A Standardization Process in its Final Stages:
Mine and *Thine* in *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*

MERJA KYTÖ & TERRY WALKER*

Uppsala University (Sweden)
Mid-Sweden University (Sweden)

ABSTRACT

This study concerns the development of the determiners MINE/MY and THINE/THY in the Early Modern English period. The -N forms had essentially been ousted before words starting with consonants over the Middle English period, and over the subsequent centuries, these forms also fell into disuse before words starting with initial vowels and *h*. While the rise of the N-less variants has been the object of several previous studies, the present investigation aims at accounting for the fate of the declining N-variants in the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*, a data source comprising speech-related texts. We look into the chronological stages of development for the declining MINE and THINE forms, the genres that maintained these forms longest, and the speaker groups that were the last to use the forms. Comparisons are made with the results obtained in previous studies on MINE/MY and THINE/THY variation.

KEYWORDS: Determiner; MINE/MY; THINE/THY; Early Modern English; *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*; Speech-related texts; Historical sociolinguistics; Historical pragmatics.

1. INTRODUCTION

The variation and change in the use of attributive possessives (or determiners) of the first and second person singular present comprise two forms each, MINE/MY and THINE/THY,

---

*Address for correspondence: Merja Kytö, Department of English, Uppsala University; e-mail: merja.kyto@engelska.uu.se. Terry Walker, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mid-Sweden University; e-mail: terry.walker@miun.se.

respectively. The -N forms fell into disuse before words starting with consonants (e.g. *min lond*) over the Middle English period and before words starting with initial vowels (e.g. *all mine apparell*) and *h* (*myne host*) towards the end of the Early Modern English period (Schendl, 1997: 180–181). By 1700 the N-variants had been ousted from standard literary prose and the remaining lingering uses were either conscious archaisms or survived when used with specific lexemes (*own, eye, ear*) (Schendl, 1997: 180–181). This process of change involving reduction of morphological variation is one of the central phenomena that contributed to the standardization of English from the late Middle English period and through the Early Modern English period (Lass, 1999: 146 ff.; Moessner, 2012: 700).

The topic has been approached from a number of angles in previous research. In his study of pre-vowel/*h* uses in Early Modern English, Schendl (1997) leaned towards the phonological explanation, suprasegmental factors and specific lexical uses accounting for change. In their study based on the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) found support for the rise of MY and THY with the vowel S-curve peaking in 1500–1620. The gender variable proved relevant from 1500, while the lower ranks led the changes in the middle of the sixteenth century. The loss of -N spread mainly from the north. In his study of constructional change, Hilpert (2013) applied a generalized linear mixed-effects model to data from the *Penn Parsed Corpora*, observing eight explanatory factors (time, following segment, stress patterns, priming, gender, relative frequency, person and formality) and revealing a complex picture of the factors influencing the change.

Despite the substantial work already published on the topic, no systematic study of Early Modern English speech-related sources has been carried out so far. Yet such texts, comprising spoken language taken down in authentic speech situations (e.g. trial records, depositions) and constructed dialogue to mimic speech (e.g. drama, fiction or handbooks), can be expected to provide us with further information on the decline of the pre-vowel/*h* MINE and THINE forms in the last critical stages of the standardization process. The data for this study are drawn from *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*. Taking a corpus linguistic, socio-historical variationist and historical pragmatics approach, the present study aims at answering the following research questions:

> (i) What were the chronological stages of development for the declining MINE and THINE forms?
>
> (ii) Which genres provided the last strongholds for these forms?
>
> (iii) Which speaker groups were the last to use these forms and in what contexts?
>
> (iv) What do comparisons with the results obtained in previous studies tell us about the trajectories of change?

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The chronology for the decline of the MINE and THINE forms has been documented across the history of English in various types of texts and from a number of explanatory perspectives, as mentioned above. Even before the advent of electronic resources, linguists ventured to make observations about the use of the -N forms. According to Jespersen (1927, II: 16.212), MY and THY before vowels and *h* began to spread as late as the end of the sixteenth century, a view that Schendl (1997: 180) finds "is certainly not correct". Pyles (1971) notes that the distinction was made use of until the eighteenth century "when *my* came to be the only regular first person possessive modifier" (Pyles, 1971: 199). Barber (1997: 152) states that MY and THY were used before vowels and MINE and THINE before consonants "pretty consistently" in standard language in the early 1500s, with the four forms all being used before *h*. By 1600, "*my* and *thy* are almost without exception the forms used before consonants, while before vowels *my* and *mine* are in free variation, as are *thy* and *thine*: Shakespeare has both *thine eyes* and *thy eye*, both *mine own* and *my own*" (Barber, 1997: 152). By 1700, MY and THY were "the normal forms in standard literary prose", MINE and THINE continuing to be used as "poetic archaisms" (Barber, 1997: 152). Graband (1965: 252) also refers to variation in the use of the forms in the sixteenth century, with MY and THY gaining ground before vowels and *h*. MINE and THINE were used in poetry even in the nineteenth century, and according to Sweet (1900: 345), in the higher literary registers in certain combinations, e.g. *mine eyes* and *mine host*. Barber's description of the pronoun usage as "free variation" cited above has been refuted by later scholars (e.g. Busse, 2002: 238; Schendl, 1997: 180).

Subsequent systematic corpus-based studies have yielded further information on the regularities in MY/THY versus MINE/THINE usage and the rates of change. Using the *Helsinki Corpus* and supplementary material (drama, poetry, letters and novels), Schendl (1997) hypothesized that there would be a correlation between the variation in the use of the forms and levels of formality of the texts and that it was via spoken language that MY and THY made their way to the emerging written standard (1997: 180). The *Helsinki Corpus* data showed that MY and THY "spread from less formal texts to formal ones from the third quarter of the 16th century at the latest" (Schendl, 1997: 183). While MINE/THINE were used "with a frequency of more than 80% in both formal and informal texts" before vowels in the 1500–1570 subperiod, they declined sharply in the 1570–1640 subperiod in informal texts before vowels, whereas formal texts displayed similar rates of use as in the previous subperiod. Interestingly, speech-based but formal trials seemed to promote the rise of MY and THY, showing very low frequencies for MINE/THINE before vowels (6% in the period ending 1640 and 0% thereafter) (Schendl, 1997: 182–183). While it was the phonological factor (MINE/THINE before vowels and MY/THY before consonants) that determined the use of the forms in 1500–1549, rhythm and stress became more influential factors in the course of time, meaning that MY/THY were used in stressed positions in e.g. Shakespeare's works and metrical texts. As of the 1550s onward,

lexical constraints took over, and the use of MINE/THINE became restricted to monosyllabic lexemes such as *own*, *eye*, *ear* and *old*; the use of MY/THY increased dramatically in informal texts, in particular (Schendl, 1997: 188).

In his account of the use of THY and THINE in the plays in the *Shakespeare Corpus*, Busse (2002) recorded 230 instances of determiner THINE before a vowel and 19 instances before *h* in the material, the corresponding figures for THY being 269 and 339 instances. According to Busse, the large number of the N-less forms before *h* ran "contrary to the descriptions of the grammarians and language historians" (Busse, 2002: 229–230). As for register variation, there was a significant difference in the use of the forms before vowels and *h* in the plays versus the non-dramatic works, with THY being used more often in the plays than in the non-dramatic works (poetry). Busse took this to support Schendl's above-mentioned hypothesis that MY/THY started to spread from more informal text types (Busse, 2002: 231–232). As for lexical associations, THINE OWN emerged as the strongest combination in the data, followed by THINE EYE(S), THINE EAR(S) and THINE ENEMY; the form THY did not present any such strong lexical associations. Busse ascribed the choices made between THY and THINE before words beginning with a vowel mainly to stylistic reasons, e.g. rhyme, parallelism and repetition (Busse, 2002: 238).

Walker (2007) also finds support for the collocation THINE OWN in her account of THY and THINE in data from a selection of trials, depositions and drama texts in the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760* (henceforth CED), supplemented by further depositions. However, the data, albeit scanty, do not point to stylistic factors underlying the choice of the forms (Walker, 2007: 264). Also, while THINE occurs before vowels, only THY is found before words beginning with *h* across the genres, which contrasts with the finding of Busse (2002: 240) that the use of THINE was slightly more frequent than THY before silent *h* (e.g. *heir*, *honesty*, *honour*) in Shakespeare's plays. The present study will supplement these findings with new insights based on the full repertoire of genres in the CED.

Studies of speech-like texts such as private correspondence have given us interesting insights into the influence of sociolinguistic factors on pronoun usage, as mentioned in section 1. In their study based on the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) traced the use of MY/THY versus MINE/THINE from the early fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, showing that the use of MY and THY increased from 10% to over 90% in the material. The gender of the letter writer played a role in change: men lagged behind in the use of MY and THY forms from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards (2003: 119). From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, lower-rank writers took the lead in the use of the N-less forms (2003: 143). The change initially spread from the North but was later promoted by London writers (2003: 180); indeed, the multivariate analysis carried out on the data (2003: 195–196) pointed to geographical region as the strongest factor at work. While register proved a somewhat weak factor, the overall trend was that the importance of the informal register (letters addressed to family members) grew from the mid-sixteenth century

onward. Writers also seem to keep their personal preferences as to the choice of the forms, especially in the early decades of the period studied (Raumolin-Brunberg & Nevalainen, 2007: 308). The authors' follow-up study (Raumolin-Brunberg & Nevalainen, 2007) also corroborated, among other things, the interaction effect between time and phonology suggested by Schendl (1997).

Recently, Hilpert (2013) presented a further multivariate analysis of long-term development of MY/MINE and THY/THINE variation based on the part-of-speech tagged *Penn Parsed Corpora* (the PPCME and the PPCEME, see Kroch & Taylor [2000] and Kroch, Santorini & Delfs [2004] respectively) covering the period from 1150 to 1710. The frequency counts showed that MINE and THINE went through similar decline, with relatively higher rates for THINE than MINE, which Hilpert ascribed to the increasing competition the THY form had entered with YOUR (2013: 83). In addition to investigating factors known from previous studies, such as phonological environment, stress pattern, formality, gender and grammatical person (2013: 89), Hilpert turned to morphosyntactic priming, a factor not investigated in previous studies of historical pronoun usage. Such priming means that THY and MY can be the expected forms if the author has used them before; the effect of this factor proved "small but fairly consistent" across time (2013: 91). While the mixed-model analysis carried out corroborated many of the findings presented in previous corpus studies, it also revealed some unexpected aspects of the data, e.g. that the level of formality did not have any measurable effects (2013: 106). Hilpert concluded that it is not enough to determine only main effects for an adequate analysis; instead, "[s]ince the same linguistic unit may be used in different time periods in very different ways, it is important to tease apart when a factor has been active and how its strength varies across different parts of the corpus" (2013: 106).

In sum, the trends of development suggested in previous studies offer valuable insights to the present study. The arrival of historical corpora clearly offered researchers new opportunities to pin down the stages of development with greater accuracy than was the case with the scholars who had based their work on anecdotal observations manually gleaned from historical texts. Yet many of the basic claims presented in early reference works have been found to hold true, e.g. the environments encouraging or discouraging the spread of the THY and MY forms. Both linguistic and extralinguistic factors have been shown to have played a role in the development. Further, recent work on historical pragmatics has shown that interpersonal interaction is an important environment for studying language change. Our systematic study focuses on the determiners MINE, MY, THINE and THY in dialogue texts, where the opportunity for interpersonal interaction should mean that such texts provide a highly encouraging environment for the use of these forms. We will also be able to describe the particular language use situations where the declining forms were used and the speakers that used them.

3. MATERIAL AND METHOD

Our access to past spoken language prior to the 1870s, when audio-recording devices were invented, is limited. Yet to be able to draw conclusions about the locus of change and the different pace at which changes occur in 'spoken' versus 'written' language, it is legitimate to consult texts bearing a varying relationship to spoken idiom of the past (see, e.g. Jacobs & Jucker, 1995; Jucker, 2000). Culpeper and Kytö (2010) distinguished three categories of dialogue texts, i.e. speech-based (e.g. trials, witness depositions), speech-purposed (e.g. drama texts) and speech-like (e.g. personal letters) texts. *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760* (CED) is a multi-genre 1.2-million-word collection of electronic texts comprising authentic and constructed dialogue texts (Culpeper & Kytö, 2010; Kytö & Walker, 2006). The former category includes Trials and Depositions (whereby originally spoken language is represented in writing by a scribe), and the latter includes Fiction, Comedy and Handbooks rendered in dialogue form (subdivided into language teaching manuals and other type of handbooks). A category of 'miscellaneous' texts is also included to accommodate interesting dialogue texts that do not fit well into any of the five text types distinguished. To help observe language change, the 200-year period covered by the corpus texts is subdivided into five subperiods comprising 40 years (or a generation) each: 1560–1599, 1600–1639, 1640–1679, 1680–1719 and 1720–1760. Table 1a illustrates the structure of the corpus, showing the number of text files for the five text types (excluding the 'miscellaneous' texts) in the five 40-year periods of the CED (from Kytö & Walker, 2006: 13).

Period	Trial Proceedings	Witness Depositions	Drama Comedy	Didactic Works	Prose Fiction	Period totals
1 1560–1599	3	8	5	8	5	29
2 1600–1639	4	6	5	7	6	28
3 1640–1679	10	8	5	10	7	40
4 1680–1719	11	6	5	11	7	40
5 1720–1760	12	5	5	5	4	31
Total	40	33	25	41	29	168

Table 1a. The number of text files for the five text types in the five 40-year periods of the CED.

The aim was to sample extracts of 10,000 words from each text, but not all texts proved to be of such length. Nor were suitable texts always available for every genre/subperiod slot, especially for the first two subperiods. This is why the number of texts in the genre/subperiod

slots may vary (Kytö & Walker, 2006: 13). For further illustration, the word counts for the five text types across the subperiods distinguished are given in Table 1b (from Kytö & Walker, 2006: 14).

Period	Trial Proceedings	Witness Depositions	Drama Comedy	Didactic Works	Prose Fiction	Period totals
1 1560–1599	19,940	42,080	47,590	41,160	39,380	190,150
2 1600–1639	14,430	39,930	47,700	56,990	43,460	202,510
3 1640–1679	70,010	46,820	47,590	32,850	49,290	246,560
4 1680–1719	96,630	26,500	47,200	78,070	47,360	295,760
5 1720–1760	84,650	17,610	48,510	27,570	44,400	222,740
Total	285,660	172,940	238,590	236,640	223,890	1,157,720

Table 1b. Word counts for the five genre/subperiod slots in the CED.

The CED texts have not been provided with annotation regarding the speaker information; therefore, no automated searches could be carried out for a quantitative survey of pronoun usage in this regard. However, close reading of the texts and the contextual information available for manual analyses were used for the discussion of pronoun usage in section 5. Regarding the use of the first and second person possessive determiners, the CED is expected to provide substantial data considering that the corpus texts depict speech situations where the interlocutors address each other in direct terms.

Searches were made for all variant forms of MINE, MY, THINE and THY (which included examples such as *i'my* and *o'thy* as well as variant spellings), and all examples of these forms in determiner function were extracted and coded according to subperiod, text type and text. Furthermore, we coded whether the ensuing character was a vowel, an *h* or a consonant (the full word following the determiner was also noted). We elected to code according to the character rather than the *sound*, as it is not possible to be certain how words spelt with an *h* would have been pronounced in the period (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003: 61). The results are presented in section 4.

4. CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PATTERNS OF CHANGE

There are 12,850 examples of MINE, MY, THINE and THY as determiners in the CED as a whole, including the Miscellaneous texts category, with the -N forms clearly overwhelmed by the MY/THY forms, as shown in Table 2.

MINE	175 (1.5%)	MY	11,521 (98.5%)
THINE	38 (3.3%)	THY	1,116 (96.7%)

Table 2. The determiners MINE, MY, THINE and THY in the CED (1560–1760).

To demonstrate the chronological development for the decline of the -N forms in our data, in Table 3 we present the results for each of the 40-year subperiods of the CED. Figure 1 collapses the same results into N-variants versus non-N-variants.

	1 (1560–1599)	2 (1600–1639)	3 (1640–1679)	4 (1680–1719)	5 (1720–1760)
MINE	78 (4.5%)	62 (2.9%)	33 (1.4%)	2 (0.1%)	0
MY	1,669 (95.5%)	2,070 (97.1%)	2,318 (98.6%)	3,404 (99.9%)	2,060 (100%)
THINE	22 (6.3%)	5 (1.5%)	10 (2.9%)	1 (0.8%)	0
THY	325 (93.7%)	323 (98.5%)	331 (97.1%)	121 (99.2%)	16 (100%)

Table 3. The determiners MINE, MY, THINE and THY in the CED per subperiod.[1]
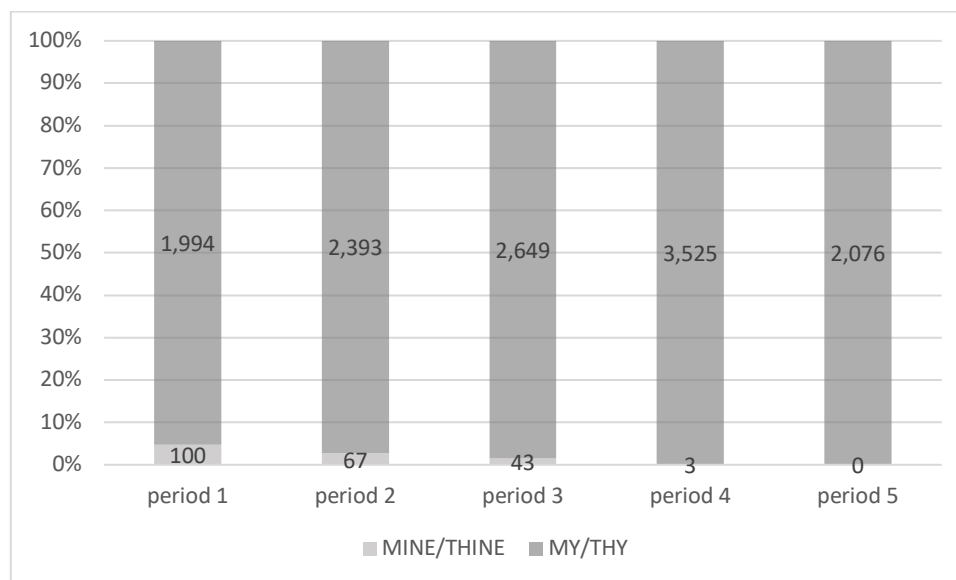
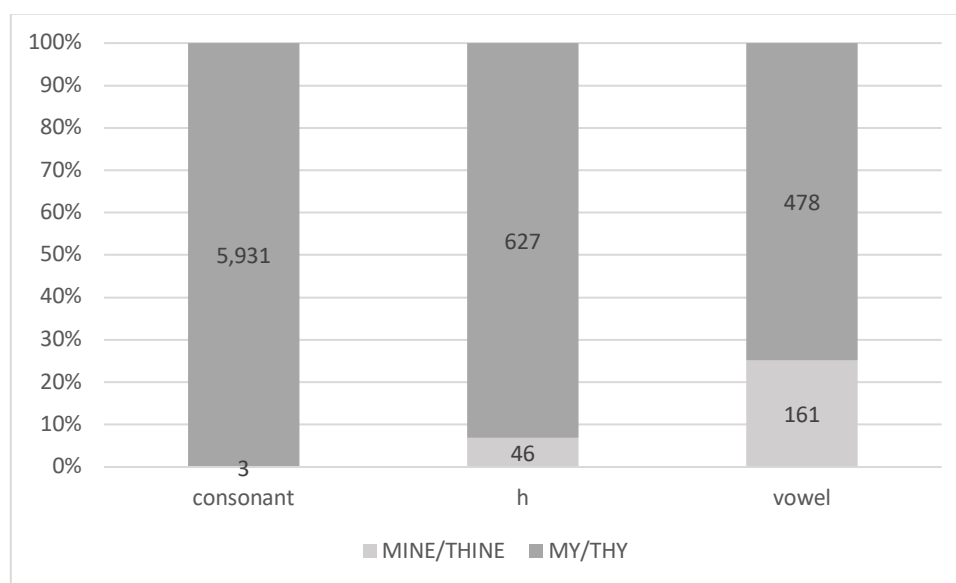**Figure 1.** The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE in the CED per subperiod.

As Table 3 and Figure 1 show, MINE/THINE as determiners declined steadily throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and are not found at all in the eighteenth-century data from the CED. The very high percentages recorded for MY (95.5%) and THY (93.7%) for the period 1560–1599 confirm the findings presented in previous literature that the N-variants had already been superseded to a major extent by the N-less forms by the early 1600s (see, e.g.

Barber, 1997: 152; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003: 116). Moreover, the very few instances recorded for MINE/THINE after 1679 confirm Barber's (1997: 152) impression that standard literary prose favoured MY and THY by 1700. Therefore, we focus henceforth on the data from the first three periods, 1560–1679, to examine the use and distribution of the obsolescent forms more closely. As mentioned above (see section 2), previous research has shown that the -N forms were more likely to occur before a vowel sound than before a consonant sound, and hence this factor is taken into account in Table 4 and Figure 2.

|	**Consonant**	*h*	**Vowel**	**Total (100%)**
MINE	1 (0.6%)	45 (26%)	127 (73.4%)	173 (100%)
MY	5,095 (84.1%)	537 (8.9%)	425 (7%)	6,057 (100%)
THINE	2 (5.4%)	1 (2.7%)	34 (91.9%)	37 (100%)
THY	836 (85.4%)	90 (9.2%)	53 (5.4%)	979 (100%)

Table 4. The determiners MINE, MY, THINE and THY preceding a consonant, *h* or a vowel in the first three subperiods of the CED (1560–1679).[2]

Figure 2. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE preceding a consonant, *h* or a vowel in the first three subperiods of the CED (1560–1679).

Corroborating findings presented in previous research, the results indicate that a vowel or *h* is a factor promoting the -N forms in the CED; in contrast there are only three examples in the CED of -N forms occurring before a consonant (other than *h*). The *h* words occurring after MINE/THINE are limited to the following words in the first three subperiods of the CED (1560–1679): *hand, honesty/honesty's, honour, host/hostess/hosts, house, household, humour, husband*: such lexical items are discussed further in section 5.

We find an interesting pattern of change across the first three subperiods, as demonstrated in Figure 3, which shows the results for the determiners that precede *h* or a vowel in each of the three periods.
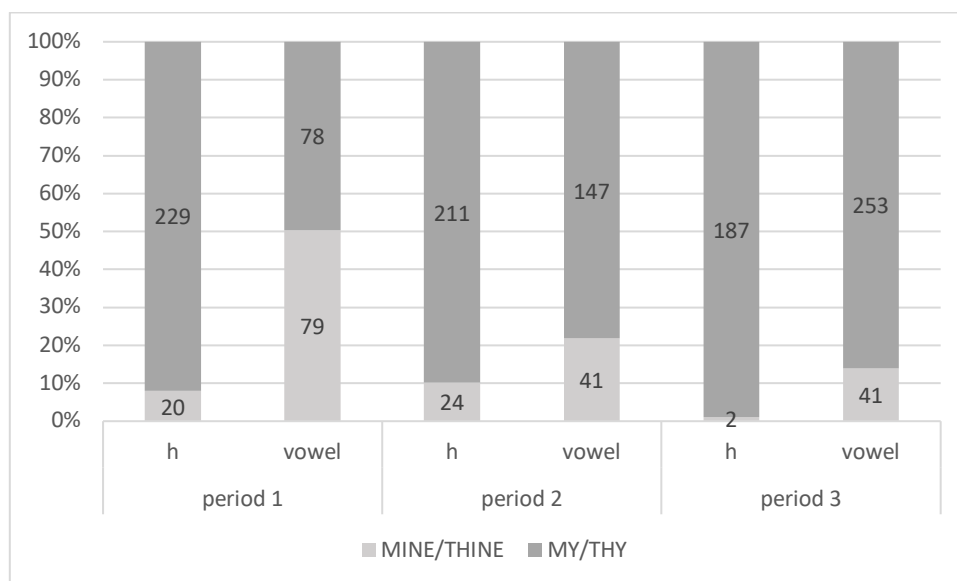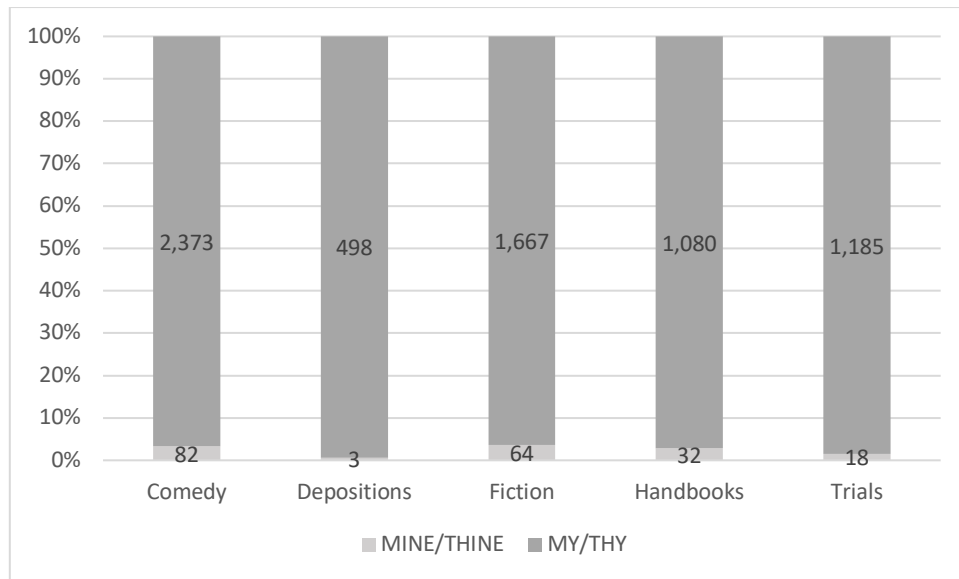

Figure 3. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE preceding *h* or a vowel in each of the three subperiods 1560–1599, 1600–1639 and 1640–1679.

MINE/THINE before *h* have all but disappeared after 1639, but, even more interestingly, the -N forms preceding a vowel hold out against MY/THY until the seventeenth century (with 79 examples compared to 78 with MY/THY), but gradually decline across the subperiods 1600–1639 and 1640–1679. The proportion of the -N forms in our data is somewhat higher than in the correspondence data from the period 1580–1619, where the proportion of the -N forms was no more than 10% before vowels, with a higher figure of around 45% for the -N forms preceding *own* (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg, 2003: 116). The -N forms are essentially obsolete after 1679 (see Table 3 and Figure 1): the three examples, which precede vowels, occur in a Handbook from 1680 and a Fiction text from 1692.

The second question to be considered concerns the importance of genre in the decline of the -N forms. In which genres do the -N forms persist? The results for the five text types for the first three periods in our data are shown in Table 5 and Figure 4.

	Comedy	**Depositions**	**Fiction**	**Handbooks**	**Trials**
MINE	67 (3.2%)	2 (0.4%)	56 (4.1%)	29 (2.9%)	9 (0.8%)
MY	2,015 (96.8%)	444 (99.6%)	1,322 (95.9%)	984 (97.1%)	1,125 (99.2%)
THINE	15 (4%)	1 (1.8%)	8 (2.3%)	3 (3%)	9 (13%)
THY	358 (96%)	54 (98.2%)	345 (97.7%)	96 (97%)	60 (87%)

Table 5. The determiners MINE, MY, THINE and THY per text type in the first three subperiods of the CED (1560–1679).[3]

Figure 4. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE per text type in the first three subperiods of the CED (1560–1679).

We can observe that the -N forms are most common overall in the texts based on constructed dialogue (Comedy, Fiction and Handbooks), rather than in those texts based on real speech events, that is, Depositions and Trials (albeit the form THINE is actually most frequent in Trials: see Table 5 and section 5). Calculating the percentages from Figure 4 for each text type reveals that -N forms make up only 0.6% and 1.5% of determiners in Depositions and Trials respectively (compared to 3.3%, 3.7% and 2.9% in Comedy, Fiction and Handbooks respectively).
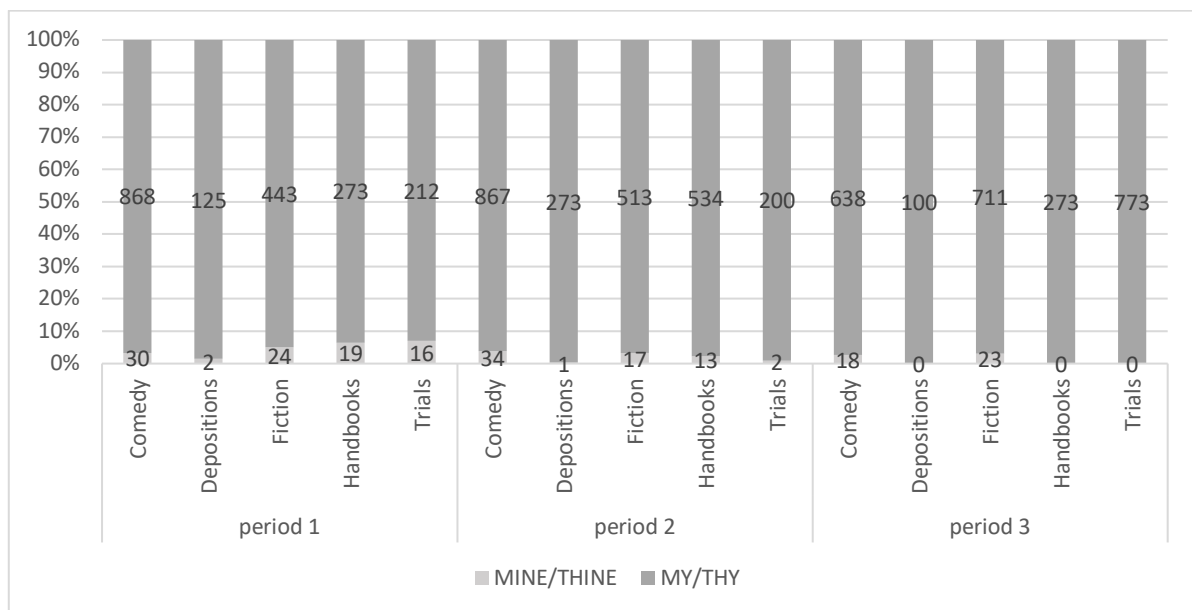
Figure 5. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE per text type in each of the three subperiods 1560–1599, 1600–1639 and 1640–1679.

The breakdown of the data into separate subperiods (see Figure 5) reveals clearly that Comedy and Fiction are the text types that maintain the MINE/THINE forms throughout the period 1560–1679. Nevertheless, a steady decline is seen in Fiction across this period (5.1%, 3.2% and 3.1% in subperiods 1, 2 and 3 respectively, calculated from Figure 5); and a decline is noted in Comedy after 1639 (3.3%, 3.8% and 2.7% in subperiods 1, 2 and 3 respectively). Handbooks show a marked decrease after 1600 (6.5% in subperiod 1, dropping to 2.4% in subperiod 2, with no -N forms in subperiod 3). Turning to the text types based on authentic dialogues, we can see that Trials scarcely attest any -N forms after 1600: after as much as 7% in Trials before 1600, this falls to 1% in subperiod 2, after which there are no further attestations of the -N forms. These results tally with those obtained by Schendl (1997: 182), who only recorded 6% for the -N forms (before vowels) in the *Helsinki Corpus* subperiod 1500–1570, with no further attestations for the later subperiods. In Depositions, MINE/THINE forms are already negligible in subperiod 1 (1.6%), and there is only one example thereafter (0.4% in subperiod 2).

The analysis in this section has revealed that in the CED the -N forms are all but obsolete after 1679, before which the forms hold out the longest in Comedy and Fiction texts, in contrast to Trials and Depositions, which attest minimal use of MINE/THINE after 1600. It has also been shown how MINE/THINE forms are more likely to occur prevocalically or before *h*. In order to examine the combined effect of the factors of time, genre and phonological context, Tables 6a–c present the data for Comedy, Fiction and Handbooks in the relevant subperiods according to whether these are preceded by a consonant, vowel or *h*.

Subperiod	Form	Consonant	*h*	Vowel
1560–1599	**MY/THY**	736 (100%)	93 (96.9%)	39 (40.9%)
	MINE/THINE	0	3 (3.1%)	27 (59.1%)
1600–1639	**MY/THY**	741 (99.9%)	85 (87.6%)	41 (66.1%)
	MINE/THINE	1 (0.1%)	12 (12.4%)	21 (33.9%)
1640–1679	**MY/THY**	511 (100%)	56 (98.2%)	71 (80.7%)
	MINE/THINE	0	1 (1.8%)	17 (19.3%)

Table 6a. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE in Comedy in each of the first three subperiods.

Subperiod	Form	Consonant	*h*	Vowel
1560–1599	**MY/THY**	371 (100%)	57 (98.3%)	15 (39.5%)
	MINE/THINE	0	1 (1.7%)	23 (60.5%)
1600–1639	**MY/THY**	417 (100%)	53 (86.9%)	43 (82.7%)
	MINE/THINE	0	8 (13.1%)	9 (17.3%)
1640–1679	**MY/THY**	614 (100%)	49 (98%)	48 (68.6%)
	MINE/THINE	0	1 (2%)	22 (31.4%)

Table 6b. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE in Fiction in each of the first three subperiods.

Subperiod	Form	Consonant	*h*	Vowel
1560–1599	**MY/THY**	222 (99.6%)	43 (82.7%)	8 (47.1%)
	MINE/THINE	1 (0.4%)	9 (17.3%)	9 (52.9%)
1600–1639	**MY/THY**	457 (100%)	56 (94.9%)	21 (67.7%)
	MINE/THINE	0	3 (5.1%)	10 (32.3%)

Table 6c. The determiners MY/THY versus MINE/THINE in Handbooks in each of the first two subperiods

What Tables 6a–c reveal is that the prevocalic -N forms occur more frequently than MY/THY in all three text types before 1600, i.e. in the first subperiod of the CED. Moreover, the same dominance of prevocalic -N forms is true when we consider the Trials data for 1560–1599, whereby 59.3% of prevocalic determiners are -N forms (the 16 examples of MINE/THINE are all prevocalic). Our figures for MINE/THINE before a vowel and before *h* in Comedy in the subperiod 1560–1599 are similar to those of Busse (2002: 230) for THINE in the *Shakespeare Corpus*. Time thus appears to be a key factor, with 1600 as the turning point. After 1600, MY and THY dominate in all phonological contexts in all text types, although the -N forms persist before *h* and especially before vowels in Comedy, Handbooks and Fiction. Given that the -N forms survive the longest in Comedy and Fiction, these text types will be the main focus of the analysis in section 5, in which we aim to also examine the third research question, regarding which speaker groups were the last to use these forms and in which contexts.

5. USAGE IN COMEDY, FICTION AND TRIALS

In this section, we will first take a closer look at the use of -N forms in Comedy and Fiction in the CED across the period 1560–1679 before examining usage in the more formal context of Trials in the subperiod 1560–1599. This is in order to discover the specific words that follow MINE/THINE and to identify the characters/speakers using these forms and the contexts in which the forms occur in our data. As noted in section 3, the corpus is not coded for the variables of speaker age, sex or rank; our discussion of these factors is therefore based on close reading. This section also points out differences in usage between individual texts. Individual texts can

have some effect on the overall picture presented in section 4, yet our analysis below further demonstrates the general pattern of decline indicated in that section, while highlighting some idiosyncratic usage by authors and the influence of certain subgenres.

In Comedy, the *h* words occurring after MINE/THINE are words borrowed from French, namely *honesty*, *honour* and *host*, and 12 of the 16 examples are from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wiues of Windsor* (1623 edition). Busse (2002: 239), examining the whole *Shakespeare Corpus*, found *honour* to be one of eight words to occur after THINE (9x), accompanied by *honourable* (1x), *honest* (1x) and *honesty* (2x); further such words are *host* (2x) and *hostess* (1x). In the CED sample from *The Merry Wiues of Windsor*, ten of the examples refer to the character referred to as "mine Host of the Garter". By contrast, in Chapman's *An Humerous Dayes Myrth*, from 1599, reference to the host character is *my host* (17x) and only once *mine host*. In all three subperiods, MY/THY precede the words *honest/honesty*, *honour/honourable/honoured* and *host* more frequently than MINE/THINE. Shakespeare's usage clearly affects the results, which otherwise suggest that -N forms before *h* were all but obsolete in the Comedy texts sampled for the first three subperiods of the CED. There are a range of characters who use the -N forms, all male (with the exception of one *mine host* by Mistress Page), but it is Falstaff who uses *mine honour* as well as *mine host*, in a tone of mock formality. However, the usage is not consistent as the character also uses MY, as shown in example (1); bold face is employed for emphasis in all our examples:

(1) [$ (^Fal.^) $] […] I am damn'd in
hell, for swearing to Gentlemen my friends, you were
good Souldiers, and tall-fellowes. And when Mistresse
(^Briget^) lost the handle of her Fan, I took't vpon **mine
honour** thou hadst it not.
  [$ (^Pist.^) $] Didst not thou share? hadst thou not fifteene
pence?
  [$ (^Fal.^) $] Reason, you roague, reason: thinkst thou Ile
endanger my soule, (^ (\gratis\) ^) ? at a word, hang no more about
mee, I am no gibbet for you: goe, a short knife, and a
throng, to your Mannor of (^Pickt-hatch^) : goe, you'll not
beare a Letter for mee you roague? you stand vpon your
honor: why, (thou vnconfinable basenesse) it is as much
as I can doe to keepe the termes of **my hononor** precise:
I, I, I my selfe sometimes, leauing the feare of heauen on
<P 45C2>
the left hand, and hiding **mine honor** in my necessity,
(CED: D2CSHAKE, *The Merry Wiues of Windsor*, 1625: 45C1–45C2)

There are 15 words beginning with a vowel that are preceded by MINE/THINE in Comedy between 1560 and 1679 in the CED. Of these, only five occur more than once: *ear(s)*, *eye(s)*, *aunts*, *uncle('s)* and *own*. These five words also occur with MY/THY but unlike the others, *eye(s)* and *own* more frequently follow MINE/THINE than MY/THY across the period 1560 and 1679. In what follows we examine the use of *own* with MINE/THINE as well as MY/THY in our Comedy data. For the rise of MY/THY preceding *own* in correspondence data up until the 1680s, see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 62).

Of the 82 prevocalic occurrences of MINE/THINE in Comedy between 1560 and 1679, 38 occurrences precede the word *own*, which occurs in all but four of the 15 texts sampled for the CED. In period 1, *own* occurs 14 times with MINE/THINE (cf. MY/THY 5x), and is found in particular in William Warner's *Menaecmi* (1595), in which *own* does not occur with MY/THY. It is used between intimates, irrespective of relative rank or gender (between a master and his servant, by the master to his parasitical friend, between master and his mistress, and by the master's wife and her father to her husband). It is also found between intimates (Alexander and his close friend Hephestion) in John Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe* (1584) and by fellow conspirators in the anonymous *A Knacke to Knowe a Knaue* (1594); by contrast, in Chapman we find MY used with *own* in an intimate (albeit *mock* intimate) moment by a gentleman to a countess; shown in example (2):

(2) [$ (^Le.^) $] Ile go with you through fire, through death, through
hell, come giue me your owne hand, **my owne** deare heart,
this hand that I adore and reuerence, and loath to haue it,
touch an olde mans bosome, O let me sweetely kisse it; [$he
bites.$]
(CED: D1CCHAPM, *An Humerous Dayes Myrth*, 1599: F2R)

In Peele's *The Old Wiues Tale* (1595), both MINE/THINE and MY/THY occur with *own*. An old smith's wife uses *my own(e)* when addressing a page, as does a page when addressing the old smith; *mine own(e)* is used by a lower ranking character when speaking contemptuously to those who refused to bury his friend. A bragging knight uses both *my own(e)* and *mine own(e)*: MY is used with *own* when addressing the object of his affections while under a spell, but MINE is used with *own* when addressing an old beggar in a dismissive manner. This usage contrasts greatly with that found in *Menaecmi*, from the same year (1595). The results suggest that playwrights manipulated language for their own purposes, although the MINE/THINE forms seem generally typical of contexts that are more intimate in the majority of the Comedy texts.

In the subperiod 1600–1639, *own* occurs 15 times with MINE/THINE (cf. MY/THY 2x). In Shakespeare's *The Merry Wiues of Windsor* we find only MINE with *own* (5x): this is used by Slender, a young gentleman, to Falstaff, by Falstaff when conspiring with the servant Mistress Quickly, by Master Ford (in disguise) when conspiring with Falstaff, and by Mistress Ford to

Mistress Page when comparing love letters from Falstaff. In George Wilkins' *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, from 1607, the use of *mine owne* also occurs in intimate contexts, whereby a woman accepts the courtship of a gentleman (1x), and in an emotional exchange between brothers (3x). Two other plays, from 1602 and 1611, have one instance of *my own* and *mine own* respectively, the former spoken by a lawyer boasting of his knowledge to a gentleman, the latter in an aside by a gentleman about the woman he loves. The later play, Jonson's *Bartholmew Fayre* (1631, but first performed in 1614) is the only play to have both MINE (5x) and MY (1x) with *own*. In this play, a simple country gentleman uses *my owne* when talking to his sister, but *mine owne* when excited about a song being performed. The ballad singer himself uses *mine owne* (2x) when promoting his services to the gentleman, and it is also found when a young gentlewoman politely addresses two gentlemen, and when a Justice complains of being unfairly treated in a case of mistaken identity. The motivation for the use of MY versus MINE forms is hard to discern in this play, which is perhaps indicative of the standardization process in its final stages.

However, it is in the third subperiod of the CED, 1640–1679, that the -N forms are finally overtaken by the forms MY/THY before the word *own* (*own* occurs nine times with MINE/THINE and 11 times with MY/THY), after which, as shown in section 4, MINE/THINE do not occur at all in Comedy. Moreover, it is in the earlier plays, Anthony Brewer's *The Covntrie Girle* (1647) and Richard Brome's *A Mad Couple Well Match'd* (1653), that we find MINE/THINE before *own*. It does not occur in the CED data from Dryden's *The Wild Gallant* (1669), George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), and only once in William Wycherley's *The Country-Wife* (1675). In Brewer's play, MINE/THINE forms with *own* occur when a knight discusses his sister as suitor to another knight (2x), when an old gentlewoman tries to persuade a Lady to remarry, and when the same Lady refuses a knight's suit by explaining her love for her deceased husband. In Brome's play, a young gentleman addressing a nurse refers to his aunt as "**my own** Unkles wife", but the nurse refers to the broth she gives him as "a composition of **mine owne**" (1653: D2R). Elsewhere in the play MINE/THINE precedes *own* when a female character disguised as a man declares her affections for a citizen's wife, when the wife's husband fondly addresses the wife, and when a gentleman's aunt (by marriage) admonishes him for attempting to seduce her, as shown in (3).

> (3) [$ (^La.^) $] But prathee tell mee, dost thou not all this onely
> to trie me, or am I a Rogue thinke you, or wouldst thou
> seriously that **thine own** naturall Unkle, thy bountifull
> Patron, nay thy father on the matter, should suffer such
> a wrong, and done by us?
> (CED: D3CBROME, *A Mad Couple Well Match'd*, 1653: E1V)

IJES, vol. 20 (2), 2020, pp. 95–116

In general, it does not seem that character gender or status is of especial relevance in the use of -N forms with *own*, but -N forms are more likely in intimate situations. This is reinforced in that in Wycherley's 1675 play, a wife tenderly addresses her husband "You are **mine own** Dear Bud" (1675: 17), whereas the MY/THY examples with *own* are used in aside by the husband (2x), and in banter by the self-acclaimed 'wit', Sparkish (4x).

Moving on to a discussion of the other genre in which the -N forms persist longest, Fiction, we find that the *h* words occurring after MINE/THINE are the words *honesties*, *humour* and *host* (words originating from French), but also *house* (from Germanic); however, only *host*(*s*) occurs more than once with MINE/THINE in Fiction. *Host*(*s*) only occurs after MINE/THINE in the anonymous text from 1590, *The Cobler of Caunterburie* (1x) and six times in Thomas Brewer's *Deuill of Edmonton* (1631). Brewer's text accounts for all but two of the examples of MINE/THINE before *h*, which thus stands out from all the other Fiction texts, in the same way as did Shakespeare's *The Merry Wiues of Windsor* for the Comedy genre. By contrast, in Edward Sharpham's *Discouerie of the Knights* (1597), *host*(*s*) and *hostess* (11x) only occur after MY/THY. There is one example of MINE/THINE before *h*, "for **mine honesties** sake" as late as 1673 in the anonymous *The Sack-Full of Newes* (A4R).

There are 14 words beginning with a vowel that follow MINE/THINE in Fiction between 1560 and 1679, but only four of these words occur more than once: *ears*, *eye(s)*, *intent* and *own*. Below we focus on the use of *own* with MINE/THINE and MY/THY in the Fiction data from the CED; as with Comedy, *own* is the only word that favours MINE/THINE across the period 1560–1679.

Instances with the word *own* account for 37 of the 54 prevocalic occurrences of MINE/THINE in Fiction between 1560 and 1679, and these occur in 12 of the 18 texts sampled for the CED. In the first subperiod, 1560–1599, the word *own* co-occurs with MINE/THINE 13 times and only four times with MY/THY. In Andrew Boorde's *Mad Men of Gotam* (1565), gentlemen's servants use *thine owne* to their goodman host who served them inferior fare, but a housewife uses *my owne* when chatting with other wives in an alehouse, whereas in the anonymous *Merry Tales* (1567) and George Gascoigne's *Sundrie Flowres* (1573) only MINE/THINE co-occur with *own*. In *Merry Tales* a friar and a cobler both use MINE with *own* when talking to the poet laureate Skelton. *Sundrie Flowres* focuses on romance, in contrast to the other texts, which are jest-books, and as such are more mundane or colloquial in style. In *Sundrie Flowres*, the gentleman uses MINE with *own* when addressing the object of his affections, Lady Elinor (4x), when addressing another gentlewoman (2x), when addressing his host, a knight (1x), and when addressing himself in soliloquy (1x). It is also found when a gentlewoman addresses the gentleman (1x) and when Elinor tells the gentleman of what a man in her dreams said to her (1x). The tone of the text is illustrated in (4).

(4) [$ (^F. J.^) hearing the harty words
of his Mistres, and perceyuing the earnest maner of hir
pronunciation, began to receyue vnspeakable comfort
in the same, and sayde.$] Mistres, your exceeding curtesie
were able to reuiue a man half dead, and to me it is both
great comfort, and it doth also gald my remembraunce
with a continuall smart of **myn own** vnworthinesse: but
as I would desire no longer lyfe, than til I might be able
to deserue some part of your bounty,
(CED: D1FGASCO, *Sundrie Flowres*, 1573: 252)

In the later text, Sharpham's *Discouerie of the Knights* (1597), only MY/THY co-occur with *own* (3x), used by the first-person narrator, who plays a part in the action.

In the second subperiod of the CED, 1600–1639, *own* occurs seven times with MINE/THINE and another seven times with MY/THY. Richard Johnson's *Conceites of Old Hobson* (1607) shows the old haberdasher using *mine owne* twice in everyday contexts to a neighbour and a friend. Robert Armin's *Nest of Ninnies* (1608) contains *my own(e)* used by a fool to a king, and by a cobbler to himself, while *mine own* is used by a woman to a gentleman. Thomas Deloney's *Iack of Newberie* (1619) was originally published towards the end of the sixteenth century: in this text a widow uses *mine owne* in address to her suitors (1x). To Jack, her manservant, she uses both *mine owne* (1x) and *my owne* (1x), but she later uses MY with *own* to Jack after he has become her husband (2x). The Fiction text *Westward for Smelts* (1620) has only MY/THY before *own* (2x) by a gentleman, who believing his wife unfaithful, asks his manservant to kill her. Brewer's *Deuill of Edmonton* (1631) has *mine owne* used by a foolish smith in anger to his wife, shown in (5).

(5) Nay [$ (quoth (^Smug^)) $] ile ticle your Deuills, yfaith, and
your Deuils come to molest me within **mine owne** house
vpon **mine owne** ground, ile deuill them.
(CED: D2FBREWE, *Deuill of Edmonton*, 1631: E4V)

In the texts from this subperiod, it is difficult to pinpoint any clear motivation for the use of MINE/THINE versus MY/THY, which may simply be symptomatic of the ongoing change.

In the subperiod 1640–1679, *own* occurs 17 times with MINE/THINE (cf. MY/THY 14x), and thus the -N forms appear to regain lost ground: it is not until after 1679 that MY/THY finally overtake MINE/THINE before *own*. In the subperiod 1680–1679, there is one solitary example of MINE/THINE with *own* from 1692 (and there are no other examples of the -N forms): by contrast, a cursory glance at the data from 1680–1679 reveals examples of MY/THY co-occurring with *own*. Before this, in the subperiod 1640–1679, we find that the earliest Fiction text *Marianvs* (1641) prefers MINE/THINE with *own* (7x) with only two examples with MY/THY. The text is full

of dramatic, emotional and often intimate dialogue between the upper ranks of society, including princes and princesses, and the style seems to encourage the old -N forms. Two other Fiction texts, from 1646 and 1652, have one example of MY/THY and MINE/THINE with *own*. Later, in *The English Lovers* (1662) by John Dauncey, all ten examples of *own* are preceded by MY/THY, spoken by highborn characters, including one female character. This would seem to indicate the final nail in the coffin for MINE/THINE with *own*, given that the text is a romance, which in earlier Fiction texts seems to have promoted MINE/THINE. However, in the later texts, *The Sack-Full of Newes* (1673) and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, we still find *own* co-occurring only with MINE/THINE (with 5x and 3x respectively). This possibly reflects the fact that the former was a jest-book, while the latter is a Christian allegory, which might encourage the older forms.

We now turn briefly to the Trials genre, focusing on the subperiod 1560–1599, the period in which all but two of the -N forms occur. There are seven words beginning with a vowel that follow MINE/THINE (*enterprise*, *error*, *examination*, *eye*s, *intent*, *opinion* and *own*), which account for all 16 examples of the -N forms. The majority of the examples (10x) are found in the Trial of William Parry, a doctor of the law, from 1585, excerpted in (6). The speaker, Lord Hunsdon is one of those sitting in judgement, and the tone is both formal, encouraging the older -N forms, and contemptuous, encouraging the THOU forms (cf. Walker 2007: 82–83).

> (6) Then said the lord (^Hunsdon^) ,$] This is but thy popish pride
> <P 36>
> and ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy
> fellowes of that faction, to make them belieue that thou
> diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and
> dangerous treasons against her Maiestie, and thy whole
> countrey. For thy laying of thy blood, it must lye on **thine owne**
> head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the
> Realme most iustly condemne thee to die out of **thine**
> **owne** mouth, for the conspiring the destruction both of her
> Maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy blood be vpon thee,
> neither her Maiestie, nor we at any time sought it, thy selfe
> hast spilt it.
> (CED: D1TPARRY, *William Parry the Traitor*, 1585: 35–36)

Other officials at the court, the clerk of the crown and Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain, as well as Parry himself, are also represented in the published trial text as using the -N forms: in only one example, attributed to Hatton, is a vowel not preceded by an -N form: "And diddest thou not vpon **thy examination** voluntaryly confesse […]" (*William Parry the Traitor*, 1585: 33). By contrast the other two Trials (those of the Duke of Norfolk and Mr Robert Hickford), which took place in 1571 (although the CED sample is from a 1730 edition),

only attest -N forms before the words *error* (1x) and *own* (5x). In all three trials, the participants are high-ranking men or, in the case of Parry and Hickford, at least gentry or well-educated professional men.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study turned to the CED, a stratified multi-genre corpus of dialogue texts from 1560–1760, to trace the process whereby the use of the MINE/THINE forms as determiners became restricted to certain linguistic contexts and finally became all but obsolete in the Early Modern English period.

    To identify the chronological stages of development, the corpus data, which amounted to 12,850 examples of the determiners MY/THY and MINE/THINE, was investigated for each of the five subperiods in the CED. This revealed that the first three subperiods (1560–1679) were of key interest for the investigation: the -N forms proved essentially obsolete from the 1680s onward. The phonological contexts in which the MINE/THINE forms occurred were prevocalic or before *h*.

    Regarding the genre parameter, the -N forms were most common overall and persisted in the texts based on constructed dialogue, i.e. Comedy, Fiction and Handbooks, rather than those based on real speech events (Depositions and Trials), apart from THINE being most frequent in Trials before 1600. Comedy and Fiction continued to promote MINE/THINE while these forms disappeared from Handbooks in the period 1640–1679. A number of lexical items associated with the use of the MINE/THINE forms were revealed in the data. Words originating from French, *honesties*, *host* and *humour*, were those found with MINE/THINE in Fiction, and, similarly, *honesty*, *honour* and *host* occurred with MINE/THINE in Comedy (especially in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wiues of Windsor*; cf. the findings cited from Busse, 2002); nevertheless, these words occurred more frequently with MY/THY. Of the words beginning with a vowel only *eye(s)* and *own* in Comedy, and *own* in Fiction, occurred more frequently with MINE/THINE than with MY/THY across the period 1560–1679, and hence the ensuing analysis focused on the occurrences with the word *own*.

    To see which speaker groups were the last to maintain the MINE/THINE forms, and in what contexts, we turned to an analysis of corpus examples. In Comedy, the MINE/THINE forms were typically used in intimate contexts in the majority of texts, the playwrights manipulating the variant forms to express shades in characterization and situational features, but there was little evidence to suggest that gender or social status was a key factor. In Fiction texts, the receding -N forms also often occur in stretches of emotional and intimate dialogue, occurring in jest-books but also in romances. Romance fiction, often between characters representative of the upper ranks of society, seems especially to encourage the MINE/THINE forms, although this is not true of the later romance, from 1662. Similar contextual features were apparent in Trials

where the older -N forms were maintained in the formal tone adopted by judges and other officials.

The present study lent support to many of the findings presented in earlier empirical studies, among them the main lines of the decline of the -N forms and the range of lexical items associated with their use. However, direct comparisons can be difficult owing to differences in the periodization schemes, the type of material included in the data in various studies and the principles for presenting quantitative results. As a process of change, the rise of the MY/THY forms makes a case *par excellence* to the study of standardization phenomena in the history of English.

NOTES

1   The distribution for subperiods 1–4 (there is no data for MINE/THINE in subperiod 5) is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 465.3501$, df = 9, P < 0.00001); however, as some of the expected values are less than 5, the chi-square result may not be valid.

2   The distribution for phonological context is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1369.4141$, df = 6, P < 0.00001). Here again, some of the expected values are less than 5, meaning the chi-square result may not be valid.

3   The distribution for text type is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 208.9637$, df = 12, P < 0.00001). As some expected values are less than 5, the chi-square result may not be valid.

REFERENCES

Electronic

CED = *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*. (2006). Compiled by M. Kytö (Uppsala University) & J. Culpeper (University of Lancaster).

CEEC = *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*. (1998). Compiled by T. Nevalainen, H. Raumolin-Brunberg, J. Keränen, M. Nevala, A. Nurmi & M. Palander-Collin. University of Helsinki.

Helsinki Corpus = The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts. (1991). Compiled by M. Rissanen (Project leader), M. Kytö (Project secretary); L. Kahlas-Tarkka, M. Kilpiö (Old English); S. Nevanlinna, I. Taavitsainen (Middle English); T. Nevalainen, H. Raumolin-Brunberg (Early Modern English). University of Helsinki.

Penn Parsed Corpora = (i) *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*. (2000). (2nd ed.). (PPCME$_2$). Compiled by A. Kroch & A. Taylor; (ii) *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*. (2004). Compiled by A. Kroch, B. Santorini & L. Delfs, www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/PPCME-RELEASE-$_1$

Print

Barber, C. (1997). *Early Modern English.* (2nd ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Busse, U. (2002). *Linguistic Variation in the Shakespeare Corpus: Morpho-syntactic Variability of Second Person Pronouns*. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (Vol. 106). Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Culpeper, J. & Kytö, M. (2010). *Early Modern English Dialogues: Spoken Interaction as Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graband, G. (1965). *Die Entwicklung der frühneuenglischen Nominalflexion. Dargestellt vornehmlich aufgrund von Grammatikerzeugnissen des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Hilpert, M. (2013). *Constructional Change in English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jacobs, A. & Jucker, A. H. (1995). The historical perspective in pragmatics. In A. H. Jucker (Ed.), *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (Vol. 35) (pp. 3–33). Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Jespersen, O. (1927). *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (Vol. 2). Heidelberg: Winter; Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Jucker, A. H. (2000). English historical pragmatics: Problems of data and methodology. In G. Di Martino & M. Lima (Eds.), *English Diachronic Pragmatics* (pp. 17–55). Naples: CUEN.

Kroch, A., Santorini, B. & Delfs, L. (2004). See *Penn Parsed Corpora*, above.

Kroch, A. & Taylor, A. (2000). See *Penn Parsed Corpora*, above.

Kytö, M. & Walker, T. (2006)*. Guide to* A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760. Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia (Vol. 130). Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Lass, R. (1999). Phonology and morphology. In R. Lass (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language. Volume III: 1476–1776* (pp. 56–186). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moessner, L. (2012). Early Modern English: Standardization. In A. Bergs & L. J. Brinton (Eds.), *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook* (Vol. 1) (pp. 697–714). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Nevalainen, T. & Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (2003). *Historical Sociolinguistics: Language Change in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Longman.

Pyles, T. (1971). *The Origins and Development of the English Language.* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Raumolin-Brunberg, H. & Nevalainen, T. (2007). From *mine* to *my* and *thine* to *thy*: Loss of the nasal in the first and second person possessives. In U. Smit, S. Dollinger, J. Hüttner, G. Kaltenböck & U. Lutzky (Eds.), *Tracing English through Time: Explorations in Language Variation* (pp. 303–314). Vienna: Braunmüller.

Schendl, H. (1997). Morphological variation and change in Early Modern English: *My/mine, thy/thine*. In R. Hickey & S. Puppel (Eds.), *Language History and Linguistic Modelling* (pp. 179–191)*.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sweet, H. (1900). *A New English Grammar: Logical and Historical. Part I: Introduction, Phonology and Accidence*. (2nd ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Walker, T. (2007). Thou *and* You *in Early Modern English Dialogues: Trials, Depositions, and Drama Comedy*. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series (Vol. 158). Amsterdam/Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.