness is not entertained with / that ceremonious affection as you were wont" (Orgel 1999: 25). This example shows a passive construction where the agent is omitted and which thus creates the effect of impersonalisation.

The eighth strategy of negative politeness refers to the request to "state the FTA as a general rule" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 206) which can be exemplified by sample (24) where *all the world well knows* is taken as the underlying force for committing the face-threatening act.

(24)   *Gloucester*   I am sorry for thee, friend. 'Tis the duke's pleasure,
                        Whose disposition all the world well knows
                        Will not be rubbed nor stopped.
        (*King Lear* 2.2.152-154)

Similar to impersonalisation which creates a sense of formality, the ninth strategy of negative politeness, namely nominalisation, has the same effect. By nominalising utterances, the statements gain formality (Kopytko 1995: 528) and cause a distance between the agent and the action. (Chafe 1993: 46) For example, when the King in *Hamlet* says, "In obstinate condolement is a course / of impious stubbornness" (Klein 1993: 21), he utters a sentence which is rich in nominal expressions.

Finally, the tenth strategy which belongs to the set of negative politeness strategies urges the speaker to "go on record as incurring a debt" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 210), whereby the speaker can either emphasise that he or she is deeply indebted to the hearer and owes him or her so much (e.g. *I'd be eternally grateful if you would* or *I'll never be able to repay you if you)* or the speaker can stress that the addressee need not be grateful towards the speaker (e.g. *I could easily do it for you* or *It wouldn't be any trouble*). (Brown & Levinson 1992: 210) The former is represented in example (25) where the queen claims her indebtedness to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

(25)   *Queen*   Your visitation shall receive such thanks
                       As fits a king's remembrance.
        (*Hamlet* 2.2.25-26)

3.6.3.4. Off-record

Although the politeness strategies discussed in the previous sections are considered to be cases of polite verbal behaviour, the highest degree of verbal politeness is involved in the use of off-record strategies. In the course of applying off-record strategies the speakers make a face-threatening act; however, thereby they try to hide their real intentions under a veil of indirectness. (Sell 1991: 212) Therefore, going off-record refers to the fact that

> the actor leaves himself an 'out' by providing himself with a number of defensible interpretations of his act. Thus if a speaker wants to do an FTA, but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it, he can do it off record and leave it up to the addressee to decide how to interpret it. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 211)

The hearer definitely wants to interpret utterances which are motivated by off-record strategies, because intuitively he or she realizes that there is more to what the speaker has said due to some kind of trigger. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 169) The hearer's reaction is triggered by "some violation […] of the Gricean maxims of cooperative conversation" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 169). As Grice's Cooperative Principle consists of four different maxims, the various types of off-record behaviour can be assigned to these four maxims. Thus, a total of four groups of off-record acts and an overall number of fifteen adjusting strategies can be distinguished, whereby firstly, three strategies which aid the speaker in conveying messages indirectly violate the Relation Maxim, secondly, three strategies break the Quantity Maxim, thirdly, four strategies are in breach of the Quality Maxim, and, fourthly, five strategies disregard the Manner Maxim. (Watts 2003: 92)

The first group of off-record strategies is the one that does not adhere to the maxim of relation. In fact, this violation of the Cooperative Principle is achieved by the employment of hints, association clues and presuppositions. (Watts 2003: 92) For example, with regard to Shakespeare's plays, passage (26) taken from *Othello* represents an illustration of the mechanism of giving hints to the hearer, whereby the speaker hopes that the addressee realizes that the irrelevant statement requires further interpretative effort in order to infer the intended meaning.

(26) *Othello*   Was not that Cassio parted from my wife?
     Iago   Cassio, my lord? No, sure, I cannot think it,
                   That he would steal away so guiltylike,
                   Seeing your coming.
     (*Othello* 3.3.37-40)

In example (26) Iago's response to Othello's question whether he saw Cassio leaving is a break of the relevance maxim and an instance of off-record behaviour, because by extending his utterance and by including irrelevant aspects Iago provides Othello with a hint about the possible relationship between Cassio and Othello's wife Desdemona and in turn makes him become suspicious and jealous.

The second group of off-record strategies consists of understatements, overstatements and tautologies, and disregards the maxim of quantity. (Watts 2003: 92) While the employment of understatements refers to the speaker's practice "to choose a point on a scalar predicate (e.g. *tall*, *good*, *nice*) that is well below the point that actually describes the state of affairs" (Brown & Levinson 1992: 217), the use of overstatements means the opposite strategy, namely to exaggerate tremendously. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 219) I think the latter mechanism, for example, is chosen by Juliet when she wishes "[a] thousand times good night" (Geisen 1994: 57) to her lover Romeo.

In addition to the breach of the maxim of relation and the maxim of quantity, there is also the possibility to break the maxim of quality, namely by means of rhetorical questions as well as by means of ironic, metaphoric and contradictory utterances. (Watts 2003: 92) These four strategies belong to the third group of off-record behaviour and can also be exemplified by Shakespeare's tragedies. For instance, a rhetorical question can be discovered in *Romeo and Juliet* (example (27)) where Juliet poses some questions which are not supposed to be answered by somebody else but which are intended to be replied by herself.

(27) *Juliet*   What's Montague? It is nor hand nor foot
                         Nor arm nor face nor any other part
                         Belonging to a man. O, be some other name!
                         What's in a name? That which we call a rose
                         By any other word would smell as sweet.
          (*Romeo and Juliet* 2.2.40-44)

Likewise, *Romeo and Juliet* offers a characteristic example of metaphors. When in passage (28) Romeo compares Juliet to a *holy shrine* and calls his own lips *two blushing pilgrims*, he does not use these lexical items with their literal meaning but employs them metaphorically. Obviously, Juliet does not possess a holy shrine as a hand and equally erroneous is the statement that Romeo could possess pilgrims as lips. (Short 1981: 191) However, by choosing in particular these religious terms, i.e. *holy shrine* and *pilgrims*, Romeo is able to stress his opinion that their love is "quasi-religious love" (ibid. 191).

(28) *Romeo*   If I profane with my unworthiest hand
                      This holy shrine, the gentle sin is this.
                      My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand
                      To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.
      (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.5.93-96)

Besides metaphors and rhetorical questions, contradictions can be used for going off-record. When a speaker uses contradictions, which means that his or her utterances contain contradictory elements (Brown & Levinson 1992: 221), the hearer is encouraged to become suspicious and to believe that the speaker does not "make [the] contribution one that is true" (Grice 1975: 46). In *Hamlet*, for example, a clown violates the maxim of quantity when he is asked by Hamlet "whose grave […] this [is]" (Klein 1993: 180) and responds, "Mine, sir" (Klein 1993: 180). Since one can assume that the clown digs the grave for a dead person and not for himself being still alive, his comment is interpreted to be erroneous and makes the interaction partner want to be told the truth.

As the conversation between the clown and Hamlet proceeds, the Maxim of Manner is violated as well. Example (29) clearly shows that there is a play on words with *quick* and *man*. These terms are ambiguous since they can mean 'alive' or 'fast' and 'humankind' or 'male person'. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 201)

(29) *Hamlet*   Thou dost lie in't, to be in't and say it is thine; 'tis for
                    the dead, not for the quick – therefore thou liest.
      First Clown 'Tis a quick lie, sir, 'twill away again from me to
                    you.
      Hamlet   What man dost thou dig it for?
      First Clown For no man, sir.
      Hamlet   What woman, then?
      First Clown For none neither.
      Hamlet   Who is it to be buried in't?
      First Clown One that was a woman, sir, but rest her soul,
                    she's dead.
      (*Hamlet* 5.1.117-127)

This breach of the Manner Maxim constitutes the fourth group of off-record behaviour to which altogether five strategies belong, namely being ambiguous, which was illustrated in example (29), as well as being vague, over-generalising, displacing the hearer and using ellipsis. (Watts 2003: 92)

3.6.3.5. Opting out

Besides the four ways of performing a face-threatening act, namely going on-record baldy, using positive politeness strategies, employing negative politeness strategies and going off-record, the speaker has the possibility to opt out. This opportunity is taken by the speaker if he or she realizes that the face-threatening act which could be performed is too serious and, therefore, the speaker makes the decision not to do the FTA and "not to say anything at all" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 52) to the hearer.

Illustrating such a face-threatening act which is chosen not to be performed is difficult. However, soliloquies which are included in Shakespeare's tragedies can prove advantageous (Brown & Gilman 1989: 169) since they provide psychological insights and information about something that "was thought and suppressed" (Brown & Gilman 1989: 169). For instance, in example (30) Hamlet conducts a soliloquy in which the audience is told about his wish to die, his mourning for his father and his disdain for his mother's decision to marry his uncle shortly after his father's death.

(30) *Hamlet*   O, that this too too sullied flesh would melt,
                    Thaw and resolve itself into a dew,
                    Or that the Everlasting had not fixed
                    His canon 'gainst self-slaughter! O God, God,
                    How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
                    Seem to me all the uses of this world!
                    […] and yet, within a month,
                    Let me not think on't … frailty, thy name is woman!
                    A little month, or ere those shoes were old
                    With which she followed my poor father's body
                    Like Niobe, all tears, why she, even she –
                    O God, a beast that wants discourse of reason
                    Would have mourned longer – married with my uncle,
                    […] But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue.
       (*Hamlet* 1.2.129-159)

Due to this soliloquy the audience is informed about Hamlet's emotional life and his decision to keep his feelings to himself and not to say anything to his mother. In my opinion, although Hamlet appears to be enormously upset by his

mother, he seems, for example, to keep his suicidal thoughts to himself so that he does not hurt her. He refrains from accusing her of a too short mourning time and does not dare to call her weak. The last part of his speech, i.e. *I must hold my tongue*, makes it obvious that Hamlet chooses the conversational opportunity of opting out as he probably considers the risk of a possible face-threatening act as too high.

In summary, by taking into account the possibility of opting out from a face-threatening act, Brown and Levinson believed that a model person possesses altogether five options for dealing with an addressee's face wants. As already discussed, the speaker can employ bald on-record strategies, positive politeness strategies, negative politeness strategies and off-record strategies or s/he can choose not to say anything at all. These strategies are supposed to aid the speaker in taking the hearer's positive and negative face wants into consideration.

4. BASIC CONCEPTS OF ADDRESS THEORY

4.1. The T/V distinction

As the previous section has clearly shown, Brown has done a large amount of research on the politeness phenomenon. However, his work has not only contributed to the study of politeness strategies but also to the study of pronominal and nominal address terms. While Brown collaborated with Levinson to gain insight into politeness strategies, he primarily did some research on address expressions with other linguists such as Albert Gilman and Marguerite Ford, with whom he published three influential articles.

Brown and Ford devoted their research effort to nominal address forms in American English. Their insights were published in the article "Address in American English" in 1964 (Busse 1988: 47), whereby their conclusions were based on analyses of American dramatic texts, observations of employees in a Boston business company and the evidence of business executives. (Ervin-Tripp 1980: 18) In contrast, Brown and Gilman focused on pronominal address forms and emphasised the dichotomy of pronouns of address in European languages where one usually encounters a distinction between a familiar and a polite pronoun. For this purpose, Brown and Gilman published an article entitled "Who says 'Tu' to whom?" in 1958 (Braun 1988: 14) and a second one about "The pronouns of power and solidarity" in 1960. (Braun 1988: 15) In particular the latter has received immense attention[18] among researchers dealing with the politeness phenomenon since Brown and Gilman introduced a number of crucial technical terms for the study of terms of address so that "today it is hardly possible to say anything about address without referring to them" (Braun 1988: 14).

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[18] Although Brown and Gilman's paper has been reprinted several times, has served frequently as a source of reference (Calvo 1992: 26) and has proven to be effective for the study of address expressions (Hope 1993: 85), it is essential to highlight that Brown and Gilman's theory was also criticised for various reasons. For example, it is worth mentioning that the T/V distinction fails to form the basis for all languages world-wide since it only accounts for most European languages (Braun 1984: 46), that it provides a limited view on pronominal terms of address as an opposition of a familiar and a polite pronoun (Braun 1984: 50), and that it does not highlight effectively that pronouns and nouns of address are linked. (Braun 1984: 60)

Among others, Brown and Gilman coined the term *T/V distinction* which refers to the dichotomy of pronouns of address and which is evident in many European languages. For example, in French there is a distinction between the pronominal address terms *tu* and *vous*, the Germans differentiate between *du* and *Sie* as address terms to a singular person, in Spanish there are the pronouns *tu* and *usted* and Italian speakers can address their hearers with *tu* and *Lei* in the singular. Likewise, in Early Modern English there were two pronouns of address, namely *thou* and *you*, for referring to a single interlocutor. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 254)

The T/V distinction "offers a reasonably simple way of handling a pronominal distinction now lost in contemporary standard English" (Calvo 1992: 7) and enables, for instance, researchers to refer to the different available pronouns of address, i.e. with reference to Early Modern English the words *thou* and *you*, by using the symbols *T* and *V*. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 254) Thereby, *T* stands for *thou*, which is "the simple or intimate pronoun of address" (Braun 1988: 8), whereas *V* designates *you*, which is "the polite, distant or secondary pronoun of address" (Braun 1988: 8). More precisely, the abbreviations *T* and V do not only refer to the nominatives *thou* and *you* but also to their derivatives *thee* and *you/ye* as accusatives, *thy/thine* and *your* as determiners as well as *thine* and *yours* as possessives. (Stein 2003: 303) According to Brown and Gilman, "[a]s a convenience [they] propose the use of the symbols *T* and *V* (from Latin *tu* and *vos*) as generic designators for a familiar and a polite pronoun" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 254).

4.2. The dimensions of power and solidarity in Shakespeare's times

In the course of explaining the T/V distinction in their article "The pronouns of power and solidarity", Brown and Gilman also introduced the dimensions of power and solidarity. (Braun 1988: 40) According to them, these two social factors strongly determine the selection of address expressions (Clark & Clark 1977: 256) and with regard to the Early Modern English period the power semantic and the solidarity semantic affected the employment of the T pronoun

thou and the V pronoun *you*. The notion of the power and solidarity semantic is "concerned with the semantics of the pronouns of address" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 253), whereby the term *semantics* refers to the "covariation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 253).

4.2.1. The power semantics

If the relationship between the interaction partners is governed by power and if, therefore, the choice of the address terms is influenced by power as well, the so-called power semantic is prominent. Characteristic features of the power semantic are non-reciprocity and asymmetry (Braun 1988: 15), which can both be illustrated in example (31) where the servingman as a social inferior addresses his superior mistress Lady Capulet with the nominal address term *madam* and the pronominal address term *you*, whereas he receives the T pronoun.

(31)   *Servingman* Madam, the guests are come, supper served
                up, you called, my young lady asked for, the Nurse cursed
                in the pantry, and everything in extremity. I must hence to
                wait. I beseech you follow straight.
        L. Capulet   We follow thee.
        (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.3.101-105)

This extract shows that the address is non-reciprocal because "the forms used by the two speakers in [this] dyad are different" (Braun 1988: 13). As "the vertical dimension" (Busse 1998: 45) of the power semantic suggests, the superior speaker receives the V pronoun while the inferior one is given the T pronoun. (Braun 1988: 15) In Shakespeare's plays the powerful characters who are addressed with *you* are, for instance, monarchs, generals, men, parents and masters, whereas the less powerful ones who are given *thou* are, among others, subjects, murderers, women, children and servants. (Hope 1993: 85) Such a usage which is characterised by the employment of different address terms is practised in asymmetrical relationships. (Braun 1988: 13)

However, similar to today, in the Elizabethan period there were also dyads in which the interactants exercised equal power, such as upper class speakers who preferably exchanged the polite pronoun mutually and members of the lower class who commonly used the familiar pronoun among each other. (Braun 1988: 15) For example, in passage (32) the generals Macbeth and Banquo use the V pronoun reciprocally.

(32)   *Macbeth*   Your children shall be kings.
         Banquo   You shall be King.
         (*Macbeth* 1.3.86-87)

The practice represented in extract (32) can be described as a reciprocal use of address terms since the "two speakers exchange the same form of address" (Braun 1988: 13), whereby the relationship between the interaction partners is a symmetrical one (Braun 1988: 13) since both characters have the same profession and, thus, enjoy the same prestige and institutionalized power.

In addition to one's profession as an essential aspect in terms of power, there are further characteristics which contribute to an equal or an unequal power relation between two persons. If there is an unequal power relationship, one speaker possesses more power than the other (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255), whereby being more powerful can refer not only to a more respected profession but also to various other aspects. For example, it can mean being physically stronger, possessing more money, being older, being superior due to being male or playing a better role in an institution. The latter could include holding a more vital church office, being more respected in state affairs and having a higher military rank. Furthermore, even within a family there can be unequal power relations (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255) so that, at least, in the Elizabethan period the parents were regarded to be more powerful than the children. Therefore children addressed their father and mother with the polite pronoun *you* and in return received the intimate pronoun *thou*. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 256) Finally, whether somebody is considered to be superior and whether this prestige is reflected in the language also depends on the social class to which he or she is assigned. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 257)

4.2.2. The society in Shakespeare's times

The assignment of people into a strict hierarchal social class system is regarded to be a prerequisite for the selection of address terms according to the power semantic. Such a clear distinction of society into several layers prevailed from medieval times up to the 19th century (Busse 1998: 46), whereby the Elizabethan Age witnessed a major change in the societal structure since people were not distinguished from one another in the same way as in previous centuries.

In the Middle Ages the social structure was threefold (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33) and people were classified to the three estates according to their social function. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 549) Firstly, there was the clergy who subsumed "those who prayed" (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33), secondly, there was the nobility including "those who fought" (ibid. 33), such as the knights and warriors (Jucker 2002: 84), and, thirdly, there were the labourers being "those who worked" (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33) and who were responsible for producing goods and for ensuring food supply. This medieval tripartite model was considered to result from the will of God (Jucker 2002: 84) and, therefore, people did not dare to disturb this established order, because accepting an anti-egalitarian view they believed that "everyone had his place in the social system and that it was his duty to stay in it" (Stone 1966: 38).

In contrast to medieval society, at the time of Shakespeare his contemporaries were classified into a more complex social system (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33), whereby the main criterion for making a distinction was whether somebody belonged to the gentry or not. Thus, there were two main groups, namely the gentry whose members were at the top of the social pyramid and the non-gentry whose members formed the bottom of the pyramid. Between these two layers there were the professions. (Jucker 2002: 84) As this distinction clearly shows, the social differentiation in the Elizabethan Age was based on economic aspects. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 549)

With regard to the gentry, its members did not have to do any physical labour and their living standards were subsidized by their land ownership. (Walker 2007: 25) These privileges of not having to work manually and of possessing some land were enjoyed by the nobility and the gentry proper. While the nobility consisted of royals, dukes, archbishops, earls, viscounts, barons and bishops, the gentry proper comprised knights, esquires and gentlemen. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 36) Although these citizens formed England's social elite, they solely constituted a very small percentage of all English inhabitants. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33) More precisely, the gentry accounted not even for five per cent of the entire English population. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 551) The total population of England reached roughly four million at the beginning of the 17th century and increased to almost five million at the end of the 17th century. This growth clearly indicates that, as far as demographic developments were concerned, the Elizabethan Age was characterised by a massive rise in population figures. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 34) Thereby the rapid growth of England's population was most apparent in London (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 38) since the city became the home of 200,000 people when Queen Elizabeth I was ruling as a monarch (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 19) and flourished with more than twice as many inhabitants, namely with approximately 500,000 people, in 1700. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 39) With this number of inhabitants London "emerged as a vibrant metropolis" (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 17) and the English monarch King James I himself commented on London's growth by committing that "[s]oon London will be all England" (Wrigley 1967:44, quoted in Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 38).

In addition to the gentry, there was the social class of the non-gentry whose members relied on their physical labour and who frequently suffered from hard, dirty and dangerous work. (Sharpe 1987: 207) The men and women who belonged to this kind of people were, among others, yeomen, merchants, husbandmen, craftsmen, tradesmen, artificers, labourers, cottagers and paupers. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 36) While the labourers, cottagers and paupers formed the lowest layer of the non-gentry (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33), the upper ranks of the non-gentry were occupied

by the yeomen who enjoyed most prestige among this type of social class. (Jucker 2002: 84) The yeomen were those Elizabethans who were "substantial farmer[s]" and who were "able at the very least to support [themselves] and [their] family from the produce of the land [they] farmed" (Sharpe 1987: 199).

Similar to the members belonging to the non-gentry, people who were assigned to the middle-layer of the professionals had to work as well. (Jucker 2002: 84) However, their labour did not constitute manual work but they practised professions such as army officer, government official, lawyer, medical doctor, merchant, clergyman and teacher. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 36) Particularly these members of society had the opportunity to benefit from individual social mobility (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 33) which was common in Shakespeare's time. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171)

The members of the middle ranks as well as people belonging to other social classes were affected by social mobility. For example, they were able to advance socially due to the acquisition of land (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 36), due to the formation of a good marriage, especially with a woman who was supposed to inherit a large sum of money (Stone 1966: 34), and due to the transition into a new professional field. (Trevelyan 1978: 147) The latter implied accepting a position in the church, occupying a government office, supporting military forces and establishing trade relations. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 550) During the Elizabethan Age commercial interests were shifted also towards foreign trade and, thus, England witnessed "greater commercial activity both at home and abroad" (Stone 1966: 26). Due to those prospering international and domestic trade affairs England gained the status of a "global power" (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 17) and more and more people were required to cater for these enormous trade activities. (Stone 1966: 26) This was a chance for all those people who were willing to advance to the commercial sector. Besides, what was also advantageous for social upwards mobility was being successful in the law area. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 550) Nevertheless, some people also experienced downward social mobility which resulted, for example, from the loss of land (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 36) and from the tragic blow of not

being an inheriting son. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 551) In those days the eldest son was better-off compared to his brothers, because he was granted an excellent education, he moved in higher circles where he had ideal opportunities to meet wealthy women and to marry one of them, and he usually received highly-paid jobs. (Stone 1966: 37) In short, "life chances were […] very good" (ibid. 37) for the eldest son, particularly also due to the fact that the eldest son almost always became the beneficiary of a big part of the inheritance. (ibid. 37) Thus, those children, who did not get the benefit to inherit a fortune, occasionally faced the risk of descending socially.

Metaphorically speaking, the social structure prevailing at that time with all its striking characteristics can be compared to a modern skyscraper:

> [It] is a tall skyscraper erected on top of a vast low podium. Within the podium, which extends over many acres, live 95% or more of the population, who are free to move along wide corridors and to rise and descend very shallow staircases within this limited level. The skyscraper itself, within which dwell the remaining 5% or less, is composed of a series of floors for status groups based on the ownership of land. Within it is a single infrequent elevator which always goes down with a full load of failures and superfluous younger sons, but often rises half empty. Around the skyscraper itself, however, there wind several ascending ramps, labelled Church, Law, Commerce, and Office. Some people camp out on the ramps, but it is draughty and wet out there, and most of them struggle upwards and then take shelter inside at the highest floor they can comfortably reach. (Stone 1966: 16-17)

This model describes the hierarchal Elizabethan society, whereby the gentry is symbolised by the skyscraper itself, the non-gentry is represented by the podium onto which the skyscraper was built and the upward and downward social movements are indicated by the ascending ramps and elevators. This type of individual upward and downward social mobility is characteristic of the social scheme which emerged during the Elizabethan time. (Busse 1998: 46) Such a fundamental change in society towards a more egalitarian ideology was also reflected in the employment of terms of address, because since it became gradually more difficult to determine who really belonged to the upper classes of society (Brown & Gilman 1989: 171), the selection of address terms was increasingly based on everything else but power. (Braun 1988: 15)

4.2.3. The solidarity semantics

Eventually the aspects which were considered in order to guarantee an appropriate address behaviour were intimacy and like-mindedness (Busse 1998: 46) so that the deciding factor was whether "the speakers had something in common (T pronoun) or not (V pronoun)" (Braun 1988: 15). Such a practice is referred to in address theory as solidarity semantic, which states that if speakers experience some discrepancy between them, they usually employ reciprocally polite address terms. However, if speakers feel that they share some common ground, they tend to exchange intimate address expressions. With regard to the Elizabethan Age, the speakers used, for example, the polite pronoun *you* to express distance, whereas they choose the familiar pronoun *thou* to signal intimacy. (Braun 1988: 15)

According to solidarity semantic, the selection of pronominal and nominal address terms depends largely on particular areas of common ground which do not include features, such as a person's eye colour and shoe size (Brown & Gilman 1978: 258), but which comprise dispositions showing that the interaction partners are part of an "'intimate' circle" (Wales 1983: 111), such as being members of the same political party, belonging to the same family, practising the same religion and having the same sex or nationality. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 258) By way of illustration, in *Romeo and Juliet* Friar John addresses Friar Laurence, who is also a Franciscan monk, with the mutual T of intimacy, since both practise the same profession and follow the same religion. Friar John says, "Brother, I'll go and bring it thee" (Geisen 1994: 143). Likewise, in example (33) Romeo and Benvolio exchange *thou* as well since they as cousins belong to the same family and, in addition, they are close friends.

(33) *Romeo*   Dost thou not laugh?
      Benvolio   No, coz, I rather weep.
      Romeo   Good heart, at what?
      Benvolio   At thy good heart's oppression.
      (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.182-185)

On the whole, this passage from one of Shakespeare's dramas shows that

> the more two people had in common – the stronger the solidarity – the more likely they were to exchange T reciprocally, and conversely the greater the difference, the greater the likelihood they would adopt reciprocal V. (Walker 2007: 41)

All in all, the Elizabethans who are portrayed in Shakespeare's plays were able to make their selection of pronominal and nominal address terms comply with two different systems, namely the solidarity semantic, on the one hand, and the power semantic, on the other.

5. TERMS OF ADDRESS

5.1. Classification of terms of address

People involved "in any linguistic act of communication" (Finch 2000: 201) can refer to their interlocutors by employing various terms of address. By way of definition, forms of address are "linguistic expressions that speakers use to appeal directly to their addressee" (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 1). Such terms of address can be assigned to different categories, namely on the one hand they can be described in terms of the parts-of-speech criterion and on the other hand they can be grouped according to the syntactic criterion. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 29)

When terms of address are distinguished by the parts-of-speech criterion, address expressions are classified into three word classes. There are pronouns, verbs and nouns which can function as address forms. More precisely, first, there are second person pronouns which are employed by speakers to address their interaction partners. In the Early Modern English period there were two variants of address pronouns, namely *thou* and *you*. Second, verbs can be used to refer to the hearer. (Braun 1988: 7) In inflecting languages, which have grammatical affixes as vital components for expressing grammatical relationships (Schendl 2001: 125), second person verbs with their particular suffixes can function as forms of address. (Dickey 2002: 5) Third, nouns including, for example, names and titles (Spolsky 1998: 125), belong to the group of address expressions.

In contrast to the parts-of-speech criterion, the syntactic criterion differentiates terms of address by focusing on their "distribution in syntactic structures" (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 18). This means that depending on how a form of address is used in a sentence, two types can be distinguished, namely bound and free terms of address. (Braun 1988: 10) Bound forms of address are "integrated into the syntax of a sentence" (Dickey 2002: 5), which can be illustrated in the following two examples: *Could you please open the window?*

and *Would your Highness care to open the window?*. While the first sentence shows the pronoun *you* as a bound form, the second utterance represents a nominal phrase as a bound form, whereby the syntactically bound form *Your Highness* is referred to by Svennung (1958: 4) as a type of indirect address.

Compared to bound forms of address, free terms of address are "not so integrated" (Dickey 2002: 6) into a sentence. As syntactically free address expressions, they can occur at various positions in an utterance, either at the beginning of a sentence or at the end of a sentence, and additionally free forms of address can also be placed in the middle of a sentence. (Braun 1988: 10) These three different positions in a sentence structure can be exemplified by the question *Could you please open the window?*. While a sentence such as *Mary, could you please open the window?* shows the noun *Mary* as a free form preceding the whole utterance, the sentence *Could you please open the window, Mary?* illustrates that the first name *Mary* is used as a succeeding element of what is said. Moreover, *Mary* can be inserted into the sentence, such as in *Could you, Mary, please open the window?*. Likewise, second person pronouns can be free forms of address. However, when pronouns which are typically used as bound forms (Dickey 2002: 6) are occasionally used as syntactically free forms, they are affected by a change of their meaning (Braun 1988: 12), because commands such as *You! Open the window!* can be regarded as rather harsh and disrespectful. (Dickey 2002: 6)

All in all, the description above has shown that there are two ways of classifying terms of address. On the one hand, address expressions can be labelled as bound or free terms of address according to the syntactic criterion and, on the other hand, they can be grouped into pronouns, verbs and nouns according to the parts-of-speech criterion. The latter distinction will be dealt with in more detail in the following sub-sections where the research focus is on nominal as well as on pronominal forms of address which were employed by the Elizabethans in the late 16th century and in the early 17th century and which are represented in Shakespeare's tragedies.

5.2. Nominal address terms

It is commonly acknowledged that the Elizabethans were sensitive about the appropriate usage of address terms (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 86), whereby the importance of suitable address usage applied to various situations. Replogle (1987: 109) emphasises this aspect by claiming that

> Elizabethans were punctilious in their use of […] forms of address to strangers, friends, even members of their families in private life as well as in public.

Thus, correct address behaviour seems to have been a vital part of social life and, consequently, the employment of nominal and of pronominal forms of address was even governed by particular rules. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 184) Obviously, these rules played such an important role that any disregard was regarded as inappropriate and insulting (Nevalainen 1994: 319). In some cases the addressees felt deeply humiliated and demanded punishments for the speakers who failed to address them correctly. Shakespeare himself mentions in one of his plays, namely in *Much Ado About Nothing*, precisely such a situation in which Dogberry, the addressee, complains to Leonato that "this plaintiff here […] did call me ass" (Holland 1999: 86) and insists on "let[ting] it be remembered in his punishment" (ibid. 86).

Probably Dogberry finds the nominal form of address *ass* highly insulting since it does not comply with his professional and social status as a constable. The social position which the Elizabethans occupied definitely affected the norms of nominal address so that certain nouns were used for addressing hearers of the gentry, of the professions or of the non-gentry. Interestingly enough, no special forms of address were reserved for people belonging to the lower class of the non-gentry, such as for labourers, cottagers, paupers and rogues (Breuer 1983: 56), and a limited number of expressions was left to particular people occupying special positions of the gentry. For example, the address term *Your Majesty* was exclusively used for the king and *Your Grace* was solely employed to refer to a duke. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 176)

Regardless of to whom nominal forms of address were used, they fulfilled certain functions. When nouns were employed as vocatives in order to refer to interaction partners, they, first of all, had a practical function (Dunkling 1990: 17), namely that of capturing the hearer's attention. (Dunkling 1990: 16) This held particularly true for situations in which people gathered in groups, because under such circumstances the use of nominal address expressions could aid in making the addressee notice that the speaker intended to refer to him or her. (Dunkling 1990: 17)

Second, nouns of address also had an emotional function (Dunkling 1990: 18), because a speaker's selection of nominal forms of address reflected his or her feelings for the addressee. (Dunkling 1990: 16) For example, it made an enormous difference whether Shakespeare decided to have a character address his or her mum as *madam*, *mother* or *strumpet*, because the child's choice "expresses a contemporaneous feeling or attitude" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 274), whereby the first two nouns, *madam* and *mother*, imply more respect towards the parent and are more kind than *strumpet*. Therefore, one can state that a term of address chosen from a vast range of available address expressions mirrored the addresser's attitude towards his or her interlocutor. (Dunkling 1990: 16)

Third, nominal address terms served a social function. (Dunkling 1990: 18) On the one hand, they reflected the relationship between the speaker and the hearer, and, on the other hand, they offered essential hints to the hearer's characteristics alone. As already mentioned before, terms of address were closely linked to the social structure and, therefore, nominal forms of address, among others, provided pieces of information about the addressee's social status, gender, age and profession. (Stoll 1989: 258) For example, if somebody was referred to as *goodman*, one could assume that this hearer was a male member of the non-gentry who was probably a yeoman (Busse 2002: 108), and if somebody was courteously addressed as *sirrah*, one could conclude that this person was young since this particular term of address was predominantly employed for youths. (Salmon 1987a: 57) All this clearly shows that nominal terms of address could have been used by Shakespeare for indicating vital

pieces of social information about the characters on stage to the theatre audience watching his plays.

Fourth, a further theatrical function which was fulfilled by the employment of nominal address terms was "to remind a third party [i.e. the spectators] of the hearer's identity" (Dunkling 1990: 16), which means that with the help of address terms the audience was constantly reminded of the character's roles. This was vital in the performance of Shakespeare's plays, because the characters usually entered and re-entered the stage and when they were addressed vocatively, the people watching the theatrical productions were able to "identify[…] the often bewildering array of characters" (Replogle 1987: 115).

Finally, it is noteworthy that nouns of address were hardly employed without a meaningful purpose so that even the absence of an address term had a special meaning. (Stoll 1989: 283) To illustrate this, the tragedy of *Macbeth* can be mentioned where according to my statistical work the nominal expression *king* is used five times. However, it is exclusively used to Duncan and Malcolm but never to Macbeth, who wishes desperately to become king and who tries to do everything possible including murders to ascend the throne. Therefore, the fact that Macbeth is never directly addressed as *king* has an underlying meaning and probably fulfils the purpose of indicating that he is not the legitimate monarch. (Stoll 1989: 283)

The tragedy of *Macbeth* is not the only Shakespearean play which is closely examined in the course of my research project. Besides *Macbeth* the tragedies *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *King Lear* are investigated as well in terms of the employment of nominal address expressions, whereby nouns which are used vocatively to refer to human beings as well as nouns which are used vocatively to refer to supernatural beings are considered. Thus, items which are not taken into consideration are, for example, addresses to abstract concepts, such as in *Othello* where Othello himself addresses the *black vengeance* (McDonald 2001: 82), in *King Lear* where Oswald refers to the personification of death as *O ultimely death* (Orgel 1999: 116) or in *King Lear* where Lear talks to the *ingratitude* (Orgel 1999: 32). Additional examples of

personified concepts are the *lamentable day* in *Romeo and Juliet* (Geisen 1994: 131) and *Fortune* in *Hamlet* (Klein 1993: 87). Moreover, addresses to nature, such as in *King Lear* where Lear refers to the wind by ordering, "Blow, wind, and crack your cheeks!" (Orgel 1999: 67), are not considered here. Furthermore, addresses to objects are not included in the investigation so that phrases such as *Come, vial* (Geisen 1994: 127) and *O happy dagger* (Geisen 1994: 151) both in *Romeo and Juliet* are excluded. Finally, vocatives directed to God, for example, *O God! O heavenly God!* in *Othello* (McDonald 2001: 138) and vocatives used to oneself, such as the disguised Kent in *King Lear*, who calls himself *banished Kent* (Orgel 1999: 23), are disregarded.

Nevertheless, numerous different nouns of address occur in my small corpus. More precisely, 150 different nominal address terms can be discovered in the five tragedies, which seems to be in conformity with Brown and Gilman (1989: 175) who state that, with regard to the four plays (i.e. *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear*) which they examined, "more than 100 different forms of address are used, aside from Christian names and pronouns". Obviously, some nouns of address are used by the characters several times so that in the five tragedies under my investigation there is a total sum of 2129 instances of nominal address. However, the distribution of the nominal expressions is unequal so that in *King Lear* there are 527 address nouns, in *Hamlet* 520 nominal address forms are used and in *Othello* there are 472 nominal terms of address, whereas *Romeo and Juliet* only contains 394 instances of nominal address and *Macbeth* includes 216 address nouns.

All nominal terms of address which are part of my corpus can be classified according to eight categories of which six were originally proposed by Busse (2002:105-106), such as titles of courtesy, generic terms, terms of family relationship, terms of abuse, terms indicating occupation and terms of endearment, and of which two were added by myself, such as names and terms for supernatural beings. These eight categories will be described in more detail in the subsequent sub-sections, whereby the overall number of nominal address per group will be stated and the top items, i.e. the nouns of address employed most frequently per category, will be outlined.

5.2.1. Names

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
102	44	127	154	80

Table 5: Instances of names as nominal address terms in the selected plays

The category of names comprises first names and surnames, whereby with regard to the five Shakespearean tragedies under investigation the former surpasses the latter in frequency of occurrence. First names are by far more common in the corpus than last names, because according to my survey Christian names are used 489 times in the five plays whereas second names are only employed eighteen times. These instances of surnames can be discovered in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Capulet is directly addressed five times, where Montague is vocatively referred to six times and where three musicians, namely Simon Catling, Hugh Rebeck and James Soundpost, are called by their first as well as last names. The remaining four instances of surnames occur in *Macbeth* in expressions such as *worthy Cawdor* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 32) and *great Glamis* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 30).

On the whole, as Table (5) illustrates the overall number of names including Christian names and surnames in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *King Lear* amounts to 507, which is the second largest frequency of occurrence when all categories of nominal address are taken into consideration. This category of nominal address forms is only outnumbered by one other category, namely by titles of courtesy. According to my statistics, titles of courtesy occur in the five selected plays almost twice as often as first and last names do.

When names are chosen by characters in Shakespeare's five tragedies, they are employed in various combinations. For example, Christian names are used as expressions on their own, such as *O Banquo! Banquo!* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 60) in *Macbeth* or *Why, how now, Juliet?* (Geisen 1994: 109) in *Romeo and Juliet*. One the one hand, the use of first names can be fairly neutral, such as is the case between Lady Capulet and her daughter Juliet, however, on the other

hand, occasionally the employment of Christian names can be linked to particular feelings. When Macduff cries, "Malcolm, awake!" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 60), he expresses thereby a sense of urgency (Drazdauskiene 2000: 199), and when Macbeth says, "Hear it not, Duncan." (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 48), his utterance has overtones of coldness and threat. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 199) On the contrary, the exchange of first names between lovers mirrors their warm and benevolent feelings for each other. It is usually assumed to be a special moment when a man and a woman who have fallen in love address each other with their Christian names for the first time since they probably pronounce them with special care and wish to repeat them endlessly. (Dunkling 1990: 106) This use of first names between lovers is also described by Shakespeare in one of his plays, which is illustrated by example (34) taken from *Romeo and Juliet*.

(34)   Juliet Bondage is hoarse and may not speak aloud,
                Else would I tear the cave where Echo lies
                And make her airy tongue more hoarse than mine
                With repetition of "My Romeo!"
        (*Romeo and Juliet* 2.2.160-163)

As the passage above shows, a first name can also be combined with a possessive pronoun. Although this practice is not striking for Shakespeare since it can be still discovered nowadays, it is nevertheless worth noting that combinations such as *my* in *my Romeo* are used frequently in the five plays under investigation. Additionally, names can be preceded by numerous other word classes including positive adjectives (e.g. *gentle*, *dear*, *good*, *courteous*, *brave* and *fair*) and negative adjectives (e.g. *sinful*, *damned* and *cruel*). In particular the combination of a first name with an adjective can carry strong connotations. For instance, King Lear's address of *beloved Regan* (Orgel 1999: 57) to his daughter Regan implies a feeling of pain (Drazdauskiene 2000: 198), whereas Banquo's address of *worthy Macbeth* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 24) to Macbeth shows a sign of loyalty between the two generals. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 198) Finally, names can also be linked to nouns, which can be exemplified by nominal expressions like *my cousin Romeo* (Geisen 1994: 48), *friend Cassio* (McDonald 2001: 91), *Sir Paris* (Geisen 1994: 105) and *Friar John* (Geisen 1994: 143).

5.2.2. Titles of courtesy

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
118	97	314	191	269

Table 6: Instances of titles of courtesy as nominal address terms in the selected plays

As already mentioned in the previous section, the category of titles of courtesy shows the greatest frequency of occurrence with regard to the five Shakespearean tragedies under investigation. In more detail, as expressions of nominal address titles of courtesy are used most frequently with a total number of 989 instances, whereby they are employed most often in *Hamlet* and least often in *Macbeth* (see Table (6)). On the whole, my survey revealed that 23 different types of titles of courtesy are to be found in the five tragedies of which the majority comprises male titles, namely 17 ones, and only a small minority of six titles are reserved for the vocative address of female characters. These six female titles are *madam*, *lady*, *mistress*, *dame*, *your ladyship* and *queen*.

In contrast to the limited number of female titles of courtesy, there is a wide range of titles of courtesy for addressing male characters. For example, *sirrah*, *master*, *your lordship*, *your Honour*, *your Highness*, *sovereign* and *king* are employed regularly. As far as the vocative address to the monarch is concerned, *your majesty* and *my liege* can be used for referring to the king. These two terms are employed exclusively for the king. A further title of courtesy whose use is restricted to a particular rank is the noun *your Grace* which is primarily addressed to dukes. (Brown & Gilman 1989: 176) In addition, dukes can also be referred to with the help of the noun *duke*. However, *duke* only occurs once in *Othello* where Desdemona says *most gracious duke* (McDonald 2001: 25) and this represents the limited Elizabethan usage of this term, because although the title *duke* was introduced by Edward III in honour of his eldest son in 1337, approximately 200 years later when Queen Elizabeth I reigned in England this title of courtesy was not popular any more and was awarded for the last time in 1556. (Böhm 1936: 10) In comparison, titles of courtesy which can be discovered frequently in Shakespeare's plays are *lord*, *sir* and *madam* of which all will be discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

5.2.2.1. Lord

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
13	31	199	58	82

Table 7: Instances of *lord* as a title of courtesy in the selected plays

The first title of courtesy which is examined closely here is *lord*. This address term ranks first among all titles of courtesy with a total of 383 occurrences. As Table (7) illustrates *lord* can be discovered in every play of the corpus which is probably due to the fact that various meanings are attached to it. In Old English *lord* was still used to refer to husbands because the term etymologically derives from *hlāford* meaning 'loafkeeper'. Since the husband is the one providing his family with bread, *lord* was used to address him. (Onions 1979: 537) Soon the usage of *lord* entered other fields as well and meant 'master', 'ruler' and 'feudal superior'. (Fowler 1990: 701) The latter resulted from the English feudal system which featured the monarch as a feudal lord who gave land to vassals who worked and fought for him. Occasionally, the landowners were noblemen and, therefore, *lord* was commonly given to members of the nobility so that finally the title *lord* designated the rank of noblemen. (Böhm 1936: 18) From the 14th century onwards *lord* was employed for these superior people (Onions 1979: 537) and shortly afterwards its use was guided by strict rules. (Böhm 1936: 18) The term was reserved for "a peer of the realm" (Fowler 1990: 701), particularly to a "marques, earl, viscount or baron" (Fowler 1990: 701).

In the plays under investigation *lord* occurs as an address from a wife to her husband, such as when Lady Macbeth refers to Macbeth as *my royal Lord* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 88), as a title of courtesy used among noblemen, such as Paris's *my lord* (Geisen 1994: 195) to Capulet, and as a vocative from an inferior to a superior like Laertes who addresses the king as *my dread lord* (Klein 1993: 19). All in all, according to my statistics, 19 different combinations with *lord* are included in the five tragedies. For example, *lord* appears alone or it is succeeded by a name, such as in *Lord Hamlet*. Additionally, it can be preceded by the possessive pronoun *my* or by adjectives such as *good*, *gentle*, *royal*, *gracious*, *worthy*, *sweet*, *noble*, *dear* and *honoured*.

5.2.2.2. Sir

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
13	31	199	58	82

Table 8: Instances of *sir* as a title of courtesy in the selected plays

A further address term to men is *sir* which ranks second with a total frequency of 311 in the category of titles of courtesy. As my study revealed *sir* can be discovered in all five tragedies (see Table (8)) and appears mostly alone. However, there are also some frequent combinations, either with a first name, such as *Sir Paris* (Geisen 1994: 105), or with adjectives like in Balthasar's address of *holy sir* (Geisen 1994: 149) to Friar Lawrence. Further common adjectives are *good*, *royal*, *dear*, *gentle*, *sapient* and *noble*, whereby the latter which is used in *Macbeth* carries a special underlying meaning. The nobleman Lennox says to Macbeth, "Good morrow, noble sir!" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 56) and this utterance occurs immediately after the addressee has committed a murder. The fact that Macbeth has just killed Duncan contradicts the adjective *noble* and, thus, creates a touch of irony. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 194)

Lennox's utterance exemplifies that *sir* is definitely used between noblemen and, furthermore, this title of courtesy is also employed in asymmetrical relationships. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 191) By way of illustration, in *Macbeth* the inferior porter refers to Macduff as *sir* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 56), which represent the common address behaviour in the Elizabethan Age. This practice is closely linked to the word's history because originally *sir* deriving from the term *sire* was used for knights. (Böhm 1936: 28) However, during the 14th century it became a term of respect (Onions 1979: 829) and gradually it was not only an address expression directed at superiors but also at equals and even at inferiors. A typical example of the use of *sir* among characters belonging to the lower class is the opening scene in *Romeo and Juliet* where servants of the rivalling households address each other with *sir*. Hereby, *sir* is a derogatory term (Stoll 1989: 129) and what is also perceived as being insulting is the discussion about whether biting one's thumb is acceptable. Although this is not a verbal insult, it is nevertheless considered to be provocative. (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 85)

5.2.2.3. Madam

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
20	2	12	14	32

Table 9: Instances of *madam* as a title of courtesy in the selected plays

The third most frequently used title of courtesy in the five selected plays is *madam* which is an address expression for women. Historically speaking, the term *madam* entered the English language via French where *ma dame* was commonly employed. The English borrowed this form of address and by the 13th century (Onions 1979: 544) it had become a "polite title of address used by servants to a mistress" (ibid. 544). Eventually, the range of application was broadened so that in the 16th century *madam* which took on the meaning of 'fine lady' was used for all women. (ibid. 544) Therefore, one can claim that *madam* is the female equivalent to *sir*. (Stoll 1989: 130)

The use of *madam* in the five tragedies corresponds to the different meanings mentioned above since *madam* occurs as an address by servants to their superiors, by characters to ladies of high rank and among family members. (Drazdauskiene 2000: 197) For example, a servant addresses Lady Macbeth as *madam* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 80). This "term of address […] sounds extremely undeserved" (Drazdauskiene 2000: 197) because despite the fact that *madam* is the common address by servants to their mistresses, it is considered not to be appropriate in this situation. The positive character qualities which are associated with a woman who is addressed as *madam* are inconsistent with Lady Macbeth's real self because she supports her bloodthirsty husband and, thus, is everything but a fine lady. However, there are also appropriate usages: Hamlet addresses his mother as *madam* (Klein 1993: 20) and Polonius directs the vocative *good madam* (Klein 1993: 67) at the Queen as a woman who occupies the highest social rank possible. Although occasionally combinations such as *good madam*, *bounteous madam* or *dear madam* can be discovered in the corpus, *madam* is usually used alone. On the whole, according to my statistics *madam* is employed eighty times, whereby as Table (9) shows it is hardly used in *Macbeth* where only two instances can be recorded.

5.2.3. Generic terms

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
38	12	32	35	48

Table 10: Instances of generic terms as nominal address terms in the selected plays

In contrast to the category of titles of courtesy which was outlined in the previous section, generic terms are distributed more equally between male and female address terms. Altogether, 165 generic terms can be discovered in all five plays (see Table (10)) which can be classified into thirteen different address terms. Although the top three items, namely *friend*, *gentleman* and *boy*, are primarily reserved for addresses to male interaction partners, the majority of the remaining generic terms constitute address forms for female interlocutors.

These female generic terms are *girl*, *maid*, *woman*, *wench* and *gentlewoman*. The application of most of these expressions largely depends on the addressee's age, because *girl* is used for young female characters, *maid* is directed at young unmarried girls and *woman* is the vocative for older and more mature female addressees. In contrast, *wench* is used for all ages. (Stoll 1989: 208) Originally it was simply a term "for a girl or woman" (Dunkling 1990: 258), however, it was also used as a derogatory term and by the 16th century it received the meaning of 'closeness' and 'endearment'. (Dunkling 1990: 258) For example, in my corpus *wench* is applied exclusively according to the latter meaning: Iago addresses Emilia as *good wench* (McDonald 2001: 76) and Othello refers to Desdemona as *ill-starred wench* (McDonald 2001: 141). Finally, *gentlewoman* is used for addresses to "a woman of good birth" (Dunkling 1990: 118) or to "an unknown lady" (Dunkling 1990: 118), such as in *Romeo and Juliet* where Mercutio directs the vocative *fair gentlewoman* to the Nurse (Geisen 1994: 70). Further examples of generic terms are *child*, *man* and *lad*. Interestingly enough, although the noun *child* designates "a son or daughter of any age" (Hornby 2005: 256), in Shakespeare's tragedies this address form was solely directed at female characters. (Stoll 1989: 208) In *Romeo and Juliet* only Juliet is addressed as *child* by her parents and in *King Lear* Goneril receives the expression *my child* (Orgel 1999: 61) from her father, King Lear.

5.2.3.1. Friend

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
4	5	16	7	17

Table 11: Instances of *friend(s)* as a generic term in the selected plays

So far mainly female generic terms have been discussed, however, the address forms which are ranked highest in this group of nominal forms of address are ones reserved for men. The vocative which is used most frequently in the five plays is *friend* in the singular (27 times) or *friends* in the plural (22 times). Thus, *friend(s)* has an overall frequency of 49 occurrences, whereby as Table (11) shows it is most common in *Hamlet* and *King Lear*.

The high frequency of *friend(s)* is not astonishing because the term *friend* covers a wide range of application. In the period of Old English from which *friend* derived it even meant 'lover'. (Onions 1979: 377) This strong emotional relationship which usually exists between people who are in love has survived in the meaning of *friend* as someone with whom you are "in mutual benevolence and intimacy" (Onions 1979: 377). Such "sweetheart friends" (Busse 2002: 153) are, for example, the couples Juliet and Romeo as well as Bianca and Cassio, because Juliet addresses her lover Romeo as *friend* (Geisen 1994: 108) and Bianca wishes Cassio, "Save you, friend Cassio!" (McDonald 2001: 91). However, *friend* can also be applied ironically to social inferiors and as a neutral address form signalling that "a person [is] known" (Fowler 1990: 471). Examples of this usage are Macduff's *friend* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 56) to the porter and Gloucester's *good friend* (Orgel 1999: 92) to an old man. As the latter sample shows *friend(s)* cannot only be used alone but also in combination with adjectives, such as *good*, *brave*, *old*, *honest*, *noble*, *worthy*, *excellent* and *dear*.

5.2.3.2. Gentleman

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
12	4	8	14	2

Table 12: Instances of *gentleman/gentlemen* as a generic term in the selected plays

Besides *friend(s)*, *gentleman* or *gentlemen* is used fairly frequently as a generic term in Shakespeare's plays. On the whole, my survey revealed a frequency of forty instances distributed among all five tragedies (see Table (12)). As Stoll (1989: 136) already claimed, generally the plural *gentlemen* is preferred to the singular *gentleman*. Likewise, according to my statistics *gentlemen* occurs 35 times whereas *gentleman* is only used six times.

It can be concluded that the excessive use of the plural in Shakespeare's theatrical works is linked to the historical development of the term. Originally the word entered the English language via French where there was the Old French expression *gentilis hom* (Onions 1979: 394) which was influenced by the Latin *homo gentilis*. However, the English language did only borrow the first element of the Old French *gentilis hom* of which *gentilis* became the English *gentle* and, additionally, a German suffix was added, namely *man*. (Böhm 1936: 37) Initially, this word designated "a man of gentle birth" (Fowler 1990: 492) and since such men usually were granted the privilege of possessing land and receiving good education, the term *gentleman* was soon associated with perfect behaviour as well. (Stoll 1989: 25) This becomes even more apparent when attention is paid to the adjectives which co-occur with *gentleman*/*gentlemen* because they mostly have positive connotations, such as *honest*, *fair*, *worthy*, *kind* and *good*. For example, Juliet, who wants Romeo to be honest, calls him *gentleman* (Geisen 1994: 54) and Iago criticizes Roderigo for his behaviour which does not do justice to the image of a gentleman by addressing him as *thou silly gentleman* (McDonald 2001: 28). In sum, while *gentleman* is only rarely used by Shakespeare, *gentlemen* is frequently applied as an address to all noblemen irregardless of their specific rank. (Stoll 1989: 145)

5.2.3.3. Boy

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
8	2	1	1	15

Table 13: Instances of *boy(s)* as a generic term in the selected plays

Compared to *gentleman* and *gentlemen*, it is worth noting that *boy* almost always appears in the singular in my corpus. Of all 27 instances which can be discovered in the five tragedies only two are in the plural. Furthermore, it can be observed that most forms of this generic term occur in *King Lear* (see Table (13)) where the fool addressees King Lear himself eleven times with *boy* or *my boy*. Interestingly enough, *boy* is applied in twenty cases alone, whereas it is combined with the possessive pronoun *my* or with adjectives (e.g. *loyal*, *natural* and *lily-liver'd*) only in a small number of utterances. For example, Paris addresses his page with *boy* alone (Geisen 1994: 143), while Gloucester refers to his son as a *loyal and natural boy* (Orgel 1999: 41). As these two examples illustrate, in the Elizabethan Age the generic term *boy* was used as a vocative to servants and sons. What needs to be emphasised is that in the 16th century wealthy people could afford to employ children as servants in their households and due to their young age those were usually addressed as *boy*. (Busse 2002: 149) Additionally, *boy* was also used as "a word of contempt" (ibid. 147), because when it was "preceded by more formal titles" (ibid. 149), such as in Capulet's *goodman boy* (Geisen 1994: 43) to his nephew Tybalt, the term of address was considered as an insult. (Geisen 1994: 171)

5.2.4. Terms of abuse

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
13	16	8	27	56

Table 14: Instances of terms of abuse as nominal address terms in the selected plays

In the previous section it became obvious that certain address expressions can carry an abusive force. Nevertheless, there are also forms of address which are clearly abusive vocatives and are, thus, unmistakably "offensive to the target" (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 71). In general, such terms of abuse can be encountered frequently in theatrical works, whereby with regard to the Early Modern English period Shakespeare's plays are considered to be "a particularly rich source" (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 71). According to my survey, in the tragedies under consideration there are 120 terms of abuse and as Table (14) shows these nouns are included in all five plays. On the whole, 44 different

terms of abuse can be recorded including typical but also creative ones, such as *knave*, *egg*, *liar*, *ratcatcher*, *hell-hound*, *barbermonger*, *dunghill* and *strumpet*. The latter, for example, plays a significant role in *Othello* where Othello accuses Desdemona of being a strumpet. He, first of all, chooses the lexical item *strumpet* which is then perceived as inappropriate and as a face-threatening act. (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2000: 73) Therefore, Desdemona is astonished and outraged and tries to defend herself by insisting on not being a strumpet. This discussion is outlined in example (35).

(35)   Othello   Impudent strumpet!
        Desdemona   By heaven, you do me wrong!
        Othello   Are not you a strumpet?
        Desdemona   No […] I am none.
        (*Othello* 2.2.81-85)

Altogether *strumpet* occurs in the five tragedies seven times. Slightly more frequently is the term *slave*. With nine instances of occurrence it is ranked number three among the category of terms of abuse. Statistically, the terms of abuse which are ranked first to third are *villain* (28 instances of occurrence), *fool* (11 instances of occurrence) and *slave* (9 instances of occurrence). These expressions are already insulting on their own but in combination with the pronoun *thou* and derogatory adjectives they become even more abusive. (Busse 2002: 180) By way of illustration, *slave* co-occurs in my corpus with the adjectives *murd'rous* and *cursed,* whereas *fool* is used together with *mumbling* and *poor*. Interestingly enough, eight out of eleven occurrences of *fool* can be discovered in *King Lear*, where it is mainly directed at the character of the fool. This usage can be explained by paying attention to the historical development of the term *fool*, because from the 14th century onwards (Onions 1979: 368) this noun has designated somebody as a "professional jester [or] a clown" (Fowler 1990: 457). Since it was common to have fools who are "attached to royal and noble households" (Dunkling 1990: 112) in the Elizabethan Age, it is not unusual that King Lear is attended by a fool to whom he refers with *fool*.

The term of abuse which is applied most frequently in all five tragedies is *villain* which derives from the Middle English noun *vilein* and which originally meant "a

serf who was attached to a villa" (Dunkling 1990: 255). By the 14th century the term had become an expression of abuse (Dunkling 1990: 255) and was used to refer to "a rascal or rogue" (Fowler 1990: 1369). With regard to Shakespeare's plays, *villain* occurs, for example, in *Romeo and Juliet* where Capulet is addressed as *thou villain Capulet* (Geisen 1994: 13) or where Romeo is vocatively referred to as *condemned villain* (Geisen 1994: 146). *Villain* co-occurs with a large number of different adjectives, including *shag-hair'd*, *damned*, *bloody*, *bawdy*, *strange* and *wretched*. Especially many adjectives are used by Gloucester as he starts employing the noun *villain* alone and then consistently adds more and more adjectives to it:

> O villain, villain! His very opinion in the letter. Abhorred villain, unnatural, detested, brutish villain; worse than brutish! Go, sirrah, seek him, I'll apprehend him. Abominable villain! Where is he? (Orgel 1999: 18)

After having examined, among others, this utterance which represents feelings of deep hatred, it is astonishing to notice that there are also passages where *villain* and other terms of abuse carry a completely different meaning. For example, *rogue* is used as a term of endearment (Stoll 1989: 215) by Cassio who refers to Bianca with the expression *poor rogue* (McDonald 2001: 98).

5.2.5. Terms of endearment

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
33	22	6	13	15

Table 15: Instances of terms of endearment as address terms in the selected plays

Terms of endearment are means of displaying deep affection, whereby showing feelings for another person can be expressed verbally with the help of a large number of different nouns. For example, in the five Shakespearean tragedies which are examined in terms of the employment of forms of endearment, there are altogether 29 different nominal expressions of affection which are used to refer to interaction partners. The addressees who receive these terms are, for example, persons who are loved by the speaker. In particular, this holds true for

Romeo and Juliet since they fall in love with each other and share strong feelings for each other. As Table (15) illustrates, the majority of terms of endearment are employed in *Romeo and Juliet*, which, in my opinion, is obvious since the play is about a love story. It can, thus, be assumed that due to love as a prevailing theme many terms of affection are used. For example, Romeo calls Juliet *bright angel* (Geisen 1994: 51) and *dear saint* (Geisen 1994: 52).

Furthermore, terms of endearment are used by suitors, such as by Paris, who addresses his beloved Juliet as *poor soul* (Geisen 1994: 119) and *sweet flower* (Geisen 1994: 144). However, such terms of affection are not only applied by characters who intend to win somebody's heart but they are also exchanged between married couples. This usage can be exemplified with the help of Macbeth, Othello and their wives. Occasionally they idolize each other so that, for instance, Othello says *sweeting* (McDonald 2001: 55) to Desdemona and Macbeth addresses Lady Macbeth with *dearest chuck* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 82).

Likewise, parents sometimes direct terms of endearments at their children like Brabatino, who addresses his daughter with *jewel* (McDonald 2001: 23), and sometimes even less intimate characters show such an address behaviour which is characterised by warm feelings, such as Iago who refers to Roderigo as *noble heart* (McDonald 2001: 28) or Benvolio who addresses his cousin Romeo as *coz* (Geisen 1994: 18). Some of the nouns mentioned in the examples, such as *jewel* or *noble heart*, are only used once in the corpus, whereas other terms of endearment, such as *chuck*, *dear saint* or *coz*, can be discovered up to five times. What is striking is that two terms of endearment occur far more frequently, namely *love* (17 instances) and *fellow* (18instances). Since 35 out of 78 terms of endearment are either *love* or *fellow*, these forms will be discussed in more detail.

5.2.5.1. Love

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
10	2	2	3	0

Table 16: Instances of *love* as a term of endearment in the selected plays

With a total amount of 17 occurrences *love* ranks second among all terms of endearment. However, as Table (16) shows this form of address is not included in all tragedies and is primarily used in *Romeo and Juliet*, where it is given ten times. Since *love* is "an affectionate address form" (Busse 2002: 166), it is generally directed "from a suitor, lover or spouse to his beloved" (Busse 2002: 166). By way of illustration, Paris gives *love* (Geisen 1994: 119) to Juliet, whom he admires, Juliet says goodbye to her lover Romeo by saying, "Dear love, adieu!" (Geisen 1994:56) and Macbeth addresses his wife Lady Macbeth with *my dearest love* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 34).

As the examples above illustrate, *love* can either be used alone or it can be combined with adjectives, whereby the adjectives which are preceded generally have positive connotations. According to my statistics, *love* co-occurs with adjectives in only four cases: *dear love* (Geisen 1994: 56; McDonald 2001: 46), *dearest love* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 34) and *sweet love* (McDoanld 2001: 91). What is even more striking is that *love* seems to be preferably given by men to women. This practice is mentioned by Busse (2002: 166) as well and can be confirmed by my survey which reveals that *love* is given by female characters only six times, whereas it is employed eleven times by men.

5.2.5.2. Fellow

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
5	0	1	0	12

Table 17: Instances of *fellow* as a term of endearment in the selected plays

Equally interesting as *love* is the address form *fellow*, because as a term of endearment it occurs most frequently in the corpus under consideration, although it is not included in each of the five tragedies. As Table (17) illustrates *fellow* does not appear in *Macbeth* and *Othello* and is rarely employed in *Hamlet* (one instance) and *Romeo and Juliet* (five instances). Nevertheless, with an overall frequency of 18 instances it can be ranked number one among all terms of endearment.

Furthermore, *fellow* shows an interesting historical development, because deriving from the Old English term *fēolaga* (Onions 1979: 350), which meant "one who lays down money in a joint undertaking" (Onions 1979: 350), it was originally used to refer to a business partner. However, in the 14th century *fellow* took on the meaning of 'a companion' (Dunkling 1990: 103) who is considered to be an equal interaction partner. With regard to Shakespeare's tragedies, an example of equality and solidarity is Hamlet's address of *fellow-student* (Klein 1993: 25) to Horatio, whom he knows from Wittenberg.

Finally, in the 15th century, the term *fellow* designated 'male servants' and received a condescending connotation in special cases. More precisely, when *fellow* was given to equals, it was experienced as a verbal insult, because the term was heavily associated with inferiors such as servants. (Dunkling 1990: 103) In Shakespeare's tragedies examples for the former as well as for the latter application of *fellow* are provided. For instance, in *Romeo and Juliet* Romeo addresses his servant Balthasar with *good fellow* (Geisen 1994: 145) and in *King Lear* Albany calls the socially equal Edmund a *half-blooded fellow* (Orgel 1999: 131). As the previous two examples clearly illustrate, *fellow* can be preceded by adjectives, whereby according to my survey a limited set of adjectives is used which comprises the qualifiers *good*, *half-blooded*, *honest*, *old* and *naked*.

5.2.6. Kinship terms

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
46	19	18	12	53

Table 18: Instances of kinship terms as address terms in the selected plays

In contrast to *fellow* which is given to acquaintances or friends, the category of kinship terms comprises vocatives which are addressed to family members. For example, *father* is a term of family relationship and, interestingly enough, speakers who apply such a term provide the hearer and, thus, also the theatre audience watching a play with four vital pieces of information. By way of illustration, when Edmund calls Gloucester *father* (Orgel 1999: 39), a third party

immediately knows that the character to whom this address form is given is a male person. In other words, the audience can infer the character's sex from the term *father*. Moreover, one can assume that the addressee is older than the speaker, because *father* is an address expression which is normally directed at a member of a generation higher than the addresser. Therefore, when Edmund calls Gloucester *father*, the audience automatically realized the difference in generation between the two characters. (Fischer 2002: 116) Additionally, the use of the form *father* informs the theatregoers about "the lineality of the relationship" (ibid. 116) between Edmund and Gloucester. When Edmund addresses Gloucester with *father*, he has to be a lineal relative, which means that Gloucester is in direct line related to Edmund. (ibid. 116) Therefore, "the degree of relationship" (ibid. 116) between these two characters is high and, furthermore, "the kind of relationship" (ibid. 117) between them is characterised as well. Regarding the concept of consanguinity, one can claim that they are definitely related by blood (ibid. 117), because otherwise Edmund would refer to Gloucester as *stepfather* or *father-in-law*. In sum, as Edmund's address of *father* to Gloucester has clearly shown, any term of family relationship provides information about four aspects: sex, generation, lineality and consanguinity.

So far only *father* has been mentioned as an example of a kinship term, however, there are many more such address forms. My survey reveals that on the whole there are 148 instances of address nouns expressing some kind of family relationship, whereby they can be discovered in all five tragedies under consideration (see Table (18)). Besides *father*, there are twelve different types of terms of family relationship. Among others, *uncle*, *nephew*, *husband*, *wife*, *mother*, *son*, *daughter*, *brother* and *sister* are used. The terms which occur most frequently are *father* (21 instances), *cousin* (20 instances), *nuncle* (15 instances) and *mother* (13 instances). Since *nuncle*, "a vocative form of *uncle*" (Dunkling 1990: 187), is exclusively used by Shakespeare in one play, namely in *King Lear*, where it is given to the king by the fool, it will not be discussed in more detail in this thesis. In contrast, terms which will be outlined are *father*, *cousin* and *mother*, because they show a larger range of application.

5.2.6.1. Father

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
6	2	0	2	11

Table 19: Instances of *father* as a term of family relationship in the selected plays

Among the terms of family relationship *father*, which is usually defined as a vocative address to a "male parent" (Onions 1979: 347), can be ranked number one. One the whole, it is used 21 times in four different tragedies. As Table (19) illustrates, *father* does not occur in *Hamlet*. In the remaining four plays this term is applied in various ways. One the one hand, it is given to fathers but, on the other hand, it is also directed at male characters who are not related with the speaker by blood. Examples of the traditional use of *father* to a male parent are, for instance, Desdemona's vocative of *my noble father* (McDonald 2001: 23) to Brabantio and Juliet's address of *good father* (Geisen 1994: 113) to Capulet. What is striking with regard to the employment of *father* in *Romeo and Juliet* is that five out of six cases when *father* is vocatively applied are not directed at a male parent but at a priest. In *Romeo and Juliet* Friar Laurence receives the address *father* five times by speakers to whom he is not related by blood. This clearly constitutes "a fictive use" (Braun 1988:9) of the kinship term *father* since a person is addressed "who is not related to the speaker in one way or other" (Braun 1988: 9). Sometimes *father* is preceded by an adjective which aids in indicating Friar Laurence's profession, such as *ghostly* and *holy* which are widely associated with religion.

5.2.6.2. Cousin

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
9	7	2	2	0

Table 20: Instances of *cousin* as a term of family relationship in the selected plays

Similar to *father*, the kinship term *cousin* is not used in all of the five tragedies. As can be seen from Table (20), this term of family relationship does not occur in *King Lear*. Nevertheless, it has a high frequency of occurrence, namely

twenty instances, and is applied in various situations. First, *cousin* is used as an address to a "son or daughter of an uncle or aunt" (Busse 2002: 135), such as in *Romeo and Juliet* where Romeo and Benvolio exchange the term *cousin* (Geisen 1994: 17, Geisen 1994: 19). Second, this form of address is given to "any kinsman or kinswoman" (Busse 2002: 135) including one's "nephew, niece, uncle, brother-in-law [and] grandchildren" (Busse 2002: 135). With regard to Shakespeare's tragedies, examples of this address behaviour can be discovered in *Romeo and Juliet* where Lady Capulet refers to her nephew Tybalt with *my cousin* (Geisen 1994: 87) and in *Hamlet* where the present king calls his nephew and stepson *cousin Hamlet* (Klein 1993: 201). This form of address seems to represent "intimacy, friendship, or familiarity" (Stoll 1989: 184), because the king's typical address for Hamlet is not *cousin* but his first name. I think that referring to someone with his Christian name is more neutral than using a term of address, such as *cousin*, which alludes to a particular kind of relationship between the interaction partners. Finally, *cousin* is also applied by "a sovereign in addressing […] a noble" (Fowler 1990: 266), such as in *Macbeth* where Duncan calls Macbeth *valiant cousin* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 12) and *worthiest cousin* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 26).

5.2.6.3. Mother

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
1	4	8	0	0

Table 21: Instances of *mother* as a term of family relationship in the selected plays

Compared to *cousin* which occurs twenty times in all of the five tragedies, the address term *mother* is to be found only thirteen times, whereby interestingly enough in *Romeo and Juliet* it is only employed once (see Table (21)) as a vocative to "a female parent" (Onions 1979: 592). This application is probably influenced by strong feelings such as desperation and hope. Juliet, who does not want to marry Paris, begs Lady Capulet, "O sweet my mother, cast me not away! Delay this marriage for a month." (Geisen 1994: 115). In this highly emotional situation Juliet addresses her mother with *sweet my mother*, which is quite striking since she normally uses the vocative *madam* instead. Likewise,

Hamlet addresses his mother with the term *mother* only eight times, whereas he uses different nominal address expressions (e.g. *madam*, *lady*, *wretched queen*) in ten other situations. The eight addresses of *mother* given by Hamlet constitute the majority of all thirteen instances which can be recorded in three tragedies. As illustrated in Table (21) *mother* is not included in *Othello* and *King Lear*. The remaining three tragedies show the use of *mother* alone or the combination of the term with adjectives like *dear mother* (Klein 1993: 146) and *good mother* (Klein 1993: 20).

5.2.7. Titles indicating occupation

Romeo&Juliet	Macbeth	Hamlet	Othello	King Lear
44	6	5	40	6

Table 22: Instances of titles indicating occupation as address terms in the plays

It was emphasised in the previous section that terms of family relationship provide the theatre audience with vital information about the characters on stage. The same holds true for titles indicating occupation (Stoll 1989: 167) since they aid the spectators in noticing "an addressee's profession or function" (Braun 1988: 10). Due to their special function in the course of a theatrical performance, occupational terms occur fairly frequently. According to my statistics, such address forms are employed 101 times in all five tragedies. As Table (22) clearly shows most of these titles can be discovered in *Romeo and Juliet* (44 instances) followed by *Othello* (40 instances). All in all, 21 different occupational titles can be recorded including nouns such as *apothecary*, *doctor*, *coach*, *porter* and *friar*. Additionally, forms of address designating army and navy officers occur frequently, whereby they are employed most often in *Othello*, where titles such as *lieutenant*, *general* and *ancient* can be discovered. Among these three occupational titles *lieutenant* ranks number one since it is given 18 times compared to *general* which is used ten times and to *ancient* which is applied four times. Therefore, due to its high frequency of occurrence *lieutenant* will be discussed in more detail.

5.2.7.1. Lieutenant

Lieutenant is an address term which derives from the Latin expression *locum tenens* (Dunkling 1990: 156) and from the Old French word *lieutenant*. While the first element of the noun means 'place', the second part refers to 'holder'. (Onions 1979: 527) Therefore, a lieutenant can be defined as a person "holding the place of a captain" (Onions 1979: 527). In order words, a lieutenant is "an army officer next in rank below the captain" (Fowler 1990: 684). With precisely this meaning *lieutenant* is employed by Shakespeare in his plays. Regarding the five tragedies under investigation, *lieutenant* is exclusively used in *Othello* where there is a total frequency of 18 instances. Interestingly enough, all of these eighteen samples are directed at one particular person, namely at Cassio, who is already described in the section about the dramatis personae as "an honorable lieutenant" (McDonald 2001: 3). Cassio receives this title of occupation eighteen times, whereby twelve addresses feature *lieutenant* alone and solely six addresses show a co-occurrence with an adjective. It is worth noting that the adjective which is preceded to *lieutenant* is always good, such as in *Good morrow, good lieutenant* (McDonald 2001: 61).

5.2.7.2. Nurse

The only title of occupation which is used more frequently in the five plays than *lieutenant* is *nurse* which shows an overall frequency of 31 instances. What these two address terms, namely *lieutenant* and *nurse*, have in common is the fact that both vocatives occur exclusively in one tragedy. While *lieutenant* can only be discovered in *Othello*, *nurse* just appears in *Romeo and Juliet*. In this play *nurse* is used to address Juliet's wet-nurse who seems to have been employed by the Capulets to look after their daughter. In the 16th century it was not unusual for wealthy parents to have their children been wet-nursed. (Amussen 2000: 90) Since the nurse "nursed Juliet as an infant" (McDonald 1996: 265), she is referred to as the Nurse. The Nurse is an important character in *Romeo and Juliet*, which probably explains the high number of occurrences of the address term *nurse* in this particular play.

The Nurse receives the address term *nurse* not only from Juliet, to whom she has an intimate relationship, but also from her master Capulet and his wife Lady Capulet, from Romeo as well as from Friar Laurence. What is immediately striking is that Capulet and Lady Capulet always use the term *nurse* alone and constantly issue commands at her as their servant. (Busse 2002: 130) For example, Capulet orders, "Go, Nurse, go with her." (Geisen 1994: 125) and Lady Capulet tells her, "Hold, take these keys and fetch more spices, Nurse." (Geisen 1994: 129). In contrast to the Capulets' language which is rich in imperatives, Juliet and Romeo in particular show verbally that they have a more intimate relationship to the nurse by using the term *nurse* in combination with positive adjectives (e.g. *good*, *dear*, *sweet*, *honest* and *gentle*).

5.2.8. Terms for supernatural beings

In addition to vocative forms of address used with relation to human beings, I decided to deal with nouns of address to supernatural beings too, because in two out of the five tragedies under consideration there are various supernatural creatures including witches, ghosts and apparitions. For my statistics "the real supernatural" (Yonglin 1991: 248) will be considered, which are those "supernatural beings [which are] identified in the *dramatis personae* of [the] play[s]" (Yonglin 1991: 248). Both *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* feature a large number of supernatural beings, such as the three "Weird Sisters" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 18), Hecate, apparitions, the ghost of Banquo and the ghost of Hamlet's father.

What is especially striking is that the play *Macbeth* is extremely rich in the appearance of supernatural beings since there are four witches, three apparitions and one ghost. This high number of supernatural beings could be linked to its period of origin, because when the play was written in 1606 (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 37) the ruling monarch was James I, who was as "fascinated by witchcraft" (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 30) as his subjects. (Wills 1995: 35) Magic and the supernatural beings had such a strong attraction that King James I even published a treatise with the title *Daemonologie*, (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 30) in which he stated "his

belief in the power of evil spirits" (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 30). With the publication of *Macbeth* Shakespeare definitely did justice to his contemporaries' interest in witchcraft.

In *Macbeth* as well as in *Hamlet* the supernatural characters are directly addressed several times so that on the whole 21 vocatives given to them can be recorded, whereby they are addressed eleven times in *Macbeth* and ten times in *Hamlet*. Shakespeare obviously used a large repertoire of nominal addresses for referring to the supernatural beings. More precisely, there are 17 different address forms directed at the witches, ghosts and apparitions. With regard to the witches who prophesy that Macbeth will become Thane of Cawdor and king, they are addressed as *witch* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 16), as *imperfect speakers* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 16) and as *hags*. The latter is an address term which designates "an ugly old woman" (Dunkling 1990: 126) and is frequently applied to witches. Once the witches are given the vocative *filthy hags* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 112) and in another situation they receive the address *secret, black and midnight hags* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 106). However, when the witches talk to each other, they exchange the address term *sister* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 16).

Furthermore, the apparitions which are "conjured by the witches" (Dunton-Downer & Riding 2004: 360) are referred to by Macbeth as *unknown power* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 108) and as *horrible sight* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 112). Additionally, in *Macbeth* there is the ghost of Banquo who receives *horrible shadow* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 94) and *unreal mock'ry* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 94) as a noun of address. A further ghost is staged in *Hamlet*, where Hamlet's dead father is, for example, addressed with *illusion* (Klein 1993: 13), *poor ghost* (Klein 1993: 44), *boy* (Klein 1993: 52), *perturbed spirit* (Klein 1993: 53) and *old mole* (Klein 1993: 52). Once Hamlet refers to the ghost as *truepenny* (Klein 1993: 52) which is actually a term of address for "an honest fellow" (Dunkling 1990: 250). Nevertheless, I think this address form is appropriate for the ghost of Hamlet's father since he aids Hamlet in establishing the truth. In my opinion, this ghost is a symbol of sincerity, because he wants justice and tells Hamlet that in fact he was murdered by his brother Claudius, who succeeded his throne. With the help of the ghost, Hamlet discovers the truth and is able to seek revenge.

5.3. Pronominal address terms

In the previous section nominal address terms were thoroughly investigated and it became apparent that these are frequently linked to another group of address forms, i.e. pronouns. The analysis revealed that occasionally nominal address terms only then have a significant effect when they are combined with pronominal address terms. For example, the abusive force of a noun, such as *villain* or *fool*, can be maximized if the pronoun *thou* is added; or even an address term which normally has positive connotations can be perceived as derogatory if it is combined with negative adjectives and with the pronoun *thou*, such as in *thou silly gentleman*. Such examples clearly show that pronouns play an important role in the course of addressing others and, therefore, these address pronouns will be examined in more detail below.

What is striking when dealing with Shakespeare's plays is that two different pronouns are used for addressing interaction partners. When an Elizabethan wanted to address a single person, s/he could choose between *you* and *thou*, whereas when a speaker intended to refer to a group of interlocutors, the only pronoun available was *you*. This basic outline of the use of address pronouns in the Elizabethan Age shows that *you* had a double function as it was not only applied to one person but also to several different interaction partners. (Busse 1998: 33) With regard to cases, *you* and *ye* were both used for the nominative as well as for the accusative, whereas *thou* took the nominative case and *thee* the accusative case. (Stein 2003: 303)

This dichotomy of *thou* and *you* appears unusual for most modern readers since nowadays in Standard English there is only one address pronoun left, namely *you*. Regardless of how many people are referred to, the address pronoun *you* is employed (Brown & Gilman 1978: 253), and only in some particular areas *thou* is still used, such as in prayers, in poems and in British dialects. (Bruti 2000: 45) Therefore, it will be worth investigating why the Early Modern English period featured a dichotomy of *thou* and *you* and why it is not common any more in today's Standard English.

5.3.1. Historical development of *thou* and *you*

It is generally acknowledged that the dual pronoun system of *thou* and *you*, which prevailed in the Early Modern English period, originated from Latin where address behaviour was governed by the binary opposition of *tu* and vos. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 254) While *tu* was used as an address pronoun to one hearer, *vos* was applied to refer at least to two addressees. In the fourth century AD the Roman Empire was divided into a western and into an eastern part, whereby each of these two empires was ruled by its own emperor. Consequently, the Roman Empire as one unit had two emperors of whom one, namely the ruler of the eastern part, resided in Constantinople and one, namely the ruler of the western part, had his official residence in Rome. With regard to important state affairs, both emperors were informed and naturally the plural pronoun *vos* was chosen to address the two of them. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255)

The two emperors as the heads of state represented their people and were regarded as "the summation" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255) of the empire. Likewise, a large number of monarchs or politicians have been considered to stand for their nation and to speak for their countrymen and, thus, they frequently refer to themselves in the plural. For example, Queen Victoria as the ruling monarch regularly used the royal we in utterances such as *We are not amused*. (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 5) Intuitively, the speaker's use of a plural address pronoun like the Latin *nos* often encourages in return the interaction partner's employment of a plural address pronoun like *vos*.

No wonder that such powerful people as monarchs and politicians receive a plural address pronoun, because their social and political power is expressed verbally in this type of pronoun. Equally, the two Latin emperors were given the plural address form *vos* and only gradually it was also applied as an address form to a singular person who occupied another rank than that of being the ruler. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 255) *Vos* was soon given to all superior addressees so that finally the plural pronoun designated any "speaker of high status" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 256). Precisely with this meaning the plural

pronoun was adopted by several European languages including English for addressing individual speakers. (Wales 1983: 109)

However, the English language did not borrow a plural form directly from Latin but was influenced by French. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 265) In the first half of the 13th century *ye*[19] for the nominative and *you* for the accusative were recorded for the first time as address forms to a single person. (Byrne 1936: xix) In these decades French was still an important foreign language (Wales 1983: 116), because due to the Norman Conquest these two languages had co-existed in England until 1200. (Fisiak 2005: 68) Consequently, many loan words from French had entered the English language and linguistic practices such as employing two address pronouns had been borrowed as well. However, the new word *you* did not replace the old *thou* immediately, but they were used side by side for almost four hundred years. (Jucker & Taavitsainen 2003: 5) Such a development is confirmed by Cusack (1987: 23), who claims that "[l]inguistic changes do not occur overnight" but that "old and new usages co-exist".

At first, the new address pronoun *you* was used at the court for addressing the ruling monarch and then its range of application was extended to all members of the upper class and finally to those of the middle class. (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 1992: 79) By the 16th century *you* and *thou* were typical features of the English address system and their employment was already governed by strict rules. For example, *you* was exchanged between upper and middle class speakers, whereas *thou* was predominantly used by lower class speakers. (Byrne 1936: xxxii)

Because of its association with the lower class, *thou* became a characteristic feature of the Quaker's language in the 17th century. The Quakers were a "rebellious religious group" (Singh 2005: 158) which was founded by George Fox. Their main aim was to promote social equality (Wales 1983: 119) which they intended to achieve, for example, by wearing simple clothes (Finkenstaedt

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[19] The dichotomy of *ye* and *you* as a pronoun of address for referring to one hearer prevailed until the beginning of the 16th century. Then the two forms sounded totally equal in unstressed contexts so that the phonological merger led to the extinction of *ye*. (Singh 2005: 157)

1963: 181) and using Plain Speech. The latter included the practice of addressing every interaction partner irregardless of his or her status with *thou*. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 265) It is assumed that the Quakers decided to exchange *thou* because of the pronoun's link to the language of social inferiors and because of its high frequency of occurrence in the Bible. (Wales 1983: 119) Although the Quakers themselves were convinced of their exclusive use of *thou*, outsiders refused it and probably avoided to apply *thou* themselves so that they were not in danger of being mistaken for a Quaker. (Bruti 2000: 45)

The Quaker's exclusive use of *thou* is usually stated as one reason for the disappearance of *thou*. For example, Leith (1997: 107) claimed that "perhaps this insistence of the Quakers […] helped to stigmatise *thou/thee* in the minds of many people", which eventually led to the avoidance of *thou* completely. However, further possible reasons can be mentioned, such as the social insecurity which was already discussed in previous sections. As already explained, during Shakespeare's lifetime it became increasingly difficult to classify interaction partners according to their social status and, therefore, one could hardly tell whether an addressee was an inferior or not. In order to ensure that the hearer was not insulted the address pronoun *you* was preferably chosen and *thou* was largely neglected. (Freedman 2007: 13)

Beside such social aspects, there are also linguistic reasons for the replacement of *thou* by *you*. First, there seemed to have been an attempt to simplify the English language, for example, by deleting the ending –est for verbs succeeding *thou* (e.g. *thou goest*), because occasionally the conjugation of the second person singular caused patterns which were difficult to pronounce. (Freedman 2007: 15) Second, there was a tendency to standardize the English language, for example, by determining a correct version of speaking. Dialects and their typical characteristics including the *thou*-usage were regarded as inappropriate and were not considered to constitute the standard language. (Wales 1983: 117) As a result of all these, *thou* was hardly used any more and its range of application became restricted to dialects spoken in the British counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Somerset, to religious contexts and to poetic language. (Bruti 2000: 45)

5.3.2. Historical address rules

It is worth emphasizing that address usage is always influenced by a system of rules. As Dickey (2002: 7) claims, "one of the most important conclusions […] about address usage is that it is governed by rules stating which forms are used in which circumstances". This does not only hold true for contemporary but also for Elizabethan usage. Similar to nowadays, in the Elizabethan Age there were norms which aided in applying correct address forms. In contrast to today's English speakers who can still choose nouns of address from a whole range of different expressions but who do not have to choose between two different address pronouns any more, Shakespeare's contemporaries still had the opportunity to select *thou* or *you* as appropriate address pronouns and usually based their selection on prevailing rules. There were established norms which defined "the right ways of using forms of address" (Drazdauskiene 2000: 184) and precisely these rules will be outlined in more detail in this section of the thesis.

While in Shakespeare's days for addressing several people *you* was the only pronoun available, a single person could be referred to with two different pronouns, namely *thou* or *you*. Since the Elizabethans did not have to choose a particular pronoun for addressing more people but could automatically apply the plural address pronoun *you*, this address usage will be neglected for the purposes of the present study. Instead the focus will be shifted to the two address pronouns which were available for referring to a single person. This means that the pronominal expressions which will be examined are *thou*, *you* and their derivatives (i.e. *thee*, *thy*, *thine*, *thyself*, *ye*, *your*, *yours*, *yourself*), because their employment depended on various aspects such as grammatical and social rules and, therefore, it is worth investigating the underlying motivations for the use of these forms more closely.

It is predicted that in the Elizabethan Age *thou* was the intimate and familiar pronoun of address which was, for example, exchanged between lovers, friends and conspirators. When the T pronoun was reciprocally used among such

interaction partners, the interlocutors usually felt to be socially equal. (Wales 1983: 116) Under such circumstances *thou* was mainly associated with positive feelings including love, gratitude and affection (Jucker 2000: 157). My own analysis further revealed that the T pronoun can also reflect such positive emotions as sympathy, trust and forgiveness. However, it is widely recognized that *thou* had a much wider range of application and was also employed in asymmetrical relationships where interaction partners were regarded as socially unequal. As a result, it was given from social superiors to social inferiors, such as from masters to servants, from patrons to murders or from parents to children. In such asymmetrical relationships the superodinate's decision to address the subordinate with *thou* was occasionally also linked to his or her negative feelings towards the hearer. The speaker was able to express his or her contempt and scorn by employing the T pronoun. (Wales 1983: 116)

In contrast to *thou*, *you* is believed to be the polite and formal address pronoun since it is primarily associated with distance and power. In the Elizabethan Age the V pronoun was commonly exchanged between upper class equals, such as lords and gentlemen, and, in addition, it was given to social superiors by social inferiors. For example, servants addressed their masters with *you* and likewise children showed their respect towards their parents by giving *you* to them as well. (Wales 1983: 116) Such usages show that the employment of *you* usually expressed respect and admiration for the addressee. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 274)

Whether the use of *thou* and *you* in the five selected tragedies fully conforms to the norms mentioned above will be discussed in the subsequent sections which deal with the employment of address pronouns in various situations. More precisely, attention will be paid to four different types of relationships, namely to official relationships, family relationships, love relationships and supernatural relationships. For all these categories norms will be formulated, whereby passages from Shakespeare's five tragedies will serve as illustrations for these rules. In addition, examples from the corpus which constitute striking deviations from the established norms will be discussed as well.

5.3.2.1. Official relationships

First, the selection of *thou* and *you* in official relationships will be discussed. This type of relationship between interaction partners was proposed as one category by Mazzon (1995: 30) and includes verbal exchanges between superordinates and subordinates and also interactions between peers. The former refers to situations in which social superiors communicate with social inferiors, such as kings with their subjects, masters with their servants and upper class speakers with professionals. What these communicative events have in common is that the relationship between the addressee and the addresser is an unequal one, because one interaction partner is regarded to be socially superior and exerts power over the other. This inequality is reflected in the non-reciprocal use of the address pronouns since the social superior addresses the inferior hearer with *thou* and receives *you*. (Braun 1988: 15)

By way of illustration, as example (36) shows King Claudius addresses the chief councillor Polonius with *thou*, while he is given the V pronoun.

(36) King   Thou still hast been the father of good news.
      Polonius   Have I, my lord? I assure you, my good liege,
                 I hold my duty as I hold my soul.
      (*Hamlet* 2.2.42-44)

The passage above exemplifies an asymmetrical relationship between the king and one of his subjects, which is verbally expressed by the non-reciprocal employment of the address pronouns. Likewise, in *Romeo and Juliet* Romeo addresses the apothecary with *thou*, for example, in (37) *I pay thy poverty and not thy will* (Geisen 1994: 141) and receives *you* by him, such as in (38) *Put this in any liquid thing you will* (ibid. 141). Similarly, Romeo applies the T pronoun to his servant Balthasar to whom he says, "Leave me and do the thing I bid thee do." (Geisen 1994: 139). Romeo is a member of the Montague family and Balthasar is one of their servants. Their enemies, the Capulets, have servants as well. For instance, the Nurse is employed in the Capulets' household and, as expected, she is frequently addressed with the T pronoun since *thou* is "the appropriate address to a servant" (Abbott 1966: 155). Therefore, Lady Capulet

orders the Nurse, "I pray thee hold thy peace" (Geisen 1994: 29), whereby the employment of the T pronoun definitely conforms to the prevailing norm at Shakespeare's time since it reflects the master's "good-humoured superiority" (Abbott 1966: 153). What is striking though is that the Nurse's address behaviour towards Juliet, who is socially superior, once deviates from the established norm since she refers to her with the T pronoun, although she would be supposed to address her with the V pronoun in order to show respect. This breaking of the rule is illustrated in example (39) which shows that the relationship between the Nurse and Juliet seems to be a special one which is characterised by closeness and intimacy. The Nurse who already wet-nursed Juliet is a reliable person of hers and is, thus, allowed to address her with *thee*.

(39) Nurse   Thou wast the prettiest babe that e'er I nursed.
              An I might live to see thee married once,
              I have my wish.
       (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.3.61-63)

So far the employment of address pronouns in interactions in which superordinates and subordinates are involved has been outlined and it has been illustrated that social inferiors address social superiors with *you*, whereas they receive *thou*. In addition to this type of relationship, there are also occasions when peers address each other. Mazzon (1995: 34) defines peers as people "whose social standing, title or function can be put on the same or a very similar footing". Such equal interaction partners can be discovered in all three layers of Elizabethan society so that on the whole three different groups can be distinguished, namely that of high peers, middle peers and low peers. (ibid. 34) While the unequal relationship between subordinates and superordinates is characterised by non-reciprocal address usage, the symmetrical relationship between peers shows reciprocal pronoun usage.

With regard to high peers, for example, royals and noblemen exchange the polite pronoun *you* since it is typical of "courtly intercourse" (Byrne 1936: 114). *You* usually symbolizes respect, courtesy, formality and distance. By way of illustration, example (40) shows a conversation between King Lear and the King of France in which, quite expectedly, both use *you* to address each other.

(40)   Lear   For you, great king,
                       I would not from your love make such a stray
                       To match you where I hate; […]
        France   This is most strange,
                       That she whom even but now was your best object,
                       […] should in this trice of time
                       commit a thing so monstrous.
        (*King Lear* 1.1.213-222)

However, if high peers are related to each other more closely, for instance, via the bond of friendship, they express their intimate relationship by addressing each other with *thou*. By doing so, they can emphasize that they get along with each other very well and that they do not only participate in courtly discourse but also talk with each other about more private topics, such as women and love. For example, Romeo and Benvolio can be mentioned as high peers who are friends and who, therefore, exchange the T pronoun (see passage (41)).

(41)   Romeo   Dost thou not laugh?
        Benvolio   No, coz, I rather weep.
        Romeo   Good heart, at what?
        Benvolio   At thy good heart's oppression.
        (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.182-185)

In contrast to such interaction partners as Romeo and Benvolio, middle peers like military officers exchange the V pronoun since they do not have such a close relationship. By way of illustration, sample (42) shows that Macbeth and Banquo, two generals, address each other with *you* when talking about the witches' prophecy.

(42)   Macbeth   Do you not hope your children shall be kings […]?
        Banquo   That, trusted home,
                       Might yet enkindle you unto the crown,
                       Besides the Thane of Cawdor.
        (*Macbeth* 1.3.118-122)

Finally, there are low peers, such as clowns, fools and servants (Mazzon 1995: 34), who are supposed to address each other with *thou*. In conformity with this rule is, for example, extract (43) which shows that Sampson and Gregory, who are servants of the Capulet household, exchange the T pronoun.

(43) Sampson   My naked weapon is out. Quarrel, I will back thee.
        Gregory   How? Turn thy back and run?
        (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.1.33-34)

As all the previous examples have clearly illustrated, there were address rules for speakers belonging to the same social class as well as for interaction partners occupying different positions in society. In sum, one can claim that "upper-class speakers said *you* to one another, [while] lower class speakers said *thou* to one another" (Kopytko 1993: 52) and, additionally, "the between-class rule was *you* to the upper and *thou* to the lower" (ibid. 52).

5.3.2.2. Family relationships

The next type of relationship which is analysed in terms of the employment of address pronouns is that among family members. Thereby, it is noteworthy that in the Elizabethan Age the typical family structure was that of an extended family. Often even three generations and a few servants lived in one household (Stoll 1989: 42) and, therefore, in the 16th century the term *family* was not restricted to the nuclear-family consisting of "parents, spouses, children and siblings" (Nevala 2003: 148) but also referred to members of the non-nuclear family. Relatives, such as uncles, aunts and cousins, as well as non-kinsmen like servants all could live under the same roof. (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995: 563)

This large body of persons came under the authority of one man, namely the father who was the patriarch. By definition, a patriarch is "the leader of a clan or tribe or large group of kinsfolk" (McDonald 1996: 255) and precisely the latter meaning applied to the father in an Elizabethan household, because he was the head of the family. (Amussen 2000: 86) He was granted the authority to make decisions with regard to "family morals, finance or social relations" (Nevala 2003: 149). Although the father and his wife shared some household duties, such as looking after the household and their servants, they definitely did not have equal rights in their relationship. Women were regarded as inferior to men and, therefore, were supposed to obey them. (Amussen 2000: 86)

The relationship between husband and wife will be examined below, whereby the focus will be on how their relationship is reflected in the use of address pronouns. Interestingly enough, despite occupying different positions in the family, husband and wife addressed each other mutually with *you*. (Byrne 1936: 82) When the five Shakespearean tragedies of the corpus are examined in terms of the employment of address pronouns in conversations between husband and wife, it becomes apparent that for the most part they conform to the norm mentioned above. In most situations husband and wife exchange *you*, such as Capulet and Lady Capulet in example (44).

(44) Lady Capulet   Ay, sir. But she will none, she gives you thanks. […]
      Capulet   Soft! Take me with you, take me with you, wife.
      (*Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.139-141)

As this extract shows, husband and wife exchange the V pronoun in ordinary discourses. However, occasionally there are also deviations from this norm. For example, when feelings such as anger, hate, rage, anxiety and intimacy prevail, spouses rather address each other with the T pronoun. This can be exemplified by a statement uttered from Capulet to Lady Capulet in which he expresses his anger and threatens his wife by saying to her, "I warrant thee, wife. Go thou to Juliet, help to deck up her." (Geisen 1994: 125). Likewise, example (45) shows that Othello addresses his wife Desdemona with *thou*, because driven by jealousy he thinks that she cheats on him and is angry about her assumed love affair with Cassio.

(45) Othello   Come, swear it, damn thyself; […]
                   Swear thou art honest.
      (*Othello* 4.2.35-38)

A further couple which is worth dealing with regarding the employment of address pronouns are Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. Although they usually exchange the V pronoun, their verbal interactions are also characterised by occasional switches to the T pronoun. For example, when Macbeth writes a letter to his wife Lady Macbeth informing her about his encounter with the witches and about their prophecy, he is so excited and happy that he uses the T pronoun to address her. By doing so, he is able to emphasise his intimate

feelings towards his wife and to express their shared destiny of being monarchs one day. Among others, in his letter Macbeth tells his wife the following:

> This I have thought good to deliver thee […] that thou might'st not lose the dues of rejoicing, by being ignorant of what greatness is promis'd thee. Lay it to thy heart, and farewell. (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 30)

The witches' prophecy makes Macbeth and his wife eager to achieve their goal of ascending the throne. They get so ambitious that they do not refrain from taking violent actions. However, shortly before Macbeth wants to realize his plan of killing King Duncan, he gets scared and wants to cancel everything. In this tense situation Macbeth's wife tries to persuade and encourage him. Linguistically, her efforts "to rouse him to action" (Byrne 1936: 115) are expressed by the unusual use of *thou*, which is illustrated in example (46).

(46)   Lady Macbeth   Art thou afeard
                           To be the same in thine own act and valour,
                           As thou art in desire? Would'st thou have that
                           Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life,
                           And live a coward in thine own esteem.
       (*Macbeth* 1.7.39-43)

In addition to interactions between husband and wife, verbal exchanges between parents and their children will be dealt with in this section as well. This type of family relationship is worth investigating, because again it represents an asymmetrical relationship in which the parents are regarded to be superior to their children. Parents were responsible for raising their children and for providing them with good opportunities for their future lives. This means that parents were asked to ensure that their children received a good education and that they married into the best circles possible. In return, children were expected to honour their parents and in particular to obey their fathers. (Nevala 2003: 149) Fathers had much power within their families. More precisely, a father was such an authority figure that he was not only compared to the country's monarch but also to God. In those days it was widely accepted that "[a]s God the Father was to all creation and the monarch to the state, so was the father to the household" (McDonald 1996: 255). This belief is even represented in one of Shakespeare's plays, namely in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* where Theseus

reminds Hermia of the fact that "[t]o you your father should be as god" (McDonald 2000: 5). Such comparisons also affected the use of address pronouns so that fathers and mothers were referred to with the V pronoun, whereas children received the T pronoun. (Stein 2003: 257) By way of illustration, a conversation between Queen Gertrude and her son Hamlet conforms to this norm. Example (47) shows that the queen gives *thee* to her son, while she receives *you*.

(47)   Queen   I pray thee, stay with us, go not to Wittenberg.
       Hamlet   I shall in all my best obey you, madam.
       (*Hamlet* 1.2.119-120)

However, address behaviour is different between Hamlet and his stepfather, King Claudius, because they exchange the V pronoun reciprocally, although one would rather expect Hamlet to give *you* and to receive *thou*. This striking use of address pronouns can be explained by the fact that Claudius seems to acknowledge Hamlet's high rank. (Byrne 1936: 101) In the Elizabethan Age it was normal for parents to switch to the V pronoun for addressing their children when they became adults and led an independent life or when they ascended socially. (Stein 2003: 255) Therefore, it is appropriate for the king to address Prince Hamlet with *you*. Moreover, I think that the V pronoun symbolizes the distance between Hamlet and Claudius since they are not directly related by blood. In my opinion *you* signals that Hamlet is not Claudius' real son but only his stepchild. However, the king uses the T pronoun as well (see example (48)), namely after Hamlet has killed Polonius, because then he thinks to be superior to Hamlet, who has turned into a brutal murderer. (Byrne 1936:103)

(48)   King   Hamlet, this deed, for thine especial safety,
                  Which we do tender, as we dearly grieve
                  For that which thou hast done, must send thee hence
                  With fiery quickness. Therefore prepare thyself.
       (*Hamlet* 4.3.38-41)

Furthermore, some of Shakespeare's plays depict interactions between parents and their daughters. A prominent example is *King Lear* in which the king tests his daughters' amount of love for him. He asks his three daughters to ensure him how much they love him and the girl who is able to convince him of her

feelings for him will get the largest part of his kingdom. (Maguire 2004: 200) In the course of this love test, the three daughters address their father with *you* and the king responds by using the T pronoun. There is only one striking exception, namely when Cordelia claims, "I love your majesty / According to my bond, no more nor less." (Orgel 1999: 6). The king does not seem to be satisfied with Cordelia's statement and switches to the V pronoun in astonishment: "How, how, Cordelia? Mend your speech a little." (Orgel 1999:6).

A further tragedy which focuses on a girl and her parents is *Romeo and Juliet*. In the majority of situations Capulet addresses his daughter Juliet with *thou* like in *For still thy eyes, which I may call the sea, do ebb and flow with tears.* (Geisen 1994: 112). However, when he is angry about her decision not to marry Paris but to become Romeo's wife instead, he expresses his outrage and disappointment verbally by calling her names and giving the V pronoun to her. For instance, he orders her, "Out, you green-sickness carrion! Out, you baggage!" (Geisen 1994: 113). Nevertheless, Juliet still pays respect to her father and addresses him with the V pronoun when he begs him, "Good father, I beseech you on my knees, Hear me with patience but to speak a word." (Geisen 1994: 113).

So far the outline of the employment of address pronouns in family relationships has shown that usually husband and wife exchanged *you*, whereas the address usage between parents and their children was less symmetrical, because while parents gave *thou*, they received *you*. Obviously, speakers did not always adhere to these rules since they also deviated from the norm for social reasons.

5.3.2.3. Love relationships

The previous section concentrated, among others, on the employment of address pronouns in interactions between husband and wife. Such verbal exchanges between married couples will be excluded for the study of *thou* and *you* in love relationships, and instead the focus will be shifted to lovers. With regard to Shakespeare's plays, probably one of the most prominent pairs of

lovers is featured in *Romeo and Juliet* which is about the star-crossed lovers, Romeo and Juliet. They first meet each other at a fancy-dress ball at the Capulet's house and immediately fall in love. Interestingly enough, at their first encounter Romeo addresses Juliet with the T pronoun since he seems to be sure that his beloved shares his intense feelings, whereas Juliet is more reserved and insists on addressing her suitor Romeo with the polite V pronoun. (Freedman 2007: 128)

Gradually their relationship develops and Romeo and Juliet mutually exchange *thou*. This address pronoun is absolutely appropriate for their love relationship, because in the Elizabethan Age the T pronoun was commonly used by speakers who fell in love. (Byrne 1936: 82) In conformity with this norm, my study revealed a consistent use of T pronoun between Romeo and Juliet from the second act of the tragedy onwards. For example, passage (49) which is an extract from the balcony scene illustrates that both lovers employ *thou*.

(49)　Romeo　　　O, wilt thou leave me so unsatisfied?
　　　　Juliet　　　　What satisfaction canst thou have tonight?
　　　　Romeo　　　Th'exchange of thy love's faithful vow for mine.
　　　　Juliet　　　　I gave thee mine before thou didst request it.
　　　　(*Romeo and Juliet* 2.2.125-128)

However, this regular application of the T pronoun between Romeo and Juliet is interrupted by a single use of the V pronoun at the end of the third act. When Romeo is forced to go into exile to Mantua, he wishes to speak to Juliet once more and enters the orchard. When Juliet is at her window, they say goodbye to each other (see example (50)).

(50)　Juliet　　　　O God, I have an ill-driving soul!
　　　　　　　　　　Methinks I see thee, now thou art so low,
　　　　　　　　　　As one dead in the bottom of a tomb.
　　　　　　　　　　Either my eyesight fails, or thou lookest pale.
　　　　Romeo　　　And trust me, love, in my eye so do you.
　　　　　　　　　　Dry sorrow drinks our blood. Adieu, adieu!
　　　　(*Romeo and Juliet* 3.5.54-59)

As the passage above clearly illustrates, Romeo uses the V pronoun. He probably addresses Juliet with *you*, because the pronoun could symbolize the

physical distance they will experience. Romeo is expected to go to Mantua, which means that the two lovers would be separated spatially. While Juliet would reside in Verona, Romeo would be in a different place, namely in Mantua. (Freedman 2007: 130) Additionally, the factor of rhyme has to be taken into consideration, because occasionally the dramatists decided to select the address pronouns according to the rhyme scheme. Obviously, in the passage above the pronoun *you* rhymes with the term *adieu* and, therefore, it is supposed to have been preferably chosen by Shakespeare. (Byrne 1936: 80)

5.3.2.4. Supernatural relationships

Finally, attention will be paid to the category of relationships between supernatural beings and human beings. With regard to the five Shakespearean tragedies under investigation, there are ghosts, witches and apparitions in *Macbeth* and in *Hamlet*. When these two plays were examined in the course of my study, it became apparent that usually supernatural beings address each other with the T pronoun. Additionally, the employment of address pronouns between supernatural beings and mortals is characterised as well by the reciprocal exchange of *thou*.

For instance, this rule can be exemplified by the three "Weird Sisters" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 18) in *Macbeth* who refer to each other with the T pronoun, such as in *Where hast thou been, Sister?* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 16). Likewise, when they address Macbeth to whom they prophesy that he will be Thane of Cawdor and King, they use the T pronoun as well. When they greet Macbeth, the witches say to him, "All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Glamis! / All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 18).

Moreover, the tragedy of *Macbeth* features further supernatural beings. In addition to the witches, there are also apparitions and a ghost, namely that of Banquo. Interestingly enough, Macbeth's address behaviour towards Banquo undergoes major changes in the course of the play, because when Banquo is still alive, he receives the V pronoun by Macbeth (see example (51)).

(51)   Macbeth   If you shall cleave to my consent, when 'tis,
                          It shall make honour for you.
      (*Macbeth* 2.1.24-25)

However, when Banquo is killed and when he appears as a ghost, he receives the T pronoun from Macbeth. For example, Macbeth requests the ghost of Banquo to talk with him by saying, "If thou canst nod, speak too." (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 90).

Such an address use is not unusual, because the Elizabethans commonly referred to supernatural beings with the T pronoun. It is assumed that they chose *thou* to designate supernatural beings so that they could express their fear and respect towards these creatures. (Yonglin 1991: 258) Witches and ghosts were regarded as "instruments of darkness" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 22) since special powers were assigned to them. A large number of people believed that, among others, witches were able to cause pouring rain and flashes of lightning. Moreover, witches were supposed to know the devil and to do evil to humans, such as changing them into animals or making them severely ill. (Black 1959: 329) In *Macbeth* many prevailing Elizabethan superstitions about witches can be discovered. For example, it is mentioned that witches are interested in the corpses of human beings. One witch did harm to the dead body of a sailor and took the "pilot's thumb" (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 16). It was believed that witches used such body parts as ingredients for producing magic potions. (Wills 1995: 38) Even in *Macbeth* the witches are shown walking around a large pot into which they put several animal parts and a child's finger. While brewing their potion, they are casting spells, such as *Double, double toil and trouble: / Fire, burn; and cauldron, bubble.* (Rojahn-Deyk 2005: 106).

In contrast to *Macbeth*, in *Hamlet* there are no witches but there is a ghost, namely that of Hamlet's father, which is addressed with the T pronoun as well. Not only does Horatio thou the ghost, for example, when ordering, "Stay, illusion! / If thou hast any sound or use of voice, / Speak to me." (Klein 1993: 13), but also Hamlet gives the T pronoun to the ghost of his own father. This is striking, because one would expect that Hamlet addresses his father with *thou* since this is the typical pronoun given by children to their parents. However,

Hamlet does not interact with his father in normal circumstances but encounters him as "an alien entity" (Mazzon 1995: 38). Hamlet seems to be totally awestruck so that he uses the T pronoun. (Byrne 1936: 102) By way of illustration, Hamlet ensures the ghost, "Go on, I'll follow thee." (Klein 1993: 42). Only when Hamlet is completely sure that the ghost is whom he pretends to be, namely the ghost of his own father, and when he accepts that, he switches to the V pronoun which is characteristic of parent-filial-interactions. (Byrne 1936: 103) Example (52) shows that finally Hamlet and the ghost of his father conform to the established norm of address behaviour for verbal exchanges between parents and their children. As already outlined, in the Elizabethan Age parents commonly received *you* from their children, whereas they gave *thou* to them.

(52) Hamlet Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
       That, lapsed in time and passion, lets go by
       Th' important acting of your dread command?
       O, say!
    Ghost   Do not forget! This visitation
       Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.
  (*Hamlet* 3.4.105-110)

5.3.3. Deviation from the norm

A large number of the examples stated above clearly show that in the Elizabethan Age there seemed to have been a system of address rules which governed the appropriate use of address pronouns in various situations. There were established norms for the employment of address pronouns in official relationships, family relationships, love relationships and supernatural relationships. For example, in the 16th century it was common that subordinates addressed their superordinates with *you*, whereas in return they received *thou*. Such a rule is labelled by McIntosh (1963: 72) as "normal rapport" since it constitutes the typical use of address pronouns in the majority of interactions between unequal participants such as servants and masters.

However, rules can also be disregarded and, therefore, the speakers' address behaviour does not always conform to the established norm. As Shakespeare's tragedies illustrate, occasionally characters employ address pronouns which are

atypical of a particular situation and, thus, cause a deviation from the norm. In the previous sections, among others, the Nurse's use of *thou* to Juliet, Othello's application of *thou* to his wife Desdemona and King Lear's employment of *you* to his daughter Cordelia were discussed. These examples show that "the pronoun selected by a given speaker could in many circumstances vary from one moment to the next" (McIntosh 1963: 68). Such alternations in pronoun usage are definitely common and since no linguistic item is chosen without a good reason it can be assumed that

> [t]he use of *thou* rather than *you*, or the other way round, obviously has an important communicative function, although it is not always clear […] what this function is. (Grannis 1990: 109)

On the whole, three main functions have been assigned to the alternating employment of address pronouns, namely an emotional, a social and a textual one, which will be outlined in more detail in the subsequent sections.

5.3.3.1. The function as emotional marker

First, it is assumed that the alternation between *thou* and *you* provides some information about the speaker's emotions. When someone enters a social relationship, his or her behaviour is influenced by various feelings and attitudes. Emotions are not stable but they can change over time. People are not constantly in the same mood but they experience a whole range of emotions including such negative feelings as fury or disappointment and such positive feelings as happiness and affection. Such emotions apparently have an effect on people and are consequently also expressed verbally, for example, in the selection of address pronouns. Therefore, a speaker's decision to use *thou* or *you* allows conclusions about his or her momentary feelings. (Brown & Gilman 1978: 273-4)

By way of illustration, in *King Lear* Goneril and Edmund are engaged in a conversation and although Goneril normally addresses Edmund with the V pronoun, she suddenly moves to the T pronoun since she seems to be

overcome with feelings of affection. Her verbal act of referring to Edmund with *thy* is accompanied by the physical act of kissing. As example (53) shows, immediately after Goneril has kissed Edmund, she cannot suppress her true feelings anymore and expresses her love verbally by substituting the T pronoun for the V pronoun.

(53)   Goneril   Decline your head. This kiss, if it durst speak,
                   Would stretch thy spirit up into the air.
        (*King Lear* 4.2.22-23)

This alternation from a *you*-form to a *thou*-form mirrors Goneril's momentary arousal of feelings, whereby her emotions are positive ones. Her use of the T pronoun is provoked by such positive emotions as affection and love. However, the switch from *you* to *thou* need not be linked to a momentary shift to a positive mood. On the contrary, when a speaker moves from *you* to *thou*, s/he can thereby also express negative emotions which s/he suddenly feels. For example, in *Othello* Emilia usually addresses Othello with the V pronoun. However, her address behaviour suddenly deviates from this norm when Othello admits having killed his wife Desdemona and accuses his spouse of having been a whore. In this situation Emilia as Desdemona's confidante is filled with anger and hatred and expresses her negative feelings towards Othello by addressing him with the T pronoun. Trembling with rage, she claims, "Thou doest belie her, and thou art a devil." (McDonald 2001: 134).

As the previous two passages have shown, *thou* has "a dual function" (Freedman 2007: 5) since it can be employed by speakers to reflect their positive as well as their negative feelings. Therefore, the T pronoun can be chosen to cover both ends on an emotional scale, because it achieves the verbal expression of highly positive and very negative feelings. Irrespective of which emotions are expressed, a speaker's switch from *you* to *thou* can definitely be regarded as striking. According to the theory of markedness, such an alternation is caused by changing emotions on behalf of the speaker. This means that when the use of *you* is the expected norm, a deviation from it caused by the sudden employment of *thou* "indicates that the speaker is emotionally aroused" (Kopytko 1993: 52). This emotional outburst is expressed

in the marked use of the T pronoun. By way of definition, an address pronoun can be regarded as marked when it is "an outstanding, complex, or rather unusual stylistic feature" (Bruti 2000: 28). Thus, in situations where *you* is the typical pronoun of address *thou* is a marked form. More precisely, it is regarded to be marked in terms of emotions since it is assumed that the speaker's move from *you* to *thou* is due to the experience of some changing emotions.

Although many scholars, such as Eagleson (1987:142) and Freedman (2007:3), have claimed that *thou* is always the marked form and that *you* is the unmarked form, it has to be emphasized that this generalisation is not valid for all instances of verbal interaction, because, as Bruti (2000: 29) points out correctly,

> in certain contexts where *thou* has been extensively used, the switch to *you* may represent a significant deviance, and therefore constitutes a case of 'marked' *you*.

Consequently, both pronouns of address, *thou* as well as *you*, can be applied as marked address forms. For example, in parent-filial-interactions the un-marked form, i.e. the pronoun of address which conforms to the established norm (Stein 2003: 252), is the T pronoun. Therefore, any use of the V pronoun by a parent to a child differs from the norm and can be regarded as emotionally marked. This can be illustrated with sample (54) which shows that in addressing her son, Queen Gertrude switches from the ordinary *thou* to a marked *you*.

(54) Hamlet   Now, mother, what's the matter?
       Queen   Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.
       Hamlet   Mother, you have my father much offended.
       Queen   Come, come, you answer with an idle tongue.
       (*Hamlet* 3.4.7-10)

Queen Gertrude's move to the V pronoun can be interpreted as an expression of confusion. While she uses the term *father* to refer to Hamlet's stepfather, King Claudius, who faced the humiliation of having to watch a play which included allusions to his assassination of the former king, Hamlet uses the term *father* to designate his real father who suffered great humiliation due to the queen's early marriage with Claudius.

5.3.3.2. The function as social marker

In addition to the assumption that changes of address behaviour signal "expressions of transient attitudes" (Brown & Gilman 1978: 273), a further explanation for deviations from the norm of address behaviour can be stated. Alternations in the employment of address pronouns can function as social markers. It can be argued that whether someone chooses *thou* or *you* to address an interaction partner is indicative of particular social aspects. On the one hand, address pronouns provide information about the collocutors' social status and, on the other hand, they reveal insights about the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. (Calvo 1992: 15-16)

First, the use of address pronouns allows conclusions about the speaker's and the hearer's social position. When the speaker addresses the hearer with *thou* and in return receives *you*, it is obvious that the addresser is socially superior to his or her interaction partner. However, if this address behaviour suddenly deviates from the norm and, for example, the speaker addresses the hearer with *you* and is given *thou* instead, one could assume that the interlocutors' social positions have changed. With regard to Shakespeare's tragedies, an instance of losing one's social position can be discovered in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Tybalt is accused of having killed Mercutio. Although Tybalt belongs to the upper class and is commonly addressed with the V pronoun, he receives the T pronoun when being regarded as a murderer. The act of killing someone leads to his social descent, which is verbally expressed by the substitution of *you* with *thou*. Therefore, a citizen orders Tybalt, "Up, sir, go with me. I charge thee in the Prince's name obey." (Geisen 1994: 87) Likewise, in *King Lear* Edmund, who normally is given the V pronoun, suddenly receives the T pronoun by Albany, which is a concomitant of accusing him of high treason. Since he is regarded to be a traitor, he "loses all social rights and dignities" (Stein 2003: 274). This social descent again reaches verbal expression in the employment of the unusual T pronoun. After an uninterrupted run of seven instances of *you* given from Albany to Edmund, he suddenly moves to *thou* in announcing, "Edmund, I arrest thee / On capital treason." (Orgel 1999: 131).

Furthermore, the use of address pronouns makes allusions to the social relationship which exists between the interaction partners. For example, it can be assumed that close friends typically exchange the T pronoun as a sign of their proximity. However, if their friendship is wrecked, they will probably prefer to apply the V pronoun to emphasize that they no longer belong to the same circle of friends. Thus, in sum, it can be claimed that the employment of address pronouns provides hints for group membership. (Calvo 1992: 17) Since "group membership tends to be encoded in speech in rather complex and often indirect ways" (Brown & Levinson 1979: 324), one of such hidden ways is the use of particular address terms. In the third section of this thesis, which dealt with politeness theories, it was already demonstrated that the employment of nominal address terms, such as *honey, dear, sister* or *sweetheart*, and of the pronominal address term *thou* creates the feeling of belonging together. This sense of solidarity is the principal aim of Brown and Levinson's fourth strategy of positive politeness which requests from the speaker the use of linguistic items which favour in-group membership. (Brown & Levinson 1992: 107)

By way of illustration, example (55) shows that Juliet addresses Friar Laurence with the V pronoun in the presence of Paris to pretend that the relationship between them is formal. However, as soon as Paris leaves and Juliet is alone with the monk, she moves to the T pronoun. Her use of the intimate *thou* clearly signals her trust in him. Friar Laurence knows everything about her love relationship with Romeo and he has even been requested to marry them secretly. Therefore, Friar Laurence can be regarded as one of Juliet's reliable persons. They definitely share an in-group relationship which is verbally expressed by using the T pronoun.

(55)   Juliet Are you at leisure, holy father, now,
                 Or shall I come to you at evening mass?
         […] (*Exit Paris*)
         Juliet O shut the door! and when thou hast done so,
                 Come weep with me. Past hope, past cure, past help!
         (*Romeo and Juliet* 4.1.37-45)

As the passage above shows, in contrast to the T pronoun which can function as a marker of in-group relations, the V pronoun stresses the distance between

interlocutors. (Calvo 1992: 17) This means that a dramatist like Shakespeare is able to convey social information about characters by choosing particular address pronouns. The writer does not have to give a longwinded account of the social status of a character or of the social relationship between several characters but simply can apply the appropriate address pronouns. Thereby, the dramatist can even portray changing relations since an alternation of the address pronouns caters for such instances. Bruti (2000: 26) seems to agree on this function of *thou* and *you* as a social marker by arguing that "pronoun selection can become a strategic instrument of characterisation in the hands of a skilful playwright".

5.3.3.3. The function as discourse marker

Besides conveying social aspects by means of pronoun use, a dramatist can also provide textual information by employing either *thou* or *you*. Alternations in pronoun use can aid the playwright in structuring the text. This means that by switching from the T pronoun to the V pronoun or vice versa it can be emphasized, for example, that characters have entered a discussion of a new topic. For instance, when noblemen talk about their business, they usually exchange *you*. However, as soon as they cease their official talk and move to more private topics, they probably choose *thou*. In other words, speakers have the opportunity to mark their transition from one unit of interaction to the next by varying the application of pronominal address terms. (Calvo 1992: 23) Already Halliday (1978: 112) referred to the fact that humans possess a "text-performing potential" which allows them to structure information properly.

In order to illustrate that address pronouns can function as discourse markers, a passage from *Othello* can be mentioned. According to the postulated norm, in the Elizabethan Age husband and wife addressed each other in ordinary discourse with the V pronoun. (Byrne 1936: 82) For most parts this holds true for Othello's and Desdemona's address behaviour as well. However, as example (56) shows, on one occasion Othello encounters his wife and breaks the prevailing address rule by referring to Desdemona with the T pronoun.

(56)   Desdemona   Come now, your promise!
           Othello   What promise, chuck?
           Desdemona   I have sent to bid Cassio come speak with you.
           Othello   I have a salt and sorry rheum offends me.
                                    Lend me thy handkerchief.
      (*Othello* 3.4.48-52)

I think this deviation from the norm can be interpreted with the help of the assumption that a move from *you* to *thou* can allude to the textual function of address pronouns. The example above clearly shows the replacement of one topic of conversation by another. Desdemona is eager to intercede with Othello on Cassio's behalf, because she wants to aid Cassio in regaining his position of a lieutenant since he lost his job after having been involved in a fight. In contrast, Othello aims at getting Desdemona's handkerchief. Therefore, while Desdemona wants to talk about Cassio, Othello is interested in getting at his wife's handkerchief. He is obsessed with the idea that his wife has cheated on him and sees her handkerchief as a piece of evidence for her being unfaithful to him. Othello is sure that Desdemona has given her handkerchief to her lover Cassio and, therefore, if Othello asks his wife to give him her handkerchief and she is not able to do so, his theory will be proven. In the passage above it can be seen that Othello suddenly changes the discourse topic by mentioning his bad physical condition. In my opinion it is obvious that Othello uses his cold as an excuse for borrowing Desdemona's handkerchief and for finding his wife guilty. The abrupt change of discourse topic, namely the move from talking business-like about Cassio to discussing health matters and obtaining a piece of evidence for a spouse's adultery, is linguistically expressed by the substitution of the V pronoun with the T pronoun.

On the whole, deviations from the address norm can be explained with reference to several possible reasons. As McIntosh (1963: 69) pointed out correctly, "*thou* in one context will not necessarily have the same implication as an instance of it in another". Therefore, alternations in the use of address pronouns can have different meanings. Depending on the situation, they are interpreted as emotional markers, social markers or textual markers.

5.3.4. Factors involved in the selection of address pronouns

5.3.4.1. Extra-linguistic factors

In the course of dealing with Elizabethan address rules and with deviations from the norm, it became apparent that the employment of *thou* and *you* is governed by some underlying motivation. It can be assumed that the selection of the two address pronouns is primarily affected by extra-linguistic variables, such as the speaker's social status, the social relationship between the interlocutors, the addresser's positive or negative feelings, the topic of conversation, the discourse setting and the presence of an audience. All these factors can be assigned to the three categories of social, emotional and contextual determinants of pronoun selection.

In the previous sections the discussion of address pronouns has already revealed that the speaker's and the hearer's social statuses are of great importance. It was shown that the interlocutors' social roles can determine the employment of address pronouns so that a powerful male adult is rather addressed with *you*, whereas a less influential female teenager is commonly given *thou*. Such an address behaviour can be explained with regard to the social parameters of sex, age and rank, because "[b]eing of the male sex, greater age, and higher rank, are all presumed to give greater status in society" (Walker 2007: 3). This also holds true for a passage from *Romeo and Juliet* which illustrates that the aspect of age affects the choice of address pronouns. Although a mother normally addresses her fourteen-year-old daughter with *thou*, Lady Capulet selects *you* for referring to Juliet (see example (57)) since she seems to "regard[…] her as a marriageable young woman" (Byrne 1936: 79). The fact that Lady Capulet believes that her daughter is mature enough to be married to Paris makes her apply the V pronoun instead of the T pronoun.

(57) Lady Capulet   Marry, that "marry" is the very theme
                    I came to talk of. Tell me, daughter Juliet,
                    How stands your dispositions to be married?
        (*Romeo and Juliet* 1.3.64-66)

In addition to the importance of social status, it was discovered that the social relationship between the interaction partners is an essential determinant in the selection of address pronouns as well. It became obvious that in a relationship which is governed by power the social superior gives *thou* to the subordinate, while the social inferior addresses the superordinate with *you* and that socially equal interaction partners exchange the V or the T pronoun reciprocally. In contrast, in relationships which are characterised by the solidarity semantics like-mindedness is in the foreground and, therefore, for example, interaction partners who are friends, share the same interests and practise the same professions are more likely to exchange *thou* than those who have nothing in common. (Braun 1988: 15)

Moreover, emotional aspects can be mentioned as influencing variables for the choice of address pronouns. (Walker 2007: 2) As previous sections have already shown (cf. examples (45) and (53)), the speaker's positive and negative feelings affect the employment of *thou* and *you*. It makes a great difference whether the addresser is in a good mood due to feelings of happiness, excitement and affection or whether s/he is in a bad mood caused by anger, hatred and disappointment, because depending on the emotional state the speaker selects either the T or the V pronoun.

Finally, besides social and emotional determinants, contextual aspects also play an important role in the selection of address pronouns. These context-dependent variables are, for example, the discourse topic, the setting, and the audience. (Dickey 2002: 8) More precisely, as regards the topic of the conversation, the outline of the textual function of address pronouns in the previous section has already shown that the level of formality seems to have an influence on the employment of address pronouns. It was claimed that business matters are commonly discussed in formal settings where interaction partners exchange the V pronoun, whereas private matters are raised in more informal and intimate settings where interlocutors preferably apply the T pronoun. Furthermore, the audience is an influential determinant, because the presence or absence of a particular person can affect the speaker's language style and, thus, also his or her choice of address pronouns. This means that the speaker

may talk to his or her interlocutor in a certain way when another person is present and listens to the two of them. However, the speaker may change his linguistic behaviour when this third party is not present anymore. Such an effect became apparent in example (55) which illustrated a conversation between Juliet and Friar Laurence. Juliet's initial selection of *you* is clearly determined by Paris, who is standing next to her and the monk as a third party. When Paris is present, Juliet addresses the friar with the V pronoun. However, when Paris leaves, Juliet immediately moves to the T pronoun, because then she dares to show that they have a close relationship characterised by trust.

5.3.4.2. Linguistic factors

As outlined above, there are many extra-linguistic factors which are involved in the selection of address pronouns. These social, emotional and contextual variables which were identified and discussed in the previous section seem to be so influential that it has even been suggested that they do not only have an effect on the choice of address pronouns but also on the use of further grammatical structures. According to Barber (1987: 176), "*you* or *thou* might be chosen on social or emotional grounds, and this choice might then influence the grammatical construction used". It is assumed that the address pronouns *thou* and *you* can determine the grammar of the sentence in which they are embedded.

Grammatical aspects which have been closely investigated with regard to a possible link to the address pronouns used have primarily been sentence types, verb collocations and noun collocations. As far as the first grammatical structure, namely the type of sentence, is concerned, it is argued that the two address pronouns tend to occur in different utterances. The T pronoun seems to be more frequently used in statements and requests, whereas the V pronoun is more likely to be discovered in conditional sentences. (Abbott 1966: 158) Furthermore, studies on word partnerships between address pronouns and verbs have been conducted. However, they yielded variable results. For example, Mulholland (1967) examined the co-occurrence of verbs and address

pronouns in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* and *King Lear* and discovered that while *thou* attracts closed-class verbs, such as the auxiliary verbs *be*, *have*, *do*, *will*, *should*, *could*, *would*, *might*, and the main verbs *be* and *have*, *you* predominantly occurs with lexical verbs like *go*, *run*, *hear*, *know* and *think*. Although Barber (1987) seems to confirm these insights with his study on *Richard III*, Kielkiewicz-Janowiak (1995:52) disagrees profoundly since she argues in her paper on *As You Like It* that "the tendency found by Mulholland […] is not confirmed by the data" which she obtained. In addition to verb collocations as a subject of various studies, attention has also been paid to noun collocations. For example, Busse (2002: 183) suggested that there are particular groups of nominal address terms which favour either the use of *thou* or *you*. Titles of courtesy, titles indicating occupation and terms of family relationship are regarded to show the tendency to co-occur mainly with *you*. In contrast, terms of endearment, terms of abuse and generic terms seem to be used more frequently in combination with *thou*.

However, for the five tragedies of my corpus, gathering convincing evidence whether the selection of address pronouns depends on extra-linguistic factors which then affect grammatical structures or whether the speaker's decision to use *thou* or *you* is exclusively determined by linguistic factors is beyond the scope of this thesis and would require further extensive investigation.

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the occurrence of terms of address in a body of Early Modern English texts, namely in the five selected tragedies *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *King Lear* by William Shakespeare. Thereby the main purpose was to gain insights into the employment of nominal and pronominal terms of address in Shakespeare's times and to state address rules which prevailed in the Elizabethan Age. Furthermore, I intended to demonstrate possible implications of deviations from the norms.

The thesis was designed to show that polite and appropriate language behaviour follows particular rules. With regard to nouns of address, the investigation of Shakespeare's tragedies has revealed striking insights, such as the fact that some nominal terms of address are reserved for a particular group of people. Furthermore, it was outlined that while some nouns of address have various different meanings and, therefore, show a broad range of application, other nominal address terms only occur infrequently in the five tragedies under investigation. Interestingly enough, nouns of address seem to be linked to pronouns of address as well since it can be concluded from this study that, first of all, the co-occurrence of a certain noun of address with *thou* or *you* can affect its meaning. For example, the generic term *gentleman* is regarded to be a polite noun of address and, therefore, it usually co-occurs with the polite V pronoun. However, *gentleman* can also be used in combination with the T pronoun. In such cases, namely when *gentleman* is preceded with the address pronoun *thou*, this noun of address functions as a derogatory term. Moreover, although nouns of address can be used with both pronouns of address, they seem to show a tendency to co-occur either with *thou* or with *you*. Therefore, some categories of nominal address terms can be regarded as "*you*"-words like titles of courtesy, titles indicating occupation and terms of family relationship, whereas others are rather "*thou*"-words, such as terms of endearment, terms of abuse and generic terms.

As far as pronouns of address are concerned, it can be inferred from the investigation of their use in four different types of relationships, namely in official relationships, in family relationships, in love relationships and in supernatural relationships, that there were established rules of use as well. Among others, it was discovered that masters addressed their servants with *thou*, that husbands and wives exchanged *you*, that lovers gave *thou* mutually and that supernatural beings were preferably addressed with *thou* too. However, a close reading of Shakespeare's five tragedies has shown that the actual address behaviour is not constantly in conformity with such norms. Emotions and relationships are not always stable but are subject to change and, consequently, the use of pronouns of address alternates as well.

I hope that I have been able to emphasize that in particular pronouns of address are not only means of linguistic reference to interlocutors but that they also fulfil a wide range of additional functions ranging from being emotional markers, over social markers to textual markers. It is amazing how much information can be elicited from such little items as pronouns of address. Indeed, *thou* and *you* are short terms but they have far-reaching implications. The analysis of the five Shakespearean tragedies constituting the corpus has revealed that atypical applications of address pronouns are gold mines of information since they provide insights into emotional, social and textual aspects. It can definitely be argued that Shakespeare took advantage of address pronouns "as an additional means of expression" (Byrne 1936: xxxvi) since such short words as *thou* and *you* were not only applied for addressing interaction partners but they were also used for a variety of other reasons, such as providing information about the speaker's emotional state, the interlocutors' social positions and social relationship towards each other, and the textual organisation. Therefore, it is understandable that Cusack (1987: 34) claimed with reference to Shakespeare that "[p]erhaps only the genius of a great dramatist could achieve this in so few words".

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ABSTRACT IN GERMAN (Deutsche Zusammenfassung)

Das Thema dieser Diplomarbeit ist die Verwendung von Anredeformen bei Shakespeare. Im Detail beschäftigt sich diese Arbeit mit zwei unterschiedlichen Arten von Titulierungen zur Benennung von Interaktionspartnern, nämlich mit Anredenomen und Anredepronomen, deren Anwendungsbereiche in fünf Tragödien von Shakespeare aufgezeigt werden.

Die Methoden, die benutzt werden, um Informationen zur Verwendung von Anredeformen bei Shakespeare zu erhalten, sind einerseits das Einbeziehen von Kenntnissen aus bereits bestehender Literatur und andererseits das Analysieren eines selbstgewählten Textcorpus. Für diese Diplomarbeit dienen nämlich *Romeo und Julia*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* und *König Lear*, fünf Tragödien von Shakespeare, als Basis. Da angenommen werden kann, dass schriftliche Quellen wie etwa Theaterstücke Hinweise über den alltäglichen Gebrauch von Anredeformen in vergangenen Epochen liefern, werden Shakespeares Tragödien zum Anlass genommen, um Aussagen darüber zu machen, wie das Anredeverhalten voraussichtlich im elisabethanischen Zeitalter war, in dem Shakespeare lebte und wirkte.

Die Ergebnisse, welche die Untersuchung der fünf Tragödien von Shakespeare, liefern, sind vielseitig. Erstens zeigt sich, dass einige Anredeformen in bestimmten Kontexten als höflich eingestuft werden, wohingegen andere Anredeformen in den gleichen Situationen als unhöflich gelten. Daher wählen Menschen grundsätzlich nur bestimme Anredenomen und –pronomen, um dem höflichen Sprachgebrauch gerecht zu werden. Zum Bespiel wird ihre Entscheidung für die eine oder andere Anredeform durch Aspekte wie die „power semantics" und die „solidarity semantics" beeinflusst. Weiters kann im Bezug auf Anredenomen festgestellt werden, dass insgesamt in den fünf Shakespeare-Tragödien 150 verschiedene Nomen verwendet werden. Diese Wörter werden zuerst acht Kategorien zugeordnet bestehend aus Namen, Respektstiteln, Gattungsnamen, Schimpfwörtern, Kosenamen, Familienbezeichnungen, Berufsbezeichnungen und Bezeichnungen für

übernatürliche Wesen. Danach werden die Anredenomen, die am häufigsten pro Kategorie vorkommen, ausführlich erläutert, wobei auf deren Häufigkeit in den fünf Theaterstücken, auf ihre Verwendungszwecke und auf typische Verbindungen mit anderen Adjektiven und Pronomen hingewiesen wird. Zusätzlich werden die Normen im Bezug auf die Verwendung von Anredenomen geschildert und an Hand von Passagen aus Shakespeare veranschaulicht. Neben den Anredenomen werden auch Anredepronomen in dieser Diplomarbeit behandelt, wobei der Fokus auf deren Verwendung in vier unterschiedlichen Situationen liegt. Der Gebrauch von den zwei zur Zeit von Shakespeare zur Verfügung stehenden Pronomen, *thou* und *you*, wird in Hinsicht auf offizielle Beziehungen, familiäre Beziehungen, Liebesbeziehungen und Beziehungen zwischen Menschen und übernatürlichen Wesen näher untersucht. Für all diese Situationen werden Normen genannt, Beispiele angeführt und Abweichungen beschrieben. Besonders Letzteres zeigt, dass die Nichtbefolgung von bestehenden Anrederegeln weittragende Bedeutungen haben kann, da solche Verletzungen der Norm Auskunft über emotionale, soziale und textbezogene Aspekte geben können.

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