An investigation into the language and letters of Bess of Hardwick (c. 1527-1608)

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Abstract

The English language was in a state of transition during the Early Modern period, which is defined here as extending from 1500 to 1700. In particular, it is suspected that changes were taking place on the borderline between speech and writing. However, these changes have rarely been researched in a systematic way. This study investigates these changes with reference to the writing contained within a corpus of original manuscript letters from Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (known as Bess of Hardwick), c.1527 to 1608.

Manuscript letters are an excellent data source to use in order to investigate the changes taking place on the borderline between speech and writing during the Early Modern period because the writing contained within them has a different, possibly closer, relationship to speech than the writing contained within other kinds of text dating from the period. However, the use of manuscript letters as data sources is not straightforward because the notion of authorship is complex. In particular, letters can be holograph or scribal.

In order to address this authorship issue, this study marries techniques from the fields of palaeography and historical pragmatics. Following an introduction, it is divided into two analytical parts. Part 1 outlines how a specially-designed scribal profiling technique was used to identify Bess's holograph handwriting, and the handwriting of five of her scribes in a corpus of her manuscript letters. Part 2 outlines how four lexical features, namely AND, SO, FOR and BUT, were identified as salient discourse-organizational devices within the prose of Bess's holograph letters, before presenting four case studies that compare the discourse function of these four lexical features in the six hands identified in Part 1. Having identified how these features pattern in the letters, Part 2 compares the results of the case studies with previous studies, and draws conclusions about linguistic change in the period.

The study's original contribution to knowledge is therefore threefold. Firstly, it showcases a reliable, replicable scribal-profiling methodology that can be assessed and critiqued on its own terms. Secondly, it shows how it is possible to successfully combine a sensitivity to the complex nature of Early Modern English manuscript letters with effective qualitative analyses of the language contained within them. Thirdly, with the findings produced by the four case studies, the thesis offers significant and important contributions to the fields of historical linguistics, manuscript studies and literary scholarship. The study also has implications for the editing of Early Modern English letters, the study of women's history and letter-writing, and for biographical studies of Bess of Hardwick more specifically.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

AHRC - Arts and Humanities Research Council

CEEC - Corpus of Early English Correspondence

CED - Corpus of English Dialogues

EETS - Early English Text Society

EModE - Early Modern English

ETED - An Electronic Text Edition of Depositions 1560–1760

LALME - Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English

ME - Middle English

OE - Old English

OED - Oxford English Dictionary (Online)

ODNB - Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Online)

PDE - Present Day English

A note on letter transcripts

The transcriptions of Bess of Hardwick's letters used in this thesis were produced by the AHRC Letters of Bess of Hardwick Project, University of Glasgow. They are diplomatic transcripts that preserve the spelling, punctuation, lineation, deletions and word spacing of the original manuscripts. A transcription policy, as well as diplomatic and normalised views of these transcripts, are available at: *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence, c.1550-1608*, ed. by Alison Wiggins, Alan Bryson, Daniel Starza Smith, Anke Timmermann and Graham Williams, University of Glasgow, web development by Katherine Rogers, University of Sheffield Humanities Research Institute (April 2013), <http://www.bessofhardwick.org>.

When a whole letter is cited, the original lineation is preserved. When an excerpt is cited, the original lineation is not preserved.

The palaeographic analyses of the letters set out in Part 1 are based on examination of the original manuscripts (at the British Library, London and Lambeth Palace Library, London) or of high quality colour images (from Arundel Castle, West Sussex; Chatsworth House, Derbyshire: The Folger Library, Washington DC; Hatfield House, Herefordshire; Longleat House, Wiltshire; Magdalene College, Cambridge and The National Archives, London).

Individual letters are referred to in the thesis by the identification numbers assigned to them in *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: The Complete Correspondence, c.1550-1608*, ed. by Alison Wiggins et al. (April 2013). For example, the letter that was assigned the identification number 179 is referred to in the thesis as 'ID 179'.

The full archive reference for each letter, which lists archive, letter collection, volume and folio numbers, is included in Part 1. In addition to the full archive reference, the date (if known), place of composition (if known), recipient and content of each letter is also included in Part 1. For example, ID 107: Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys MS 2503, pp. 203-06. January 1569. Tutbury, Staffordshire. To Dudley. Letter conveying information regarding the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots.

Introduction

1. Research Objectives

This research project investigates the extent to which the written prose contained within a group of Early Modern English manuscript letters from Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (c.1527-1608) reflects the structure and cohesion of Present Day English speech. The surviving textual evidence suggests that significant changes were taking place on the speech/writing borderline within the English language during the Early Modern period, which is here defined as extending from 1500 to 1700. Whilst English written prose dating from this period is characterized by certain features that have been found to occur in Present Day English speech, such sentence-initial AND, it is also characterized by complex sentence structures, which came into English during the Early Modern period as a result of the influence of Latin.[1]

Early Modern English (hence EModE) written sentences have been described by scholars in relatively pejorative terms. Houston describes the prose of the period as being made up of 'incremental' sentences that constitute 'the very opposite of a classical period: there is no syntactic suspension and often the drift of thought meanders on with little regard for any logical relation to its point of departure' (1988:28). Görlach refers to 'the clumsiness and imperfect structure' (1991: 121) of the EModE sentence, while Robinson refers to the 'real English monster sentence' as 'a sixteenth-century phenomenon, caused by the unsuccessful grafting of Latin syntax on to English' (1998: 112).

The written prose in this transcript of ID 122, a 1578 holograph letter from Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (commonly known as Bess of Hardwick and henceforth referred to in this thesis as Bess) demonstrates what is described above.

Transcript of ID 122

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[1] See Görlach (1991: 96) and Lehto (2010). Lehto found that complexity is a common feature the National Legislation of the early modern period. She notes that coordination and subordination are frequently used, and that sixteenth century documents have an increasing tendency to favour subordination.

1 my good Lord I fynde my selfe so meche bouend to
2 your L[ordship] for all your honorabell fauores as I can
3 not but acknolege that I take a sengeuler comforte
4 theryn, and holde my selfe ryght hapey for
5 the great benyfytte of so fast a frend/ thynkeng[e]
6 yt my parte to desyre knolege yn what statt
7 of helthe your L[ordship] ys/ for whych respecte I thog
8 chefely thought good to sende and here by also
9 to aduertys that my Lo[rd] of Leycester be fore
10 my comynge to courte aponted one vary good
11 chamber w[i]t[h] some of other Letyll rome to be made
12 redy for me beynge parte of hys owne logynge
13 wereof I reste vary glade for that I hade rather
14 haue albeyett neuer so letyll a corner w[i]t[h] yn the
15 courte then greater easement forder of. har
16 magystye vouchsafed moust gracyous speche
17 and acseptance of my deuty, and as I haue alwaye
18 so I shall thyngke my selfe moust humbley bonde
19 trewly to honore sarue and prey for har magystye
20 wyhyle I leue. good my lo[rd] for that I hope shortely
21 to se you at courte I wyll now ceasse assurynge
22 I wysshe your L[ordship] and al your as to myselfe
23 al hapey welfare w[i]t[h] mouste harty comendacy[on]s
24 to your L[ordship] my good lady your wyffe and good
25 lady oxfort w[i]t[h] har letyll swette lady I end
26 recmond the xxiiij of october

your good L[ordships] moust assured E Shrouesbury

The written prose in this letter transcript is, like much EModE written prose, somewhat difficult for a Present Day silent reader to process. The Present Day silent reader will automatically look for clear visual markers of where sentences begin and end in a written piece of text. He or she will then use these markers to aid his or her comprehension of the text. However, there is no clear, regularized, visual signposting of sentence boundaries in the above letter transcript. It is therefore not entirely clear to the Present Day silent reader where the sentences in the transcript begin and end. For example, is 'thynkeng[e] yt my parte' on line 5 the start of a single sentence? If so, does this sentence end with the full stop following the word 'of' on line 15? Furthermore, if this is a single sentence, why is its beginning not marked with a capital letter, and why does it contain such a large number of subordinate clauses?

The first question that needs to be asked if one is interested in investigating the changes taking place on the speech/writing borderline during the EModE period is: what do we actually mean by the word 'sentence'? This thesis argues that we have an historically conditioned understanding of what an English 'sentence' actually is. A good way of demonstrating this is by briefly comparing how English sentences are understood and defined in the Present Day with how they were understood and defined during the Early Modern period.

The OED defines a PDE sentence as: 'A series of words in connected speech or writing, forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought; in popular use often, such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another'.[2] If this definition is unpacked, it can be seen that a PDE sentence is commonly understood to be unit of meaning in either speech or writing. However, although the word can refer to units of meaning in both the spoken and written modes, the fact that the definition states that 'in popular use often, such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another' suggests that the sentence is a form which is more associated with the written than the spoken mode in PDE. In other words, the word 'sentence' is broadly understood to refer to a graphological unit that is signalled to the reader with visual marking devices such as punctuation marks and capital letters.

In a strictly grammatical context, most modern day grammarians of English would agree that a PDE sentence can be defined as 'the verbal expression of a proposition, question, command, or request, containing normally a subject and a predicate (though either of these may be omitted by ellipsis)'[3]. Furthermore, in relation to Present Day written English, grammarians normally recognize three types of grammatical sentence; simple, compound and complex. A simple sentence is a sentence which contains only one clause. For example: John plays football for Liverpool. A compound sentence contains coordinated main clauses. For example: [Debbie bought the wine] and [Ben cooked the meal]. A complex sentence contains a main clause and

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[2] For the OED definition of 'sentence', please see
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/176037?rskey=cvHKMM&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid
[3] Please see the OED link above for this part of the definition, which is preceded by the words 'In Grammar'.

at least one subordinate clause. For example: Your dinner is cold because you were late. The subordinate clause in that sentence is: because you were late.[4]

However, during the Early Modern period, the word 'sentence' was much more associated with its Latin relative 'sententia', defined by the OED quite simply as 'a thought or reflection'[5]. Therefore, despite the fact that, as Lehto (2010) found, sixteenth century documents written in vernacular English have an increasing tendency to favour subordination, a 'sentence' was primarily understood to be a unit of meaning or sense, rather than a graphological or syntactic unit. Indeed, Robinson points out that during the Early Modern period, 'sentence is indeed meaning and a sentence is a unit of meaning, but not necessarily a syntactic one' (1998: 16).

The second question worth asking in relation to the changes that were taking place on the speech/writing borderline within English during the Early Modern period is: how do we get from EModE sentences and prose, to PDE sentences and prose? How does PDE written prose as we know it today arise? Culpeper and Kytö suggest that:

'before the mid-late seventeenth century, written communication in English was likely to have been aided by '(a) grammatical features (notably, clause boundaries), (b) a variety of punctuation marks, and (c) lexical features (notably, conjunctions). In other words, features similar to today's spoken communication are likely to have guided earlier written communication' (2010: 168).

However, Treip (1970: 49-50), Lennard (1995: 67), Robinson (1998: 33-34) and more recently Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 168) all suggest that at some point between 1650 and 1700, the sentence begins to be conceived as a unit that is primarily defined 'visually and syntactically' (Lennard 1995: 67), i.e. as a visual, graphological unit that exists on the page. Culpeper and Kytö empirically investigate how this change is manifested linguistically, focusing on the frequency and function of a specific lexical feature, clause-level AND, which was often used as an explicit marker of structure and cohesion in early English prose.

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[4] Examples taken from UCL's Internet Grammar of English: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/internet-grammar/frames/glossary.htm.
[5] For the OED definition of 'sententia', please see:
http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/176039?redirectedFrom=sententia&.

Culpeper and Kytö note that clause-level AND is 'the most frequent conjunction in the historical written texts' (2010: 168) contained within the CED, the data source for their research. However, there is a scholarly awareness that the incidence of clause-level AND has decreased in certain varieties of English since the Early Modern period. Culpeper and Kytö seek to provide an explanation for why this decrease took place. They suggest that developments in punctuation may have 'played a key role' (2010: 168) and put forward the hypothesis that:

'in terms of the frequency and function of clause-level AND, historical texts used to have a closer resemblance to modern speech than modern writing, before developments around the mid-late seventeenth century' (2010: 168).

They outline the preliminary research on words collocating with clause-level AND undertaken in order to test the hypothesis (cf. 2010: 169 - 170). This was quantitative analysis that involved the selection of five words that collocate immediately to the right of AND: THEN, THEREFORE, WHEN, THUS and BECAUSE in a range of texts over time.[6] Culpeper and Kytö calculate what proportion of these words collocate with clause-level AND. They suggest that the results show up 'a strong similarity between the historical texts – regardless of whether they were speech-related or not – and modern speech' (2010: 170). They therefore suggest that this preliminary research supports the hypothesis put forward.

The research presented in this thesis will engage with Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis regarding the speech-like nature of texts dating from before the mid-late seventeenth century (cf. 2010: 168). It will interrogate the accuracy of their hypothesis by asking: to what extent *does* EModE prose reflect the structure and cohesion of PDE speech? Like Culpeper and Kytö's research, the research presented in this thesis will focus on whether there are any particular lexical features functioning as markers of structure and cohesion in the prose of Bess's letters.

If one is seeking to ascertain the extent to which EModE prose reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech, it is sensible to focus on whether it contains the explicit

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[6] The data sources they searched were: the Science and History section of the Helsinki Corpus, the CED, the written section of the British National Corpus Sampler and the spoken section of the British National Corpus Sampler.

markers of structure and cohesion that are found in speech. These markers function as linkers between the different parts of a particular piece of discourse, whether it is spoken or written. Therefore, if one studies markers, one ends up discovering how the surrounding discourse is structured as a whole. Furthermore, there is a need for more research into linguistic features functioning as discourse markers in early English texts. The lack of an established and coherent research programme into the communicative functions of linguistic features in the history of English has been flagged as an issue by several scholars, notably Jucker (2002) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010).[7]

The research presented in this thesis will also engage with what Culpeper and Kytö state is the implication of their hypothesis regarding clause-level AND, namely that:

'as far as the use of AND is concerned, there has been a move away from oral style to visual or literate style, due to the evolving concept of the sentence and the role played by AND in relation to it' (2010: 167).

Culpeper and Kytö suggest this trend is a development 'in the opposite direction of the general pattern of drift towards more oral styles described by Biber and Finegan (1989; 1992)' (2010: 168). This thesis engages with the differing views of Culpeper and Kytö and Biber and Finegan regarding what both sets of researchers refer to as 'oral style'. It asks: Was there a move away from an oral style towards a more visual style in English due to the evolving concept of the sentence? If so, why do Culpeper and Kytö seem to find the opposite to Biber and Finegan?

The third and final question worth asking in relation to the changes that were taking place on the speech/writing borderline in English during the Early Modern period is: how did people within Early Modern England *view* the changes that were taking place in the English language between 1500 and 1700? Hope persuasively argues that regional varieties of English were not stigmatized during the early modern period,

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[7] Although cf. Enkvist (1972; 1987), Brinton (1990), Fleischmann (1990), Wårvik (1995; 2011), Blake (1992), Taavitsainen (1995), Fludernik (1995), Brinton (1996), Rissanen (1999), Lenker (2000), Blockley (2001), Jucker (2002), Fitzmaurice (2004), Dorgeloh (2004), Hiltunen (2006), Moore (2006), Jucker (2006), Mendez-Naya (2006), Meurman-Solin (2007), Lutzky (2008), Los and Kemenade (2009), Person (2009), Gehweiler (2010) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010).

because 'everyone in Early Modern Britain had a regionally marked accent, and there was no standard, or ideology of standardization, from which to find it remarkable that someone spoke differently' (2010: 122). In relation to regional variation at a phonological and morphological level, he states that region is 'nowhere relevant; social role and status are generated by profession' (2010: 110). He warns against the dangers of 'simply assuming that rural = lower class = stigmatized' (2010: 116).[8]

The research presented in this thesis questions whether Hope's argument in relation to variation at the phonological and morphological levels of language also applies to variation at the structural level. Were speech-like aspects of prose structure viewed as more colloquial, vulgar and lower class, and was the use of them stigmatized as a result? Furthermore, did people writing in English modify the extent to which their writing reflected the structure and cohesion of PDE speech according to situation and purpose?

Through the investigation of attitudes towards speech-like writing in Early Modern England, this thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the process of standardization in English. EModE was made up of a number of diffuse varieties. Nevalainen succinctly describes EModE as 'un-localisable in its written form, and lexically and stylistically enriched by foreign models, yet grammatically to a large extent unregulated by prescriptive forces' (2006: 42).[9] However, an ideology of standardization that emphasizes uniformity, purity, self-containment and importantly the concept of social prestige has had a strong influence on scholars who have previously worked on the history of English.[10] This has meant that the diffuse nature of EModE, and the process of standardization that English has gone through (and is still going through) has not always been accurately represented in English historical linguistics (cf. e.g. Milroy 2000).

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[8] For other research focused upon cultural conceptions of eloquence, correctness and prestige during the EModE period, cf e.g. Blank 1996, Barber 1997, Millar 2002 and Nevalainen 2006.
[9] Scholars who have written about standardization in English include Stein (1994), Taavitsainen, Melchers, Pahta (1999) and Rissanen (e.g. 2000).
[10] Cf. e.g. the traditional descriptive accounts of Sweet, collected in Henderson (1971) and Wyld (1936).

By looking at the extent to which the prose contained within a corpus of EModE letters from Bess of Hardwick reflects the (often variable structure) of PDE speech, and by adopting a process-based view of standardization based on Haugen (1972) and Milroy and Milroy (1999), this thesis aims to problematize previous narratives of language history that have emphasized uniformity, purity and prestige. In so doing, it will hopefully add to our collective understanding of both Early Modern English and the growth of Present Day English.

2. Why letters?

The investigation of linguistic change on the speech/writing borderline during the EModE period naturally leads us to EModE letters as data sources, because letters have a different, possibly closer relationship to speech than many other kinds of text. It has been noted by several scholars that correspondence is a useful data source for those interested in speech-related language. Biber and Finegan (1992) list correspondence as a 'speech-based genre', along with court records, sermons, and dramatic dialogue. Culpeper and Kytö state that the scholarly community largely considers EModE correspondence to be 'oral in nature' (2010: 16) and recognize that it has value for researchers interested in 'aspects of spokenness' (2010: 17) in written texts from earlier periods. Indeed, Palander-Collin notes that within historical pragmatics, the language of correspondence is still 'usually characterized as informal and closer to spoken language than the language of many other written genres' (2010: 658).[11]

Furthermore, Palander-Collin notes that correspondence is 'real communication between real people' (2009: 25). In addition to communicating information, it is a channel through which social relations are negotiated and maintained. Therefore, when one studies the language contained within letters, one has the opportunity to study 'features of interactive language use, in real communicative contexts, avoiding the pitfalls of fictive representations of conversation, for example' (2009: 27). Fictive representations of this nature are artificial in the sense that they are only representations of actual speech. They are also usually contained within literary sources such as play texts, in which the portrayal of speech is always potentially

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[11] The same observation is made by Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 16).

affected by factors such as characterization or the literary style of the writer in question. Unlike the language found within literary sources, the language contained with EModE correspondence is not polished in preparation for performance or publication. It is therefore closer to the language used in everyday Elizabethan and Jacobean life.

However, although various scholars have acknowledged that EModE correspondence has a different, possibly closer relationship to writing than many other forms of EModE writing, there has been very little research that has actually utilized EModE correspondence to look at the significant changes that were taking place on the speech/writing borderline during the Early Modern period in the way that this thesis does. For example, although Culpeper and Kytö are interested in the 'aspects of spokenness' (2010: 17) present in EModE, and recognise that correspondence has value for researchers interested in this topic, they did not include any correspondence in the CED. As a consequence, they do not make use of correspondence in their 2010 book *Early Modern English Dialogues*.

Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) do utilize EModE letters to investigate language change in English during the Early Modern period. However, their research is concerned with fourteen well-known morpho-syntactic changes that took place within English over the course of the Early Modern period, rather than with the changes taking place on the speech/writing borderline that affected the nature of EModE prose. Furthermore, the EModE letters that Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg use as data sources are taken from the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (or CEEC), which is made up of EModE letters taken from various printed editions.

As a result, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) use previously edited, printed letters as data sources for their historical linguistic research, rather than original, manuscript letters. This research using previously edited, printed letters is very valuable in its own right. However, as Dossena and Lass point out, relying 'on previously edited works, without checking data against manuscript, could seriously falsify the results obtained from the observation of linguistic traits that may have been manipulated by previous editors, in an attempt to obtain 'a good', or even 'the best'

reading' (2004: 9). Indeed, a number of scholars have called for more historical linguistic research that utilizes original manuscript sources.[12] This thesis responds to this call by using original, previously unedited manuscript letters as data sources for its linguistic study, thereby making a distinct and original contribution to knowledge.

3. Why Bess's letters?

Letters from Bess are excellent data source for the investigation of the changes taking place on the speech/writing borderline in the EModE period because they contain the language use of a woman. Prose letters written by women during the EModE period are of particular interest to scholars interested in the oral nature of EModE writing. Daybell notes that Early Modern women's letters 'exhibit many of the features associated with the spoken as opposed to the written word: colloquialisms, non-standard forms and erratic or phonetic spellings' (2005: 703). Furthermore, many modern and historical sociolinguistic studies have found women to be more linguistically sensitive and innovative than men. As Truelove notes, it has been suggested that 'women have been the innovators in linguistic changes throughout the history of the English language, adopting more quickly than men new forms that spread throughout colloquial spoken interaction (2001: 53).[13]

Bess's language is a particularly interesting subject for analysis for a scholar interested in the oral nature of EModE prose because of who Bess was as an individual.[14] Firstly, she was born around 1527 into the Hardwicks, a moderately prosperous lower gentry family from Derbyshire.[15] It is likely that Bess would have received the typical kind of education given to women born into the English gentry during the sixteenth century. This education included instruction in letter-writing, account keeping and needlework. Daybell notes that 'for most women, education ordinarily consisted of a diet of religious instruction, learning the skills of

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[12] Cf. e.g. Dossena and Lass (2004), Meurman-Solin (2007) and Jucker and Pahta (2011).
[13] See also Nevalainen (2002).
[14] The sources for the biographical details about Bess's life provided in this section are: the ODNB entry on Bess <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26925>, the biography of Durant (1999) and the biography of Lovell (2005).
[15] There is some dispute over the exact year of Bess's birth. Riden and Fowkes (2009: 18) claim that Bess was born in 1521 or in the early months of 1522. However, biographers of Bess including Durant (cf. e.g. 1999) and Lovell (cf. e.g. 2005), as well as the ODNB, claim that Bess was born around 1527. Furthermore, c.1527 is the date of birth that most historians are familiar with. For these reasons, c.1527 is taken to be Bess's date of birth in this thesis.

housewifery, (which could include needlework, dressing meat and keeping accounts), music and reading' (2005: 696).[16]

Most of the EModE women's letters that survive to the present day were written by women who were born into the nobility, such as Elizabeth I (1533 – 1603), Mildred Cecil (1526-1589) and Anne Bacon (c. 1528 – 1610). These high status women received the kind of humanist educations normally reserved for their male counterparts. For example, Mildred and Anne were both daughters of educator and humanist Sir Anthony Cooke, a man highly unusual in the attention he gave to the education of his five daughters. Unlike the vast majority of young Elizabethan women, Mildred and Anne read the early Christian writers and the works of contemporary protestant thinkers, were taught how to read and write Latin and Greek, and may have also received some training in Hebrew and modern languages.

However, it was highly unusual for Elizabethan women to receive humanist educations of this nature. Therefore, Bess's education, and her consequent language use, is likely to be much more representative of the daily language use of Elizabethan women from the gentry, mercantile and aristocratic social groups than the language use of noblewomen such as Elizabeth I. It is also possibly more representative of how EModE was used by men who belonged to these social groups.

Furthermore, scholars concerned with the nature of EModE have traditionally focused either on Alexander Gil's description of the 'general dialect' of Early Modern England (see for example Nevalainen 2006: 42), or the language use of accomplished scholars or writers such as Shakespeare (1564 – 1616) (cf. e.g. Blake 2002). However, the EModE found within Bess's manuscript letters is closer to the English used by ordinary people in their daily lives, people who were not playwrights or queens.[17] The study of Bess's language therefore provides a fresh perspective on how we currently understand and perceive EModE, bringing us slightly closer to what Cusack calls 'the language of the real-life people of the time' (1998: Preface vii).

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[16] Bowden argues that because most female education took place outside formal educational spaces in Early Modern England, many Early Modern women were self-taught (cf. Lunger Knoppers (ed.) 2009: 85-94).
[17] Cf. Cusack (1998).

Secondly, Bess was a socially-aspirant, socially mobile woman who rose through society over the course of her life. Although the Hardwicks were reasonably wealthy lower gentry family, (Bess's father John inherited a four hundred acre estate in and around Hardwick, Derbyshire from his father), Bess's early years were marked by hardship. This was mainly due to the fact that a significant portion of her father's land was seized by the crown after his death in 1528. Bess's first marriage, to Robert Barlow of Barlow, Derbyshire, took place on or before 28th May 1543. However, Barlow died shortly afterwards.

In 1547, Bess married her second husband, Sir William Cavendish, and became Elizabeth Cavendish. It has been suggested that Bess was a lady-in-waiting to Frances Grey, marchioness of Dorset at the time of her marriage to Sir William Cavendish, which would explain how she came to meet a social superior such as Cavendish, and why their marriage took place in the Grey family chapel at Bradgate Manor, Leicestershire.[18] Cavendish was well-connected, so Bess was now moving in aristocratic and royal circles.

Bess bore Cavendish eight children, six of whom survived into adulthood. The Cavendish's affiliation with Protestantism is evidenced by their selection of a number of prominent Protestants as godparents for their children, including the young Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey. In June 1549 Cavendish bought the estate of Chatsworth, and between 1549 and 1553 the Cavendish's built up their property portfolio. Much of this property was located within Derbyshire, the county of Bess's birth.

Cavendish died in 1557, owing £5237 to the crown. This left the widowed Bess in a very precarious financial position, and in 1558 she lobbied parliament in order to protest against the proposed bill for the queen's debtors. At some point after Cavendish's death and before Elizabeth I's accession, Bess married nobleman William St. Loe (c.1520-1565?) and became Lady Elizabeth St Loe. St. Loe came from an ancient noble family and was much more wealthy than Cavendish. Marriage to him improved Bess's finances and brought her into Queen Elizabeth's inner circle.

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[18] Cf. the ODNB entry on Bess:
  <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26925>.

It was during this time that she was appointed a gentlewoman of Elizabeth's privy chamber. This third marriage lasted until St. Loe's death, around 1565. Bess did not bear St. Loe any children. However, she did inherit the bulk of his estate.

On the 1st Nov 1567 Bess married George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (henceforth referred to as Shrewsbury), one of the richest and most powerful men in the north of England. In so doing, she became a Countess. Her full title became Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury. The union of Shrewsbury and Bess was further strengthened by the arranged marriages of four of their children. Shrewsbury's son Gilbert Talbot married Bess's daughter Mary, and Bess's eldest son Henry married Shrewsbury's daughter Grace Talbot. In 1568, Queen Elizabeth I designated Shrewsbury the keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots. Mary remained in the custody of the Shrewsburys from 1569 until 1584, during which time she was frequently moved between their various properties.

During this period, relations between Bess and Shrewsbury gradually deteriorated, and they separated in 1584, with Bess retiring to Chatsworth. Shrewsbury attempted to claim Chatsworth as his own under the terms of their marriage settlement at this time. However, following a legal battle that lasted three years, the courts awarded Bess both Chatsworth and a sizable income from her husband. Bess used some of this income to renovate Old Hardwick Hall, a project she started in 1587. When Shrewsbury died in 1590, Bess inherited one third of the disposable lands that Shrewsbury had owned at the time of their marriage. It was around this time that she began to build New Hardwick Hall, which was finally completed in 1599. Bess lived in this building from 1597 until her death in 1608. By the time of her death in 1608, Bess was one of the richest people in England.

The biographical details given above indicate that Bess was a remarkably socially aspirant and socially mobile woman. Sociolinguistic studies have found that socially-aspirant individuals often have a very high level of linguistic sensitivity.[19] Furthermore, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg state that 'more research is needed into the role of social aspirers' in the process of standardization in the history of

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[19] Cf. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 151-153) for an evaluation of the linguistic choices of social aspirers in Early Modern England.

English (2003: 153). Therefore, the fact that Bess is both a woman and socially-aspirant makes her doubly interesting from a linguistic perspective.

Another key reason why letters from Bess are excellent data source for the investigation of the changes taking place on the speech/writing borderline in English during the EModE period is that the surviving corpus of Bess's correspondence is unusually large and varied. The research presented in this thesis focuses specifically on the 88 letters from Bess in the corpus, which in its totality consists of over 245 manuscript letters, to and from over sixty correspondents.[20] Although other large bodies of letters to and from individual Elizabethan women do survive, it is still relatively unusual to have access to such a large corpus.

Furthermore, the corpus of Bess's correspondence is unusually varied. For example, whereas most of Anne Bacon's letters are holograph, date from the 1590s, and are to and from her own son, the surviving corpus of Bess's letters contains both holograph and scribal letters and spans a number of decades. The earliest letter we have dates from around 1548, when Bess is around twenty years of age, and the last dates from 1607, just before her death. In addition, Bess's correspondence network is wide; she sent letters to and received letters from a range of different correspondents, belonging to a variety of social ranks. Furthermore, her letters serve a range of different functions. They allow her to maintain her own kinship and patronage networks, undertake estate and household management, direct building projects, transact business, expedite legal disputes and intervene as an intermediary or patron in the suits of others.

From a research perspective, it can only be seen as advantageous that Bess's correspondence corpus is so large and varied. It is useful and potentially very illuminating to compare the language of Bess's holograph and scribal letters. The presence of so many different scribal hands in the group of 88 letters from Bess 'highlights the collaborative nature of the compositional process' (Daybell 2006a: 5). Furthermore, the breadth of social contacts and the range of different functions served by Bess's letters illustrate the highly pragmatic use of EModE correspondence. As

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[20] Among the 88 letters from Bess are four potential drafts, eight jointly sent, co-signed letters and six later scribal copies.

Daybell remarks, Bess's 'voluminous correspondence represents in microcosm the range of letters and letter-writing activities of other Tudor women letter-writers of the aristocracy, gentry, and mercantile groups' (2006a: 1).

4. Historical Discourse Analysis

Historical discourse analysis is the analytical approach adopted in this thesis. Historical discourse analysis is an application of discourse analysis to historical stages of a language. Although it is hard to define the scope of discourse analysis because it is utilized in a number of humanities and social science disciplines, within a linguistics context it is useful to understand discourse analysis as 'the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse' (Stubbs 1983: 1). Brinton elaborates on this definition, stating that discourse analysis is often concerned with 'the level above that of the individual sentence; with intersentential connections, with global rather than local features, and with those forms that serve to bind sentences (2001: 139). It therefore tends to be more concerned with aspects of text structure such as discourse markers or grounding than with what Brinton calls 'the more notional elements of text semantics, such as prepositions or conversational maxims' (2001: 139). Furthermore, discourse analysis tends to study naturally occurring discourse holistically, in relation to its social context(s).[21]

Historical discourse analysis involves the discourse-orientated study of a language at a particular stage in its development and is therefore an essentially synchronic, as opposed to diachronic approach. It involves the study of 'discourse forms, functions, or structures – that is, whatever is encompassed by discourse analysis in earlier periods of a language' (Brinton 2001: 139). Brinton relates historical discourse analysis to Jacobs and Jucker's 'form to function' versus 'function to form' methodological scheme (cf. Jacobs and Jucker 1995: 13) by suggesting that there are two possible steps within the approach; one 'mapping form to function (the explication of discourse functions of particular historical forms) and the other mapping function to form (the identification of historical forms which are exponents

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[21] The tendency of discourse analytic studies to study naturally occurring discourse in relation to its social context(s) means that they can be situated within a humanistic tradition that stretches back to the pioneering research of Sapir (cf. e.g. Mandelbaum 1949), Whorf (cf. e.g. Whorf and Carroll 1956) and Hymes (cf. e.g. 1974).

of particular discourse functions)' (Brinton 2001: 140). She suggests that the former is more in-keeping with historical discourse analysis.

Historical discourse analysis is one of the research trends present in historical pragmatics, which is a field at the intersection of pragmatics and historical linguistics concerned with how people used language in the past, and what this can this tell us about how and why language changes.[22] Although it may seem confusing to classify historical discourse analysis as a research trend within historical pragmatics, there are many overlaps between the fields, as they both aim to take the social context of language use into account and share a humanistic focus on individual language users and the linguistic choices that they make. Indeed, Brinton (2001: 139) points out that it is not always easy to distinguish discourse analysis from pragmatic study, whilst Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice note that the 'term *discourse* is often connected with *pragmatics*. Indeed, the terms are often used interchangeably' (2007: 14).

Brinton suggests that there are two other key research trends present within historical pragmatics: discourse-orientated historical linguistics and diachronically-orientated discourse analysis (cf. Brinton 2001). Both of these trends have a diachronic dimension, whereas, as noted above, historical discourse analysis is essentially synchronic. Brinton's 2001 scheme distinguishing between discourse-orientated historical linguistics, diachronically-orientated discourse analysis and historical discourse analysis is one of several schemes that have recently emerged within historical pragmatics in an attempt to classify research trends in the field. The other notable schemes are Jacobs and Jucker's diachronic pragmatics and pragmaphilology (1995) and Arnovick's micro and macro scheme (1999).[23] These schemes all share a clear distinction between diachronic and synchronic analysis.

There are three key reasons why historical discourse analysis has been adopted as an analytical approach in this thesis. The first key reason is that the analysis is concerned

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[22] Historical pragmatics is a relatively new, rapidly developing and diverse field, in which a variety of research approaches and methodologies are represented. Interesting recent work includes Palander-Collin, Nevala and Nurmi (2009), Jucker (2010), Culpeper and Kytö (2010), Culpeper (2011), Kytö, Grund and Walker (2011), and Pahta and Jucker (2011).
[23] Culpeper's conception of historical sociopragmatics is also relevant (cf. Culpeper 2010).

with how orality is manifested in the prose structure of Bess of Hardwick's letters.[24] Traditionally, historical linguists investigating the language contained within early English texts have relied on grammatical models orientated towards written language. The modern conception of written English grammar, which is conventionally divided into syntax and morphology (the latter subdivided again into lexical and inflectional morphology) has had an influence on scholarly approaches to and interpretations of EModE prose structure.[25] This traditional reliance on grammatical models of written English has not allowed much scope for a consideration of how orality is manifested at the level of sentence and above in EModE prose. It has also prevented a considered investigation of how this orality might co-exist with the more visual elements that were becoming increasingly prevalent within the prose of the EModE period.

Traditional accounts of EModE prose structure that are based on these models often encounter what Görlach describes in his chapter on EModE 'Syntax' as 'general problems of description' (1991: 95). Görlach states that his discussion of EModE syntax 'will be based on a model that is structuralistic in that syntactic units are identified and classified and the function of each within the higher unit is described' (1991: 97). He goes on to say that his model 'involves a hierarchy of levels in which the 'sentence' is particularly important (even though it is not always easy to determine what constitutes a sentence in EModE and to delimit it, separating it off from the surrounding paragraph)' (1991: 97-98). Görlach himself therefore identifies the problem with his application of a formalist, structuralistic model to this textual material; i.e., the textual material does not conform to the model.

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[24] Some scholars (e.g. Ong 1984, 2002, Tannen 1982) make a terminological distinction between 'orality and literacy'. Indeed, the word 'literacy' is often used as a synonym for written language, or writing itself. Cf. for example the title of Tannen's 1982 book, *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. However, the terminological distinction between orality and literacy is not adopted in this thesis. The distinction is not adopted because this thesis uses a discourse-analytic approach to investigate any oral features that may be present within the written prose contained within Bess's letters. It is very much focused on the written language within the letters, and the letters themselves. It is therefore not explicitly concerned with literacy, which is defined by the online third edition of the OED as 'the quality, condition, or state of being literate; the ability to read and write' (OED online, September 2011 edit). Although related to writing and written language, the term 'literacy' refers to the acquisition of the ability to read and write, and, by extension, the social, intellectual and literary effects that the acquisition of this ability can create.

[25] Traditional accounts of syntax in the history of English include Visser (1964 -1973), Strang (1970) and Fischer, Kemenade, Koopman and Wurff (2000). Blockley (2001) addresses the syntax in Old English poetry. For accounts of early modern English syntax specifically, see Rissanen (in Lass (ed.) 1999), Görlach (1991: 95 - 135), Raumolin-Brunberg (1991).

We must be careful not to impose our modern conceptions of language and grammar onto what was a very different linguistic culture. Anderson notes that while 'an analysis of Renaissance style founded on modern linguistic assumptions can be illuminating, it does not substitute for a more historical one. The most basic structures of meaning understood by one age are not translated into those understood by another without the elision of substantial differences' (1996: 2-3). Furthermore, Hope points out that although our experience of Early Modern society is 'necessarily textual', we 'need to beware that early modern society was neither fully 'textual', nor did it conceive itself to be so' (2010: 39).

A discourse-analytic approach to the prose contained within EModE texts allows the researcher to take into account any oral features that may be present within the prose. It also allows one to investigate the relationship between these oral features and more visual elements, such as punctuation and capitalization, that may be present within the prose. A number of scholars have recognized the value of a discourse-analytic, philological, data-driven approach to the writing contained within ME and EModE texts. For example, Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice (2007) suggest that:

'both form-to-function mapping and function to form assessments could profit from insights of multiple readings and a more open attitude to texts, taking into account the possibility of fuzzy sentence boundaries and different scopes of modification, the indeterminacy of direct and indirect quotations, and multiple voices in texts in a different way' (2007: 28).[26]

In relation to ME vernacular texts, Brinton notes that a number of studies have argued that:

'the primarily oral discourse of medieval texts shares some of the pragmatic features of contemporary discourse and that the tools of discourse analysis provide a fuller explication of the functions of these oral features than has been provided by traditional explanations' (1996: 6).

Furthermore, Fleischmann, who refers to herself as a 'linguistically orientated philologist' (1990: 23), states that many of the disconcerting properties of ME vernacular texts:

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[26] Cf. also Saenger (1982).

'can find more satisfying explanations if we first of all acknowledge the extent to which our texts structure information the way a spoken language does, and then proceed to the linguistic literature that explores the pragmatic underpinning of parallel phenomena in naturally occurring discourse' (1990: 23).[27]

Finally, in relation to the syntactic structure of witnesses' narratives from the sixteenth century, Wright argues that:

'analyses of present-day speech are very useful for elucidating Early Modern English syntax, and for enabling a stylistic determination of which parts of the narratives are closer or further removed from speech' (1995: 104).

The adoption of historical discourse analysis as the methodological approach of the thesis is the reason why the linguistic analysis presented within it is qualitative rather than quantitative. Due to the fact that the goal of discourse-analytic research is to understand the data being utilized, rather than to prove or disprove pre-formulated hypotheses, or create what Johnstone calls 'general predictive models' (1996: 24), discourse-analytic research tends to be characterized by a high degree of observational responsiveness. The methodological implication of the kind of observational responsiveness is that discourse-analytic research tends to be, to quote Johnstone, 'qualitative far more often than quantitative, particularistic rather than generalising' (1996: 23). Researchers who aim to thoroughly understand their data tend to employ close reading techniques in order to investigate 'relatively small amounts of data in relatively great detail' (1996: 23).[28]

The second key reason why historical discourse analysis has been adopted as the methodological approach of this thesis is that the research presented in this thesis is focused on letters, i.e. non-literary texts, rather than literary texts. It is concerned with what discourse-analytic researchers have sometimes referred to as 'naturally-occurring discourse'; i.e. real, practical communication, as opposed to artificial discourse conceived of (for example) by a literary writer or playwright. This is why

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[27] A linguistically-orientated philological approach might also be described as a discourse-orientated approach.
[28] Scholars who have called for more specifically qualitative research into EModE prose texts include Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice (2007: 30) and Dorgeloh (2004: 1778).

Brinton's historical discourse-analysis analysis has been chosen as an approach over Jacob and Jucker's pragmaphilology, although the two approaches are very similar.[29]

Although Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice point out that in a pragma-philological approach, both literary and non-literary texts are seen as 'communicative texts in their own right' (2007: 14), most pragma-philological research to date has tended to focus on literary source texts by canonical authors such as Chaucer and Shakespeare (cf. e.g. Busse and Busse (2010: 247 - 281) and Pakkala-Weckstrom (2010: 219 – 247). Furthermore, all of the pragma-philological studies focused on Chaucer's literary work that are reviewed by Pakkala-Weckstrom (2010) appear to belong to the Anglo-American tradition of pragmatics, as opposed to the Continental tradition that the research presented in this thesis belongs to.

The third key reason why historical discourse analysis has been adopted as an analytical approach is that the analysis presented in this thesis focuses on the language contained within the EModE letters of one individual: Bess of Hardwick. As Johnstone points out, discourse analysis is 'well suited to the study of the individual' (1996: 24).[30] By extension, it is also well-suited to the study of linguistic variation at the level of the individual speaker or writer. This more speaker (or writer) based approach to the study of language, and the processes involved in language change, is one that considers 'individual choice and individual voice' (Johnstone 1996: 188) and which therefore acknowledges the complex nature of language use.

It is increasingly recognized within historical pragmatics and historical sociolinguistics that it is important to acknowledge the complexity involved in language use. As a consequence, there have been calls for more research focused on the language use of individuals. For example, Raumolin-Brunberg, who was a pioneer of this kind of historical study (cf. her 1991 study of the noun phrase in sixteenth century English based on Sir Thomas More's writings) has recently conducted some

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[29] According to Jacobs and Jucker, the aim of 'pragmaphilology' is to describe 'the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and reception, and the goal(s) of the text' (Jucker 1995: 11).

[30] Cf. also Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, who write that the individual should be seen as the 'locus of his language' (1985: 116).

research into lifespan changes in the language of three Early Modern gentlemen (2009). She argues that:

'besides the progression of changes within groups and communities, the understanding of the diffusion of linguistic changes requires research on the behaviour of individuals. In the end, it is the speakers that change the language in their everyday choices between alternative ways of saying the same thing' (2009: 296).

There are a growing number of studies of individual language users across a broad range of fields within English language studies, including historical pragmatics, historical sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics and literary scholarship. An example of a collection of interesting research which can be said to belong to the subfield of historical sociolinguistics is Nurmi, Nevala and Palander-Collin (2009). This collection brings together papers that explore 'language variation as a means of identity and role construction in letters', 'questions of language change from the perspective of individuals' and the 'social contexts of language use' (2009: 6).

Examples of other linguistic studies based on the manuscript letters of a single person, other than Raumolin-Brunberg's 1991 study that has already been mentioned, have recently been gathered together in a collection which focuses on the communicative aspects of English manuscripts from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries (ed. Pahta, Jucker 2011). Stenroos and Makinen focus on three of Gruffuth ap Dauid ap Gruffuth's letters (2011: 83 - 101), Palander-Collin and Nevala focus on a selection of Nathaniel Bacon's letters (2011: 102 -117) and Fitzmaurice bases her study on George Stepney's letters (2011: 118 - 132).

5. Overview of the thesis

As pointed out in 'Research Objectives', this thesis investigates the linguistic changes that scholars suspect were taking place on the speech/writing borderline in English between 1500 and 1700. This naturally leads us to markers of structure and cohesion as our objects of investigation, and to EModE letters as data, since the writing contained within EModE letters is thought to have a different, possibly closer, relationship to speech than the writing contained within other kinds of texts from the period. Previous researchers have worked with letters collected in printed editions, but

we now need to move towards working with original, previously unedited manuscript letters from the period, so this is what this thesis does.

The 88 surviving manuscript letters from Bess of Hardwick look like an excellent data source because there is a relatively large number of them, and because they are from a socially mobile woman. However, if a researcher is using an individual's EModE manuscript letters as sources of his or her language use, it is essential that the researcher is able to identify confidently that individual's holograph handwriting within their letters. This first investigative step needs to be taken before any kind of linguistic analysis can begin.

Part 1 of the thesis outlines how this essential first step was carried out in relation to this group of 88 manuscript letters from Bess.[31] Following an introduction, it is split into two sections. The first section, 'EModE manuscript letters as sources of an individual's language use: data problems', unpacks the complexities of EModE manuscript letters as data sources, outlines three key data problems that are encountered when they are used as sources of one individual's language use. The second section, entitled 'EModE manuscript letters as sources of an individual's language use: analytical solutions', demonstrates that the solution to these data problems is to reconstruct, as far as it is possible to do so, the material context of EModE manuscript letters, as well as the context of their production. Specifically, the second section describes how a four stage scribal profiling analysis was used to identify Bess's holograph hand, and the hands of five of her scribes in a group of letters from Bess. It outlines the four logical stages of this analysis that can be replicated by other researchers wishing to confront the issue of the potential involvement of scribes in the composition of EModE manuscript letters.

Stage 1 of the analysis involves deciding which of the surviving letters from the individual in question to include in the initial data set. The initial data set is a study-specific term which refers to the group of letters that is broken down into separate categories at Stage 2 of the scribal profiling analysis. In relation to the group of 88 surviving letters from Bess, it was decided that the eight jointly sent, co-signed letters

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[31] In its totality the corpus of letters both to and from Bess consists of over 245 manuscript letters. However, only the letters from Bess have been analyzed for the purposes of this study.

and six later scribal copies of should be excluded from the initial data set. This meant that the initial data set included 74 of the 88 surviving letters from Bess.[32]

Stage 2 of the analysis involves breaking down the letters in the initial data set into separate categories in order to formulate a working hypothesis about the various scribal hands that are present within them. These categories are essentially descriptive. Their purpose is to help the researcher map the initial data set. They allow the researcher to see which hands are present in which letters, if there is more than one hand present in particular letters, and if there are any hands which are particularly prevalent in the initial data set as a whole. As a result of this categorization process, the researcher is able to get a better grip on the initial data set, and the various different hands that are present within it.[33]

Once the researcher has formulated this working hypothesis about the various scribal hands present in the initial data set of letters at Stage 2, Stage 3 of the analysis involves making a decision about which letters to include in the eventual data set. The eventual data set is another study-specific term which refers to the data set analysed in the scribal profiles that will be completed. For the purposes of this thesis it was decided that 59 of the 74 letters from Bess included in the initial data set should be included in the eventual data set.

Stage 3 then involves the completion of scribal profiles to test and refine the working hypothesis made at Stage 2. The six scribal profiles completed for the purposes of this thesis are presented in Part 1.[34]

Once the scribal profiles have been completed and groups of letters have been assigned to particular hands in the eventual data set, Stage 4 of the analysis can be carried out. Stage 4 involves the allocation of one of the hands identified in the eventual data set to the person who the letters are from. In the case of this group of letters, the individual in question is Bess. The hand of a scribe dubbed 'Scribe 1' was compared to the hand in which Bess's signature is written, and the hand in which a

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[32] Cf. Part 1, section 3.1.1.

[33] Cf. Part 1, section 3.1.2.
[34] Cf. Part 1, section 3.1.3.

number of her estate documents are written. As a result of this comparative work, Scribe 1 was identified as Bess and 17 of her holograph letters were isolated.[35]

Once this crucial first investigative step has been completed and Bess's holograph hand (and the hands of five of her scribes) have been identified, Part 2 of the thesis investigates the discourse function of four lexical features (namely AND, SO, FOR and BUT) in the letters of Bess. Following an introduction, Part 2 describes how AND, SO, FOR and BUT were identified as markers of structure and cohesion in the 17 holograph letters isolated in Part 1. Part 2 then presents four case studies that compare the discourse functions of these four lexical features in each of the six hands identified in Part 1. A comparison of the six scribal hands identified in Part 1 therefore sits at the heart of the linguistic analysis presented in Part 2.

In light of the comparative nature of the analysis presented in these four case studies, the number of scribal letters under consideration was reduced so that there was a roughly equivalent amount of holograph and scribal material under consideration. As noted above, 17 holograph letters were isolated as a result of the scribal profiling analysis carried out in Part 1. In order to analyse a roughly equivalent amount of scribal material, a sample of 17 letters from the eventual data set was used for the purposes of the four case studies presented in Part 2.[36] The data set used for the purposes of these four case studies therefore consists of 34 letters from Bess, 17 of which are holograph and 17 of which are scribal. Each of the five scribal hands are represented by either three or four letters in the sample of 17 scribal letters.

Through an investigation of the discourse function(s) of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in the prose of the six copyists, Case Studies 1 and 2 seek to gauge the extent to which the prose contained within Bess's EModE letters reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech. Case Study 1 seeks to establish the discourse function(s) of these four lexical features below the level of the sentence (i.e. at the level of word and phrase) in each of the six hands identified. In order to do this, it uses a linguistic questionnaire to investigate their proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech in the

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[35] Cf. Part 1, section 3.1.4.

[36] The word 'roughly' is used here because although there are an exactly equal amount of scribal and holograph letters under examination here, i.e. 17 of each, it is unavoidable that there will be slight differences in word counts.

prose of the six different copyists.[37] It is split into three sections: 'Methodology', 'Results', and 'Discussion of Results'.

Case Study 2 seeks to establish the discourse function of AND, SO, FOR and BUT at and above the level of the sentence in each of the six different hands identified. It does this by comparing the functions of these four features to how they function in PDE speech, using Schiffrin (1987) as a point of reference. Like Case Study 1, Case Study 2 is split into three sections: 'Methodology', 'Results', and 'Discussion of Results'. Once Case Studies 1 and 2 have identified how these features pattern in the letters, the 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 2 engages with previous studies and discusses what the results of these two case studies can tell us about the extent to which EModE prose reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech, and whether there was a move away from an oral style towards a more visual style in English.

With reference to the discourse function(s) of the four lexical features under investigation, Case Studies 3 and 4 investigate whether the contextual aspects of letter recipient and primary communicative function affect the extent to which the prose contained within individual letters reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech.[38] They do this in order to gauge whether people writing in English between 1500 and 1700 modified the extent to which their writing reflected the structure and cohesion of PDE speech according to situation and purpose. Both case studies are split into three sections: 'Methodology', 'Results' and 'Discussion of Results'. The 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 4 assesses the collective findings of Case Studies 3 and 4, engages with previous studies and draws conclusions about attitudes towards language use in Early Modern England and the process of standardization in English. The conclusion to the thesis outlines its key contributions to scholarship and possible directions for future research.

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[37] An Excel chart template of the questionnaire was created and applied to the letters. These charts are provided in Appendix 1 of the thesis. Tables presenting the raw frequencies of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in close proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing in each of the six hands are presented in Appendix 2.

[38] The term 'primary communicative function' refers to the primary purpose an EModE letter is aiming to achieve within a social context. It will be discussed in more detail in the 'Methodology' section of Case Study 4.

Part 1: Early Modern English Manuscript Letters as Evidence of one individual's language use: Data Problems and Solutions

1. Introduction to Part 1

It was established in the Introduction to the thesis that if we are to investigate linguistic change on the speech/writing borderline in the EModE period, we naturally need to look at EModE letters, because the language contained within EModE letters is thought to have a different, possibly closer, relationship to speech than the language contained within other kinds of text. It was also established in the Introduction that Bess of Hardwick's EModE manuscript letters appear to be an excellent data source for this exercise. This is due to the fact that the language contained within them is that of a socially mobile woman, and because the corpus of surviving correspondence from Bess is large and varied.

However, the use of Bess's EModE manuscript letters as a source of her language use is not straightforward, because the notion of authorship is complex. In particular, the surviving corpus of manuscript letters from Bess includes both holograph and scribal letters. Therefore, before Bess's EModE manuscript letters can be used as sources of her language use, it is necessary to identify Bess's holograph handwriting within her letters. This investigative step needs to be taken before any analysis of her language can begin. Part 1 outlines the data problems faced by any researcher using EModE manuscript letters as sources of a particular individual's language use, before demonstrating how Bess's holograph hand was identified in the surviving corpus of her letters.

2. EModE manuscript letters as sources of an individual's language use: data problems

2.1 Data problem 1

It is not enough to say that this thesis analyses the language found in 'letters from Bess of Hardwick', because in reality this category includes various kinds of documents that contain different states of language. It is therefore important to unpack

the category of 'letters' and acknowledge the different types of document it can include, before linguistic analysis can begin.

Firstly, there is the issue of the delivery status of individual documents. Some of the letters that survive were not sent and therefore were not delivered or received. There are four main indicators of whether or not a letter was sent: the archive and/or collection in which it is now kept, and the existence of an endorsement, the state of the letter packet and the existence of the sender's signature. If a particular letter is kept in an archive related to the addressee of that letter, is it likely that it was sent. For example, if a letter addressed to the Queen is now kept at Hatfield House in the Cecil Papers collection, it is very likely that the letter was sent and received by the Queen's secretary Cecil. If a particular letter is endorsed, it means it was likely to have been received by a scribe or some kind of clerk at the receiving end, because an endorsement is a kind of record of what the letter contains. Furthermore, if the seal on a letter packet is broken, and if a letter contains the signature of the sender, it is more likely that the letter was sent.

Letters that were not sent can exist either in completed form, draft form or as later copies. The category of 'draft form' is a problematic one, because it is not always possible to know if a particular letter is a draft. However, if it is likely that a letter was not sent and if it lacks an address, subscription or signature, it could be classed as a possible draft. Later copies of original Early Modern letters were often produced several hundred years after the originals were copied. There are six later scribal copies of letters known to be from Bess, for example. One of these is a seventeenth century copy and the other five are nineteenth century copies known to have been completed by antiquarian Nathanial Johnston.

2.2 Data problem 2

Secondly, there is the issue of the 'signer' of the letter, i.e. the person whose signature appears at the bottom of the document. The term 'signer' is used in this thesis instead of the more familiar term 'author', which is commonly used to refer to the originator of a text's content. The term 'author' is not used in this thesis because it has become rather problematic. In the twentieth century, philosophers such as Roland Barthes and

Michel Foucault questioned the very existence of the 'author'. In relation to letters, Foucault states that 'A private letter may well have a signer – it does not have an author' (1969: 244).

Foucault wrote that the author function is 'characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society' (1969: 244). He goes so far as to label the author 'an ideological product' (1969: 252). He disregards the old questions to do with originality and authenticity: 'Who really spoke? Is it really he and not someone else? And what part of his deepest self did he express in his discourse? Instead, it is Foucault's wish that we ask questions such as 'what are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself?' (1969: 253). Foucault is referring to literary as opposed to non-literary texts, but the thrust of his argument still stands in relation to the latter.

Indeed, his interrogation of the 'author' function has had an influence on research carried out on both literary and non-literary Early Modern textual material. As H.R. Woudhuysen writes: 'Few literary critics continue to believe in an entirely innocent 'I', and scholars looking at documents which are generally thought of as non-literary – recipes, journals, tracts, and even prayers – should perhaps bear that skeptical approach in mind' (2007: 26). Foucault's term 'signer' is therefore used in this thesis to refer to the person who could also be called the author, sender or correspondent, i.e. the originator of the message.

Another attribute of Early Modern manuscript letters that needs to be taken into consideration when working with them is that they can be co-signed. It was quite common for a husband and wife to co-sign a letter, for example. There can also be additional postscripts that are signed by one signer only. These additional postscripts are often in the holograph hand of the person that signs them. Furthermore, co-signed letters were often copied by a scribe. This undermines the reliability of the linguistic data, because the language in the letter could potentially be attributed to at least three people.

2.3 Data problem 3

Finally, there is the potential involvement of scribes in the compositional process to consider. A scribe, also known as an amanuensis or secretary, is a writer who copies a document for someone else. Anyone with a relatively high level of writing proficiency could act as a scribe, including family members and household servants, although towards the end of the EmodE period there was an increasing number of professional scribes. These professional scribes would potentially have had a degree of training in how to write a variety of scripts. A 'script' is the model which the scribe has in his mind's eye when he writes. The two main models of relevance for these letters are Secretary (an offshoot of the court hands of the beginning of the sixteenth century (early-late Tudor, Jacobean) and Italic (created in Italy c. 1400 and popular with English Humanists from the early sixteenth century on).

Furthermore, each scribe had their own unique 'hand'. A hand is a representation of a particular script that the writer actually puts down on the page.[39] A 'hand' will bear a generic resemblance to the writing of other scribes adopting the same script, but is also likely to bear the personal idiosyncrasies and distinguishing features of the individual writer's handwriting. There are various ways in which messages could have been transmitted to scribes. It was common for people to orally dictate messages verbatim to their scribes or secretaries. However, other potential methods of transmission include oral outlines or written notes detailing what the originator of the message wanted the written missive to contain. The potential involvement of scribes in the compositional process of an individual's letters is a major evidential issue that has to be addressed by any researcher who is using an individual's Early Modern manuscript letters as sources of their language use. In relation to Bess's letters for example, it is not enough to write about 'the letters of Bess of Hardwick'; it is essential to classify letters from Bess as holograph, scribal, or something in between.

However, before scribal elements can be identified and any potential scribal influence over grammatical and lexical choices can be taken into account, it is essential to unpack the concepts of 'scribal' and 'holograph'. Common consensus has it that a scribal letter is a letter copied by a scribe on behalf of the person who conceives of

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[39] Cf. Parkes (1980).

and signs the letter, whereas a holograph letter is one in which the body of the letter is copied by the person who conceives of and signs the letter.[40] However, it is not enough to say that the EModE manuscript letters from Bess are either 'scribal' or 'holograph', because the situation is more complex than that. A EModE manuscript letter can be scribal or holograph to different degrees. An EModE letter is made up of different parts, and each of these parts can be either scribal or holograph, and can be either present or not present.

The different parts of an EModE manuscript letter include: address, body, endorsement, margin, marginalia, postscript, signature, subscription and superscription. These different elements constitute the 'layout' of a letter, i.e. the way the text of a letter and accompanying features such as margins are physically arranged on the page. Each of these elements can be either scribal or holograph, and can either be present or not present. When it comes to the category of 'scribal letters' in particular, there are a number of possible variations. The address and body might be in one secretary scribal hand, while the subscription and signature might be a second, italic scribal hand, for example. Another possible combination might be that the address and body are in one italic scribal hand, whilst the subscription and signature are in the signer's holograph hand. The body, subscription and signature are relatively constant elements of Early Modern letters, whilst the presence of addresses, postscripts, superscriptions and endorsements is more variable. Superscriptions are sometimes written by the scribe who writes the body, although they are sometimes copied by the signer. Endorsements are usually added to a letter by a clerk or scribe at the receiving end, although some endorsements are added at a much later date, as part of the archival process. There can also be more than one endorsement. In this thesis, a letter is classed as 'scribal' if a minimum of its body has been written by a scribe. [41]

There is also the question of how many scribal hands there are in a single letter, and whether these hands are representations of the same script. Furthermore, there is a possibility that rather than there being two separate scribes writing two separate

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[40] Some scholars use the word 'autograph' rather than 'holograph', but 'holograph' is the term adopted in this thesis.
[41] Bess has a 'scribal profile' like her scribes, but in this instance 'scribal' refers to the fact that Bess is thought to have copied these letters in her own hand.

scripts, there is one scribe who copies the whole letter, but switches scripts in media res, as in ID 158 (see image below).

Figure 1 - Image of letter ID 158
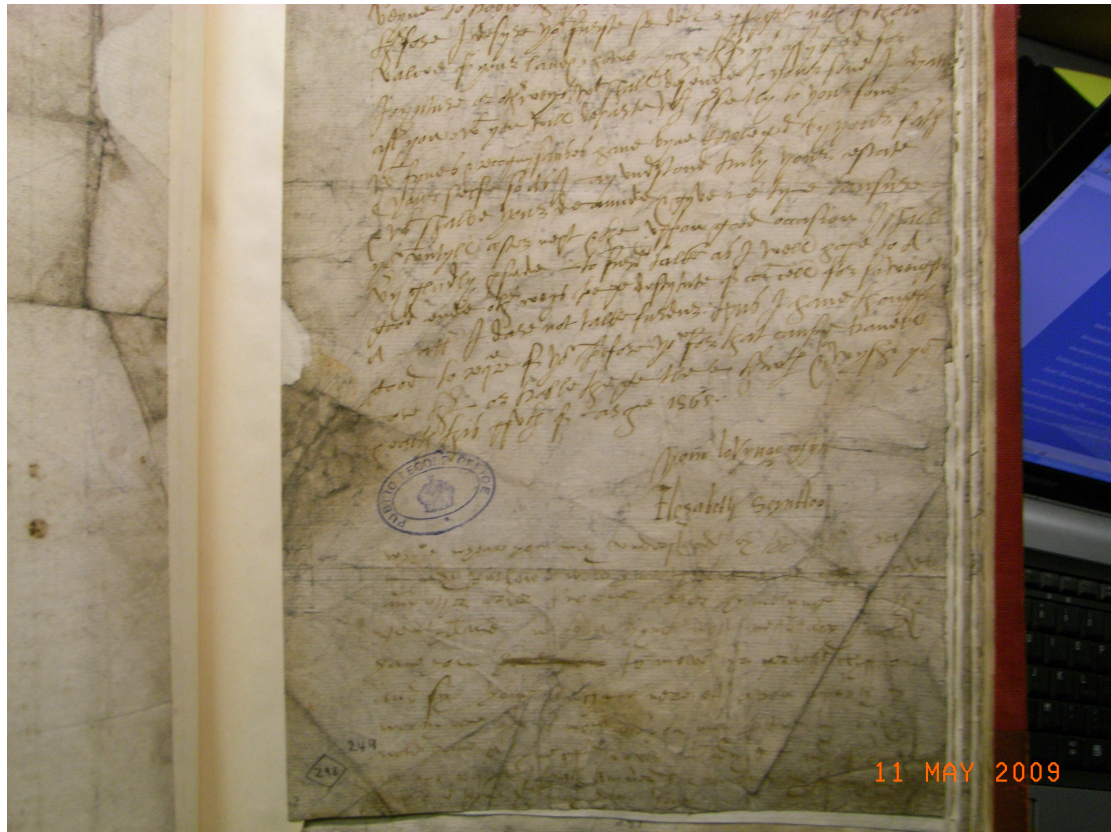
In this image of letter ID 158, it is possible to see that the scribe in question writes the body of the letter in a Secretary hand, before completing the subscription and signature in an Italic hand. Due to the fact that an Early Modern manuscript letter can be scribal or holograph to different degrees, it is important, whenever possible, to examine each text individually when undertaking qualitative, data-sensitive analyses of this kind.

Another evidential issue related to the use of scribes to copy letters is the difficulty of distinguishing between scribal and holograph writing, and of distinguishing between individual scribal hands, in the Bess of Hardwick letter corpus as well as more generally with EModE manuscripts. For example, Bess consistently writes in a

distinctive italic hand, but there are a number of letters in which a remarkably similar italic hand is used. The question of whether or not these letters were copied by Bess herself needs to be addressed in an empirically rigorous manner. Furthermore, a number of Bess's scribes employ Secretary script. As a result of this, their handwriting looks very similar, because they are all attempting to conform to the same ideal model of handwriting. Therefore, some kind of systematic method is needed to identify diagnostic palaeographic and linguistic features characteristic of individual *hands* that are manifestations of the same *script*.

3. EModE manuscript letters as sources of an individual's language use: analytical solutions

Now that Section 2 has outlined the data problems that are presented by EModE correspondence more generally, Section 3 will focus more particularly on the group of letters from Bess used for the purposes of linguistic analysis in this thesis. Although all three of the data problems outlined in Section 2 are of relevance to Bess's correspondence, it is the scribal issue outlined in 2.3 that is of particular salience. It is of particular salience because in order to develop a fuller and more nuanced appreciation of the linguistic data, it is important, as far as possible, to track the scribes Bess regularly used and to identify Bess's holograph handwriting. This process needs to be carried out before any linguistic analysis can begin. 3.1 will present the four stages involved in the identification of Bess's holograph handwriting.

3.1 Scribal profiling analysis: Stages 1 – 4

3.1.1 Stage 1

Stage 1 of the scribal profiling analysis involves deciding which letters to include in the initial data set.[42] Once this decision has been made it is possible to carry out Stage 2 of the analysis, i.e. the formulation of a hypothesis about the various hands found within these letters. As mentioned in the Introduction to the thesis, there are 88 letters from Bess in the corpus. This number is inclusive of four potential drafts, eight jointly

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[42] As noted in the overview of the thesis provided in the Introduction, the 'initial data set' is a study-specific term which refers to the group of letters from Bess that will be broken down into separate categories at Stage 2 of the scribal profiling analysis.

sent, co-signed letters and six later scribal copies.[43] Despite the relatively large number of different hands found within them, it was decided that the majority of these 88 letters from and signed by Bess would be included in the initial data set. It was decided that letters thought to be potential drafts rather than sent copies (namely ID 115, 143, 175 and 177) would be included in the initial data set.

However, the jointly sent, co-signed letters and the later copies were deliberately omitted at this stage. The eight jointly sent letters, co-signed by both Bess and her fourth husband Shrewsbury, were excluded because the bodies of these letters are all copied in either what was thought to be Shrewsbury's holograph hand or a scribal hand. These letters were: letter ID 115, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195 and 197. The six later scribal copies of letters known to be from Bess referred to in 2.1 were also omitted. After these omissions, 74 letters remained within the initial data set.

3.1.2 Stage 2

The second stage of the process involves splitting up the 74 letters contained within the initial data set into fifteen separate categories. In order to do this, it was necessary to become acquainted with all of the letters within the initial data set, as well as the various different scribal hands present within these letters. A close acquaintance with the 74 letters, and the various hands within them, was developed through a comprehensive examination and re-examination of the letters. Each letter within the initial data set was read and re-read several times. This was done until each letter, and each of the hands present within the initial data set as a whole, became relatively familiar and recognisable.

The letters were then split into fifteen separate categories. These categories, and the letters that belong to them (represented by their ID numbers), are presented below.

1) Address, body, subscription, signature, (postscript): in one italic hand.

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[43] Nb: ID 115 is both a potential draft and a jointly sent letter.

ID 099, 100, 101, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 116, 120, 122, 123, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 186, 198, 200, 233

2) Address, body, subscription: in one italic scribal hand, signature in another italic scribal hand.

ID 210

3) Address, body, subscription: in one italic scribal hand, signature in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 001, 124, 125, 126, 140, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 160, 163, 179, 180, 181, 185, 187, 204, 229, 230, 231, 234

4) Address, body: in one italic scribal hand, subscription and signature: in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 121, 202

5) Address, body: in one italic scribal hand, subscription in a second italic hand, signature in a third italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 128

6) Address, body, subscription: in one secretary scribal hand, signature in an italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 157, 102

7) Address, body, subscription: in one secretary scribal hand, signature and postscript in an italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 002

8) Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription: in a second italic scribal hand, signature in a third italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 127, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 139, 161

9) Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription and signature: in a second italic scribal hand.

ID 158

10) Address, body, postscript: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription: in a second italic scribal hand, signature in third italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 132

11) Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription and signature: in an italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 103, 104, 105, 144, 162

12) Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription, signature and postscript: in an italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 113

13) Body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription, signature and postscript: in an italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 114

14) Body in one italic scribal hand, no address, subscription or signature (therefore a possible draft)

ID 143, 176

15) Body in one italic scribal hand, no address, subscription or signature (therefore a possible draft), but with a postscript in an italic hand (which is possibly Bess's holograph hand).

ID 115, 175

A working hypothesis regarding the individual scribal hands across the initial data set was then formulated. The working hypothesis formulated at this stage of the analysis was that there six major scribes had contributed to the composition of the 74 letters in the initial data set. These 'major' scribes had copied down the bodies of at least two letters from Bess in the initial data set. It was further hypothesized that at least thirteen other, more minor scribes had contributed to the composition of the 74 letters in the initial data set. These minor scribes had only copied down the body a single letter from Bess. Some letters within the larger group of letters thought to have been copied by these minor scribes were placed into loose smaller groups, based on handwriting and the place of composition. Seven letters were written from Sheffield, and there were five possibly distinct scribal hands in this group. ID 144 and ID 162 appear to be in the same hand, as do ID 002 and 103. Three other letters from Sheffield, ID 104, 105 and 114, are in miscellaneous hands. So this group of minor scribes was loosely donned the Sheffield scribes. There are also three letters in different hands written from Chatsworth, so this group became known as the Chatsworth scribes.

3.1.3 Stage 3

Stage 3 of the scribal profiling analysis involves making a decision, based on the working hypothesis made in Stage 2, about which of the 74 letters included within the initial data set to include within the eventual data set.[44] It then involves the completion of the scribal profiles themselves. In the case of this corpus of letters from Bess of Hardwick, it was decided that the only hands that would be profiled would be the six 'major' scribal hands. This decision was made because it was considered

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[44] As noted in the overview of the thesis provided in the Introduction, the 'eventual data set' is a study-specific term which refers to the data set analysed in the scribal profiles completed.

desirable to have relatively large word counts for each writer. Therefore, the 15 letters whose bodies were thought to have been copied in 'minor' scribal hands were omitted from the eventual data set, including ID 144, 162, 002, 103, 104, 105 and 114. This left a total of 59 letters from Bess in the eventual data set.

So, the eventual data set contained 59 letters. It was hypothesized that 21 of these were copied by a scribe dubbed Scribe 1, and that the remaining 38 were copied in the five other 'major' scribal hands that had been provisionally identified at Stage 2. Each of these five 'major' scribal hands were assigned to individual scribes, who were labelled Scribe 2, Scribe 3, Scribe 4, Scribe 5 and Scribe 6. The total word counts for each of the writers, and the overall word count for the eventual data set as a whole are as follows:

Scribe 1: 5996 words.
Scribe 2: 7109 words.
Scribe 3: 661 words.
Scribe 4: 3498 words.
Scribe 5: 526 words.
Scribe 6: 1193 words.
Overall word count: 18983 words.

It is worth briefly mentioning the fact that some letters are included in more than one scribal profile, because more than one scribe is thought to have contributed to these particular letters. So, Scribe 1's profile includes 21 letters, Scribe 2's includes 20, Scribe 3's includes 13, Scribe 4's includes 8, Scribe 5's includes 3 and Scribe 6's also includes 3. However, due to the fact that it was hypothesized that Scribe 3 potentially contributed subscriptions to nine letters in which the address and body were thought to have been potentially copied by either Scribe 4 and Scribe 5, these nine letters are included in three different scribal profiles; i.e. the profiles of Scribe's 3, 4 and 5. This kind of overlap is not surprising when profiling an EModE letter corpus, because as noted in 2.3, it was common for more than one scribe to contribute to individual EModE letters.

The dates of some of the letters in the eventual data set are unknown. However, of the letters that are dated, the earliest one is ID 099, which dates from 1553. The latest is ID 179, which dates from 1607, the year before Bess's death in 1608. The range of topics and correspondents represented by the letters included in the eventual data set is various and wide ranging. For example, the recipients of the 21 letters provisionally thought to be copied by Scribe 1 come from across the social spectrum of Early Modern English society. They include monarchs (e.g. Queen Elizabeth I), aristocrats (e.g. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester), courtiers (e.g. Francis Walsingham, William Cecil, first baron Burghley), members of parliament (e.g. John Thynne), family members (e.g. George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, hence referred to as Shrewsbury) and servants (e.g. Francis Whitfield). These letters also cover a range of topics and perform a variety of communicative functions. For example, among the group of letters provisionally thought to be copied by Scribe 1 there are letters of petition, instruction, and reportage and letters of request, as well as letters of miscellaneous content.

After decisions have been made about which letters to include in the eventual data set, Stage 3 involves the production of scribal profiles in order to test and refine the hypotheses made at Stage 2. Before the six scribal profiles that were produced for the purposes of this study are presented below, it is worth providing some scholarly background to the use of scribal profiling. Over the past thirty years, the methodology of scribal profiling has been developed in particular by ME palaeographers such as Parkes and Doyle (1979) and dialectologists, such as A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and M. Benskin. The latter group of scholars created *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (1986), (hence LALME), with the assistance of M. Laing and K. Williamson. LALME is valuable for any researcher wishing to undertake scribal profiling work. This is because LALME takes into account the fact that texts were often transmitted orally to a scribe, who would then commit the dictated message to paper. Furthermore, LALME is concerned with the linguistic variation that this compositional process often produced in the texts under investigation, in a period before English became 'fixed' in accordance with prescribed educational norms.

Scribes were still used in this way between 1500 and 1700, and grammatical, lexical, orthographic and palaeographical variation was still widespread. However, less

research has been carried out on the linguistic influence of scribes on the language of written documents dating from 1500 -1700 (although cf. Hiltunen and Peikola 2007 and Doty 2007). As a result, the scribal profiling methodology pioneered by ME scholars has yet to be applied to much EModE textual material. The research presented in this thesis applies the techniques developed by these ME scholars to EModE epistolary texts. However, because the textual material and research aims of the ME scholars differed from mine, their methods had to be adapted to suit EModE letters, and the research questions that they engendered. For instance, LALME is a corpus of questionnaires that is concerned with ME literary texts. It aims to map the different scribal dialects across the texts it uses as source material. By contrast, the work presented in this thesis centres on EModE non-literary texts, and is not concerned with the question of variant scribal dialects.

Although the scribal profiling methodologies and typologies developed by scholars such as McIntosh have yet to be taken up by a large number of EModE scholars, there is an increasing amount of sensitivity towards the compositional complexities of the texts under investigation within the study of Early Modern language and literature as a whole.[45] From a literary perspective, H.R Woudhuysen, in a chapter on Queen Elizabeth I's handwriting, writes that the Queen's handwriting shows 'the considerable importance of bearing in mind or trying to reconstruct the circumstances under which a document of any kind was written' (2007: 25-26).

The scribal profiling method identifies consistencies and inconsistencies across the group of letters in each profile in order to single out any letters that are not by the scribe. The profiling template devised for the purposes of this thesis has both palaeographical and linguistic elements. The focus of this thesis is linguistic, yet as McIntosh points out, 'a scribe's graphological system is part of the system of his written language, whether or not it reflects something in his phonological habits as a speaker of the language' (1989: 35). Furthermore, it is methodologically constructive to view the palaeographic and linguistic choices of a particular scribe in the context of each other. The combination of both aspects of scribal practice can strengthen the case, built on palaeographical phenomena, that a group of letters is by the same

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[45] Cf e.g. Jucker and Pahta (2011).

scribe. There are times when palaeographical profiling alone is not enough. For example, many scribes could write in more than one kind of script, and could potentially write 'in quite dissimilar ways according to various conventions of formality and elaborateness' (McIntosh 1989: 37). If the same scribe writes different letters in different scripts, a spelling profile can highlight the linguistic similarities between two texts that are palaeographically dissimilar.

LALME was an initial point of reference when thinking about how to incorporate a linguistic element into the profile template. LALME employs a fixed spelling questionnaire, and although it was designed with a different objective in mind and had to be adapted to suit my data, it acted as a suitable point of departure. A spelling questionnaire was therefore included in the profile template devised for the purposes of this thesis. As regards the palaeographical element of the profile template, it was decided that the penmanship of the writer in question and the duct and of their hand should both be looked at in addition to letter forms, or as they are referred to in this thesis, graphemes. Horobin, who works on Late Middle English texts, emphasises that when undertaking scribal attribution, one should not overlook the duct of the hand. Through questioning Alan J. Fletcher's attribution of the copying of a manuscript known as Dublin, Trinity College MS 244 to professional London scribe Adam Pynkhurst, Horobin demonstrates why it is not just enough to focus on graphemes in a palaeographical profile. To quote, 'by basing his analysis on individual letter forms rather than on duct and aspect, Fletcher fails to notice the considerable disparity between the characteristics of Pynkhurst's hand and that of Trinity 244' (2009: 373).[46]

However, that is not to say that the category 'Graphemes' is not a vital part of the profile template. This section complements the 'Penmanship' and 'Duct' sections. Detailed observation of each scribe's allographs is a key way of identifying different scribal hands. It can be particularly useful when a relatively unstable hand is being profiled. For example, the duct and penmanship of Scribe 1's hand vary considerably. ID 200 and ID 099, two letters that are now, post analysis, thought to be by Scribe 1, appear to be in the same hand. However, their duct and penmanship differ. ID 200 has much thicker pen strokes compared to ID 099. However, by looking at the allographs

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[46] Cf. also Doyle and Parkes (1979: xxxv).

contained within ID 200 and ID 099, alongside other features such as spelling and punctuation, it was possible to identify the hand of Scribe 1. For example, Scribe 1's characteristic allographs, such as << *b* >>, were present in both letters.

The key word in the last sentence is 'characteristic'. It is the characteristic, or *distinctive* features of a hand that really help to distinguish it. As Horobin points out, 'The identification of scribes in more than one manuscript depends on a combination of certain distinctive palaeographical and linguistic factors' (2009: 379). In isolation, a particular palaeographical feature is not sufficiently diagnostic, but a combination of several features 'helps to identify the scribe's hand' (2009: 376). Thus my profile template is aimed at identifying the distinctive features of each scribal hand.

In addition to the allographs, the duct characteristic of the hand and the penmanship of the writer in question, the use of abbreviation, capitalization and punctuation is also assessed. These six parts constitute the palaeographical component of the profile. The spelling questionnaire is the sole linguistic component. Each profile therefore consists of seven core elements. These seven core elements are preceded contextual information about the letters included in the profile, namely a short, one line description of the scribal structure of each individual letter, as well as contextual information relating to place and date of composition, recipient and content of each letter. The completed scribal profiles are presented below.

Scribal Profiles

Scribal Profile

Scribe 1

Letters: 17

Address, body, subscription, signature, (postscript): in one italic hand:

ID 099, 101, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 120, 122, 123, 178, 182, 183, 184, 186, 198, 200

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 099: Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (82). 14 November 1553. London. To Francis Whitfield. Letter instructing Whitfield to look after things at Chatsworth until her aunt Marcella Linacre arrives, and to cause Bronshawe to look to things at Pentrich. Lists specific tasks for Whitfield to complete.

ID 101: Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (84). 20 October 1560? To Francis Whitfield. Letter containing instructions regarding the erection of the battlement at Chatsworth.

ID 107: Magdalene College, Pepys, MS 2503, pp. 203-0621. January 1569. Tutbury, Staffordshire. To Dudley. Letter conveying information regarding the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots.

ID 109: Longleat, Dudley Papers, DU/II/173. c. 1576-1581. Sheffield. To Dudley. Petitionary letter thanking Dudley for his efforts to find a match for her "dowter Lennox" (Elizabeth Cavendish) and asking him to continue in his efforts.

ID 110: Longleat, Dudley Papers, DU/II/313. 27 June, c. 1571 – 1588. To Dudley. Petitionary letter asking Dudley to 'desyre my vary fren[d] mayster Inlyo to presente vnto har magystye' and to send 'erneste laters' to the Prince of Orange for Henry Cavendish 'yn hys fauore'. The letter also acknowledges Dudley's favours and expresses regret that 'Gelberte for want of experyence hathe ofered hys conterey cokes to be overmat[c]hed'.

ID 111: Longleat, Thynne Papers, TH/VOL/III/9. March 1559/1560. To Sir John Thynne. Petitionary letter asking for Thynne's support because there is a bill against Bess in parliament, and 'yt passe yt wyll not only ondo me and my poore chyldern but a great nomber of hotheres'.

ID 112: Longleat, Thynne Papers, TH/VOL/III/11. 25 February 1558. London. To Sir John Thynne. Letter conveying further information about the bill against Bess in parliament. ID 112 informs Thynne that Bess has so far 'taken no hurte by the parlemante'.

ID 120: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 9/62, ff. 101-102. 17 March 1578. Sheffield. To Queen Elizabeth I. Petitionary letter thanking the Queen for her gracious goodness in granting to her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish the custody of her child and asking the Queen to remember the further suit of her lord and herself on behalf of their two children.

ID 122: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 10/70, ff. 125-126. 24 October 1578. Richmond Palace. To Burghley. Letter conveying information regarding Bess's accommodation at Court.

ID 123: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 10/77, ff. 137-138. 29 December 1578. Sheffield. To Walsingham. Letter conveying information about the general state and behaviour of Mary Queen of Scots.

ID 178: Lambeth, Talbot Papers, 3205, f. 58. 1570s. Chatsworth. To Shrewsbury. Letter regarding domestic requirements at Chatsworth.

ID 182: Lambeth, Talbot Papers, MS 3205, ff. 66r-67v. 1577. Chatsworth. To Shrewsbury. Letter regarding domestic and financial matters. Bess requests timber, iron, money to buy oxen and materials to make beer for her workmen. She also informs Shrewsbury of Gilbert's recovery from illness.

ID 183: Lambeth, Talbot Papers, MS 3205, ff. 68r-69v. 1577. To Shrewsbury. Letter regarding several domestic matters. Bess has heard that her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish, Lady Arabella Stuart and her daughter Grace Talbot, are likely to come here tomorrow and she thinkes it would be better if they did not, because of 'the ynfeccyone'.

ID 184: Lambeth, Talbot Papers, MS 3205, ff. 70r-71v. To Shrewsbury. Letter regarding several domestic matters. Requests Shrewsbury to send more bottles of 'secke' (sack).

ID 186: Lambeth, Talbot Papers, 3205, f. 73. Chelsea. To Shrewsbury. An affectionate, familial letter. Bess has longed to hear from Shrewsbury and now she longs for Monday when she hopes she may see him.

ID 198: Longleat, Thynne, MS 4, ff. 243-44v. 31 March. Chatsworth. To John Thynne. Polite letter informing Thynne that thanks to Master Hyde she will be able to deal more effectively with her tenants. Expresses a desire to see Thynne.

ID 200: Longleat, Thynne, MS 4, ff. 246-47v. 15 March. Chatsworth. To John Thynne. Letter regarding matters of 'no ymportance'. Bess's journey was tough, but she hopes to shortly recover her health. Thanks Thynne for the friendship he has shown her.

Abbreviations:

FORTHWITH: <fourthew^t>. 1 example – line 17 of ID 099.

HEREWITH: <herw^t>. 1 example - line 18 of ID 109.

LORD: <.L.>. 2 examples - line 6 of ID 107 and line 1 of ID 110. <Lo>. 3 examples - line 9 of ID 110, lines 9 and 20 of ID 122.

LORDSHIP: <L>. 6 examples. 5 examples in ID 122 (lines 2, 7, 22 and 24). 1 example in subscription of ID 107.

PRESERVATION: <pseruacyon>. 1 example – line 27 of ID 107.

PRESENT: <psent>. 1 example - line 30 of ID 107.

PERIL: <pell>. 1 example - line 17 of ID 123.

WHEREWITHAL: <werew^{t}all>. 1 example – line 1 of ID 200.

WITH: <w^t>. 21 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 111, line 17 of ID 183.

WITHOUT: <w^{t}out>. 3 examples - line 19 of ID 109, line 2 of ID 112 and line 2 of ID 200.

WITHSTANDING: <w^{t}standinge>. 2 examples – line 3 of ID 110 and line 9 of ID 120.

WITHIN: <w^{t}yn>. 3 examples - line 11 of ID 183, postscript of ID 182 and line 8 of ID 200.

WITHALL: <w^{t}all>. 2 examples – line 18 of ID 186, line 7 of ID 200.

Abbreviation Summary:

'With' is by far the most commonly abbreviated word in these letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1. As is evident from the list above, it is used in several different ways. Scribe 1 uses the 'with' abbreviation differently to how the other scribes use it, because Scribe 1 uses it in word medial and word final position, as well as on its own. So there is <w^{t}out>, <w^{t}yn> and <fourthew^t>, in addition to <w^t>.

Two abbreviations, <pseruacyon> for 'preservation' and <psent> for 'present', only occur in ID 107. What is interesting about these abbreviations is that they are features of secretary script, rather than italic. Abbreviating words that begin 'pre', 'per' and 'par' by replacing the 'pre', 'per' or 'par' with corresponding allographs of the grapheme <p> is common practice when writing secretary script. The use of this abbreviation in ID 107, a letter written in what is thought to be Scribe 1's *italic* hand, sees Scribe 1 incorporating an element of secretary script into his or her italic hand.

However, although Scribe 1 abbreviates 'pre' to <p>, he or she does not employ the corresponding *secretary* allograph of <p>, conventionally used to represent the omitted element. Instead, the scribe retains his or her characteristic *italic* allograph of <p>. This might suggest that although ID 107 is copied by Scribe 1 in his or her italic hand, Scribe 1 is possibly copying ID 107 with reference to an earlier draft of the same letter composed by another scribe. A similar abbreviation, of 'peril' to <pell>, also occurs on line 17 of ID 123. The difference is that in this instance Scribe 1 uses the correct secretary allograph of <p> to represent an omitted 'per': the tail of the <p> loops round and back over itself.

Scribe 1 uses macrons above various abbreviated words to signify missing <*u*>, <*m*>, <*n*> and <*e*>. These macrons appear relatively frequently; the letters that contain them are ID 107, 109, 183, 184 and 200. The use of a macron to replace <*u*> is unconventional and possibly suggests a lack of ease with abbreviation practice. Scribe 1 also has a tendency to use abbreviations when running out of space, e.g. line 7 of ID 107. This is not something the other major scribes tend to do.

Punctuation:

Forms

< . > - ID 099, 101, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 120, 123, 183,184, 186, 198, 200

< , > - ID 099, 109, 112, 120, 122, 178, 182, 183, 186

< ., > ID 178

< ; > - ID 183

<:> - ID 112, 183

< / > - ID 107, 110, 120, 122, 200

Punctuation Summary:

The punctus, which is usually medial (i.e. above the line), is the most commonly employed mark, followed by the comma. A single virgule suspensiva is used in five of the letters. The other three marks listed (punctus followed by a comma, colon and semi-colon), are infrequently used. Scribe 1's punctuation practice is erratic in several respects. Firstly, there is the variable amount of punctuation employed from letter to letter. Some letters, such as ID 109, contain a large amount of punctuation, whilst others, such as ID 120, only have a small amount. Finally, there are a few letters, such as ID 122, that achieve a balance, with just about the right amount of punctuation for a silent reader to process the letter with ease. Scribe 1's employment of particular punctuation marks is also erratic. Some letters will employ one particular mark repeatedly. This can be seen in ID 110, in which there are several single virgules. Whereas in others, such as ID 183, there are several different types of punctuation mark.[47]

Scribe 1 is not a habitual user of diacritics, but when diacritics are employed they are similar to this scribe's punctuses in appearance. See for example the two diacritic dots before and after the abbreviation <L> for 'Lord' on line 20 of ID 122. Pen rests, which are seemingly insignificant marks identical in appearance to both the diacritics just mentioned and the punctus, are relatively frequent in the letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1. However, there are some letters that contain more pen rests than others. In terms of overall punctuation practice, it is possible to say that there is

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[47] Case Study 2 (presented in Part 2) explores how this variable punctuation practice relates to the prose structure of the letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1.

variation both in the amount and type of punctuation employed throughout the letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1.

Capitalisation:

Scribe 1's capitalization practice is not particularly systematic or consistent. Scribe 1 does not consistently use majuscules in sentence-initial position. Although some of the proper nouns used in this set of letters are fronted by majuscule forms (see for example those in the image of ID 099 below: 'Jane', spelt 'Iane' with a majuscule <i> (line 29), and 'James', spelt 'Iames' with a majuscule <i> in the postscript), the use of majuscule forms in word-initial position for proper nouns is not a consistent practice. For example, James Crompe's first name is written with majuscule <j> in the postscript of ID 099, but his surname is fronted by miniscule <c>. Furthermore, Scribe 1 does not limit his or her capitalisation to proper nouns. There are some other words that feature majuscule forms in word-initial position. These words tend to begin with <l>, <c>, <i> and on occasion ('Gracyous' in ID 120), <g>. In ID 107 for example, Scribe 1 uses majuscule <i> for 'Instant' and in ID 111 he or she uses majuscule <c> for 'Chyldren'.

Overall, Scribe 1 will tend to capitalise a word if it has one of several particular graphemes (<l>, <c>, <i> and <g>) in word-initial position. Furthermore, Scribe 1 does not feel it necessary to capitalise the title 'master secretory' when addressing Sir Francis Walsingham in ID 123. This indicates that for Scribe 1 at least, it was not necessarily more polite to capitalise someone's title when writing to them.

Duct:

Scribe 1's hand is an italic hand that prototypically does not contain any secretary forms. However, there are three letters – ID 107, 109 and 123, where there are several abbreviations and graphemes more typical of secretary than italic script (see for example the secretary <s> in terminal position on line 20 of ID 107). The reason for these anomalies could be that, as posited earlier with reference to ID 107, Scribe 1 was copying out earlier scribal drafts of these three letters in his or her own hand.

The hand is large, distinctive, confident and legible. It is more of a functional than a stylish, calligraphic hand; this is exemplified by its lack of flourishes. It is cursive, free and slightly sloped. Long vertical strokes frequently appear curved if executed quickly, and Scribe 1's descenders are characteristically curved. There are few pen lifts, although initial <y>, <m>, <g>, and <f> are not joined up.

Scribe 1 has a very choppy, up and down movement, which comes through especially in the strokes they make to execute their minims. The bowls of Scribe 1's letters are notably rounded; their <c> graph demonstrates this well. Scribe 1's letters also exhibit a relatively high degree of splay; see <m>, <w>, <t> and <y> in particular. There is a minimal amount of lateral compression in this hand. The actual size of the handwriting varies slightly from letter to letter, but it is in general extremely large compared to other hands.

The size, slant and spread of Scribe 1's graphs do vary slightly from letter to letter. So, for size and spread, compare 1569's ID 107 to ID 110 or ID 178 (both dated to the 1570s). In addition, in some letters, such as ID 200, the writing appears slightly less slanted than in the others. Scribe 1's hand is not mechanical, but neither is it as effortlessly fluid. When you actually imitate it by going over the traces with your own pen, it becomes apparent that the hand is actually quite angular and spikey. Several of the letter shapes are not that stable, in the sense that Scribe 1 forms them in different ways. However overall, although there is evidence of various kinds of instability, but these do not detract from Scribe 1's ability to write well-written, legible letters. If looked at as a whole, the surviving body of Scribe 1's handwriting is strong.

Penmanship:

In some of these letters, such as ID 120, 122 and 123, there does not seem to be much of a distinction between thick and thin strokes, which suggests that there was not a constant pen angle employed. However in others, such as ID 198, 200 and 111, there does seem to be a distinction. This leads me to infer that Scribe 1 sometimes kept the pen angle constant when writing, but that this was not a consistent practice. He or she may also have used different types of pen nib on different occasions. Most of the surviving letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1 have a reasonably regular module,

although they were clearly not written using ruled lines. Occasionally, the amount of space between lines will vary within an individual letter; see for example ID 182. The lines will sometimes get closer together towards the end of a letter, or in the middle of the body of the text, as in ID 101. Characteristically, the lines are fairly straight.

The spacing of the words and letters is unstable. In some letters, such as ID 198, the words are very spaced out, whereas in others such as ID 107 they are very close together. The amount of space between this scribe's individual letters shapes also varies. In letters where the writing is larger and looser, there tends to be more space between the individual graphs, such as in ID 099, 183 and 110. However, the spacing between the individual letter shapes is never extreme. There is never an excessive amount of space, or so little that they become illegible.

Layout is consistent across this group of letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1; a top and left margin are always left. Scribe 1 writes in the margin in ID 182, 101 and 178, and there is a slanted margin in ID 107. In ID 120, a letter to the Queen, the signature is a fair distance below the subscription, in accordance with the current epistolary protocol associated with writing to a social superior. However, in the majority of these letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1, the subscription and signature are very close together, just below the main text. Of the seventeen letters that are copied entirely by Scribe 1, ten have insertions, fourteen have crossings out and five have marked evidence of blotting. Scribe 1's writing is consistently accurate, in the sense that he or she does not repeat words. The one exception to this rule is the repetition of the word 'not' on line 4 of ID 184.

Graphemes:

<b> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<b>* in Scribe 1's hand. The shape of Scribe 1's *<< b >>* is very distinctive. It has an exaggerated, curved approach stroke and flat bottom that is often also concave in appearance. Its lobe is spade-like, and there is often a gap between the lobe and the descender. This gap can sometimes be quite large, depending on the size of the letter shape. See the initial *<< b >>* of <bere> on line 16 of ID 099 (all following line numbers will refer to this letter, an image of which is below).

<y> There is one allograph of the grapheme <y> in Scribe 1's hand. The allograph has a long descender that slants heavily to the left and is made with one long stroke. The lobe and the descender are markedly angular rather than curved. See the initial << *y* >> of <you> on line 6.

<t> There is one allograph of the grapheme <t> in Scribe 1's hand. The shaft will occasionally go right through the headstroke, but more often it does not. See the initial << *t* >> of <take> on line 4. This allograph will sometimes resemble a splayed <v>, but usually the shaft is further up the headstroke. Sometimes there is a visible approach stroke; see for example the initial << *t* >> of <that> on line 53.

<c> There is one allograph of the grapheme <c> in Scribe 1's hand. This allograph is often noticeably large and very rounded, although this is not much in evidence in ID 099, the sample letter. Sometimes it is joined to the next grapheme in the word from the top; see <charcole> on line 20 or <cause> on line 45. However, usually if it is connected it will be so from the bottom; see the medial << *c* >> of <whyche> on line 12.

<s> There are two allographs of the grapheme <s> in Scribe 1's hand. Scribe 1's hand contains both a long and a short <s>, and there is some variation in the actual forms that the long and short <s>'s take in this hand. Sometimes, the long <s> is like an upside down walking stick. See the initial << *s* >> of <shalbe> on line 12. Sometimes this walking stick shape has hooks at either end, which can be more or less compressed. See the medial << *s* >> of <cause> on line 22. The short << *s* >> can be quite splayed or quite compact. See a more splayed example in the final << *s* >> of <smethes> on line 14. It can also be as large as a majuscule.

<i> There is one allograph of the grapheme <i> in this hand. This allograph is hooked at both ends (see majuscule <<*i* >> on line 39), although this feature can be more or less pronounced. This is not an especially stable allograph. It has a definite curve to it, but this is sometimes more exaggerated. For example, in ID 101, this letter shape has a very large approach stroke but the bottom hook is not really there, making it look like the bass clef symbol.

<w> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<w>* in this hand. It has rounded bowls that exhibit a fair degree of splay. Each minim is of the same height. See the initial << *w* >> of <waste> on line 40.

<g> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<g>* in this hand. Scribe 1's << *g* >> resembles a figure 8. This is also a not particularly stable allograph. Sometimes it is loose, sometimes it is tight, sometimes it is all joined up like an 8 – see for example the medial << *g* >> of 'shyllynges' on line 52, and sometimes it is less so. However, generally the lobe and the descender are in line; see the initial << *g* >> of <good> on line 20.

<d> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<d>* in this hand. The lobe of Scribe 1's << *d* >> is relatively fat, and the descender is consistently slanted. See the terminal << *d* >> of <and> on line 44.

<n> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<n>* in this hand. The minims are of the same height, as with Scribe 1's << w >>. The minims are thicker than the upstroke and Scribe 1's << *n* >> is arguably more angular than his or her << w >> or << m >>. See the final << *n* >> of <yn> on line 13.

<p> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<p>* in this hand. The allograph has a compressed curved approach stroke, leading downing into descender that tends to lean slightly to the left. This descender is occasionally looped (see initial << *p* >> of <ponde> on line 3 of the postscript in ID 099 below). The allograph is then completed by a rounded lobe that is sometimes compressed (see for example the initial << *p* >> of <preuye> on line 56 of ID 099 below) and sometimes more rounded (see the initial << *p* >> of <penteryge> on line 15 of ID 099 below). There is never a gap between the lobe and the descender.

<I>: There is one allograph of the majuscule *<I>* grapheme in this hand. The movement of the pen creates a single trace. The allograph is extremely curved, so that it almost looks like a backwards majuscule *<C>*. The descender is not crossed with a

horizontal line, as it is in Scribe 2's allograph the majuscule *<I>* grapheme. See the majuscule *<< I >>* on line 12 of ID 099 below.

Spelling Questionnaire:

Table 1 – Scribe 1 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORMS
1 ARBELLA	*arbell*. 1 example. Line 2 of postscript to ID 123.
2 ARTICLE	*artycle*. 1 example, elided with *th*. Line 12, ID 123.
3 BOTH	*bothe*. 2 examples - line 5 of ID 110 and line 14 of ID 101.
4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	*bonde*. 4 examples. E.g. line 10 of ID 109. *bownd*. 1 example - subscription of ID 112. *bonden*. 1 example. Line 9 of ID 123. *bowden*. 3 examples. E.g. subscription of ID 198.
5 CHATSWORTH	*chattysworth*. 3 examples. E.g. line 11 of ID 200 *chattysworthe*. 2 examples. Line 10 of ID 099 and line 8 of ID 198.
6 CHELSEA	*chelsey*. 1 example. Line 19 of ID 186.
7 COUNTRY	*conterey*. 2 examples. Both in ID 110, lines 9 and 10.
8 DAUGHTER	*dowter*. 4 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 109.

	dowtesr. 1 example – line 3 of ID 183. *dowteres*. 1 example – line 16 of ID 120.
9 DOUBT	*dowte*. 2 examples - line 5 of ID 123 and line 4 of ID 200.
10 FAVOUR	*fauor*. 1 example – line 2 of postscript of ID 110. *fauores*. 2 examples – line 2 of ID 122 and line 6 of ID 110.
11 FRIEND	*frend*. 1 example – line 1 of ID 123. *frende*. 11 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 200. *frendes*. 4 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 112. *fren^d^e*. 1 example. Line 26 of ID 123.
12 FRIENDSHIP	*frenchepe*. 2 examples - line 11 of ID 123 and line 14 of ID 200. *frenshep*. 1 example. Line 7 of ID 123.
13 FROM	*frome*. 16 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 183. *from*. 2 examples – line 1 of ID 110. *ffrom*. 1 example – line 30 of ID 107.
14 GOOD	*good*. 31 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 109.
15 GO	*goo*. 1 example. Line 1 of postscript to ID 107.

	go. 2 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 198.
16 HAVE	*haue*. 68 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 099.
	have. 1 example. Line 3 of ID 112.
17 HEART	*harte*. 3 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 182.
	hartes. 1 example – line 16 of ID 110.
	hart. 1 example – line 23 of ID 107.
18 HER	*har* – 17 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 123.
	hare – 3 examples, all in ID 099, e.g. line 30.
	hur. 2 examples - line 17 and line 24 of ID 123.
	her. 4 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 107.
19 IT	*yt*. 38 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 112.
	yett. 13 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 101.
	yet. 7 examples. E.g. line 6 of ID 200.
20 KNOW	*knowe*. 7 examples. E.g. line 10 of ID 182.
	knowyethe. 1 example – line 20 of ID 109.
21 LETTER	*leter*. 1 example - line 4 of ID 200.
	leters. 1 example – postscript of ID 182.
	latter. 2 examples - line 37 of ID 182 and

	line 3 of ID 186.
	latters. 3 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 200.
	later. 1 example - line 13 of ID 111.
	laters. 1 example – postscript of ID 110.
22 LITTLE	*letyll*. 8 examples. E.g. line 11 of ID 122.
	letyl. 1 example - line 4 fol. 67r of ID 182.
23 MAJESTY	*magystye*. 10 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 120.
	magystyes. 2 examples – subscription of ID 120, superscription of ID 123.
	mayestye. 3 examples, all in ID 107, e.g. line 12.
	maggystye. 1 example – postscript to ID 122.
24 MORE	*more*. 19 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 110.
	mo. 1 example - line 6 of ID 112.
25 ONE	*one*. 9 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 110.
26 PLEASURE	
27 RECEIVE	*receauyng*. 1 example – line 15 of ID 107.
	resauyed. 3 examples. E.g. penultimate line of ID 200.
28 SERVE	*sarue*. 1 example – line 19 of ID 122.

29 SERVICE	*sarues*. 2 examples – line 4 of ID 123 and line 7 of ID 184.
	saruese. 1 example, line 8 of ID 099.
	seruyse. 1 example - line 10 of ID 107.
30 SHALL	*shall*. 21 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 112.
	shal. 1 example. Line 44 of ID 099.
31 SHEFFIELD	*shefelde*. 6 examples. E.g. last line of ID 110.
32 SHORTLY	*shortely*. 2 examples. E.g. line 20 of ID 122.
33 SHOULD	*shulde*. 9 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 111.
	shuld. 1 example – line 22 of ID 107.
	sholde. 1 example - line 10 of ID 112.
34 SHREWSBURY	*Shrouesbury*. 16 examples. E.g. signature in ID 178.
35 SINCE	*synce*. 1 examples - line 20 of ID 123.
	synes. 1 example - line 4 of ID 200.
	sence. 3 examples. E.g. line 17 of ID 178.
36 SUBJECT	*subgett*. 2 examples - line 8 of ID 123 and subscription of ID 120.
37 SUFFER	*suffer*. 1 example - line 1 of ID 200.
38 TALBOT	*talbott*. 1 example - line 1 of ID 109.
39 THIS	*thys*. 20 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 111.
	this. 1 example – postscript of ID 123.
40 THOUGH	*thought*. 1 example - line 7 of ID 111.

	thoughte. 1 example – line 1 of ID 200. *tho*. 2 examples - line 7 of ID 182 and line 9 of ID 184.
41 WAS	*was*. 6 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 200. *wos*. 5 examples. E.g. line 6 of ID 186.
42 WHAT	*what*. 4 examples. E.g. line 17 of ID 111.
43 WHOLE	*wolle*. 2 examples – line 54 of ID 099, line 17 of ID 120. *wholle*. 1 example – line 11 of ID 186.
44 WOULD	*wolde*. 18 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 107. *wold*. 2 examples – line 16 of ID 123 and line 4 of ID 110. *wollde*. 1 example - line 13 of postscript of ID 182.

Spelling summary:

26 out of the 43 items present in the letter set, so over half of the items included in the questionnaire, have more than one form in Scribe 1's hand. This is a significant number, showing that the hand does exhibit a relatively high degree of orthographic variation. However, Scribe 1's spelling practice is relatively stable in the sense that there are generally only one or two forms of a particular item in her hand. Only eleven out of these forty-four items have more than two variant forms in this group of letters (this does not include plural forms). There are several diagnostic features of Scribe 1's spelling practice that can be gleaned from the questionnaire above. One is the use of <w> for <u>, in spellings such as <dowter> for item <daughter>, <bownd> for item

<bound> and <dowte> for item <doubt>. With <dowte>, Scribe 1 omits both the <u> and the silent <b>. The later is present in the conventional <doubt> spelling due to the word's Latinate etymology. This is an interesting feature of this scribe's spelling practice, because it shows that he or she prefers to spell in a more phonetic way. For example, according to the OED online's entry for the lemma <daughter>, <dowter> is the Northern English form of <doughter>. <Doughter> was a form of ME <do3ter>that was still being used in the sixteenth century. The modern spelling form of 'daughter' surfaced in the sixteenth century and is thought to be of Southern English origin.

Other characteristic features of Scribe 1's hand include <u> for <v> (see for example <fauor> for item <favour> and <haue> for item <have>), <y> for <i> (see for example <thys> for item <this>) and <e> for <i> (see <letyll> for <little> and <sence> for <since>). Double <tt> for single <t>, such as in the <chattysworth> form of item <chatsworth> and the <yett> form of item <it>, and <a> for <e>, (as in <har> for item <her> and <sarue> for <serve>) are also diagnostic features of Scribe 1's spelling. Other distinctive spelling variants that could not be included in the above set questionnaire include: <mouste> for item <must>, <oup> for item <up>, <onbende> for item <husband>, forms <faythfoul>, <faythfoull>, <faythfall> and <faythfull> for item <faithfull>, <howse> for item <house>, <onse> for item <once>, <shewder> for item <shoulder>, <vary> for item <very>, <dongorus> for item <dangerous>, <ynfettyone> for item <infection> and <yeldod> for item <yielded>.

Conclusion:

Scribe 1 is not systematic in his or her punctuation practice. Rather, there is variation in both the amount and type of punctuation employed across this set of letters. The same can be said of this scribe's capitalization practice, although he or she does tend to capitalise a word if it has one of several particular graphemes (<l>, <c>, <i> and <g>) in word-initial position. The hand that these letters are copied in is consistently large, distinctive, confident and legible, though not calligraphic. Most of these letters have a reasonably regular module, although they were clearly not written using ruled lines. The spacing of the words and graphemes that make them up is not consistently

stable, but there is never an excessive amount of space between them, nor is there so little that the writing becomes illegible.

The layout of the letters is consistent; a top and left margin are always left, and in the majority of the letters the subscription and signature are very close together, just below the main text. There are a larger number of palaeographical errors in this set of 17 letters than in any of the other sets thought to be by individual scribes. The majority of the letters have crossings out, and over half have insertions. This helps to distinguish these letters from those copied by the other major scribes. The spelling practice across these letters is relatively stable, although variant spelling forms are employed, more so for particular items such as <letter>.

These palaeographical and linguistic trends are corroborated by several distinctive features. Outstanding palaeographical features include the use of the <w^t> abbreviation of 'with' in word medial and word final position, and macrons above various abbreviated words to signify missing <u>, <m>, <n> and <e>. Several of Scribe 1's allographs are also very distinctive. For example, this scribe's << b >> allograph is notably idiosyncratic in comparison with the other scribes' allographs of the <b> grapheme. There are also several distinctive spelling features, such as <w> for <u>, in spellings such as <dowter> for item <daughter> and double <tt> for single <t>, such as in the form <yett>, for item <it>. In relation to content, there is no particular trend that unites this set of 17 letters, as they cover a wide range of issues, have a wide range of functions, and are addressed to a variety of different recipients. However, it is possible to say that Scribe 1 frequently copies letters addressed to a particular group of recipients, namely Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Shrewsbury and Sir John Thynne.

The group of 17 letters that are profiled here started out as a larger group of 21 letters. However, the reason why this group was reduced in number to 17 is that four letters from the original group, namely ID 177, 100, 116 and 233, did not contain the characteristic palaeographic and spelling features found in the other 17. It is therefore not feasible to claim that these four are copied by Scribe 1. The only one of these four letters to be subsequently attributed to another writer was ID 116, which, based on the palaeography and spelling found within it, was likely to have been copied by Scribe 2.

When viewed collectively, these 17 letters exhibit strikingly similar palaeographical and linguistic features. The consistency of these features across this group of letters provides convincing evidence that (a minimum of) each letter's body is written in Scribe 1's italic hand.

Below is an image of letter ID 099: Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (82).
Figure 2 - Image of letter ID 099: Folger, Cavendish-Talbot MSS, X.d.428 (82)

amonge I have spoken it your mayster
for the dytes or howses that you
wrote to me of and he ys content
that you shall take sowe for
your nesesyte the apointement
of newsance so that you take
herde as I will do cume no
farnese aboute this byldynge at
Chattysworthe I pray you take
well to alttewmpes at Chattysworthe
till my auntes comynge whiche
wherede I hope shalbe shortely
and yn the meane tyme cause
broushawe to loke to the puettes
and all other tewmpes at pentenpe
lete the brewar make bere for me
fourteat for my owne dryinkyng
and your mayster and so that I
have good store of yet for yf I laike
ether good bere or graycote or wode
I wyll blame nobody so meche
as I wyll do you cause the
flore yn my bede chambre to be
29

made vpon either in plaster daye or lyme
and all ye wyndowes were ye ol glaße
ys broken to be amended and all the
chimnleys to be made as close and
warme as ye maye. I here that
my syster Jane came not home thys
chrystmes that ys nedefaulle for have
to have amongeste you yf yet be trewe
you lacke great of honyste as well as
dyscresyon to deny have any tyme
that she lathe amynde to bynge
yn case as she lathe bene. I wolde
be lothe to have any stranger so vnysed
yn my howse and then assure your
selfe I came not to kepe yet to have my
syster o youselde. lyke as I wolde not have
have my superflenete or waste of any
tyme. so lyke wysse wolde I have have
to hyue that whyche ys nedefaulle for
and nessary at my comynge whome I
that knowe more and then I wyll thyke
as I shall have cause. I wolde have
you to gene ** to my mydwyffe frome
me and frome my love wythe and t

my syster more charge me and my love
as hereafter folowyt fyrste to the syndyke
chorge me tene shyllynges and fromo ...
... fyve shyllynges to ... more
fromo me fyve shyllynges and from
my love iij fyve pence ... so that you
fare wolle you profyte arye to them
twenty tere shyllynges and fore pence
make my syster Jane prefer of yet
and ... pave yet to them from ...
... yf you have woother mones take
so muche of the rente at ...
tyll my syster Jane ... I will ...
my douter somethynge at my ...
... ...
fayle to & all thynges done accordynge
I bede you fare well frome London
the xiiij of nouember

your mystrys
Elizabethe Carewbyth

... James rompe
... I have resauved
the ... gonde and ...
that he sente me ... these ...

Scribe 2

Letters: 21

Address, body, subscription: in one italic scribal hand, signature in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 116, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 179, 180, 181, 185, 187, 204, 229, 230, 231, 234

Address, body: in one italic scribal hand, subscription and signature in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 202

Body in one italic scribal hand, no address, subscription or signature (therefore a *possible* draft):

ID 143

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 116: Longleat House, Wiltshire, Talbot MS 2, fos. 267r-268v. 26 August 1583 or before. Westminster, Middlesex. To Shrewsbury. A response to an angry letter from Bess's fourth husband Shrewsbury. Asks him why she deserves to be separated from him.

ID 143: PRO, SP 12/93/19, fols. 102r-102v.1573. Place of composition and recipient unknown. 1573. Expresses Bess wishes for recipient to write a letter to her son, according to the purport that she dictates.

ID 145: PRO, SP 12/153/39, fols. 84r-84v. 6 May 1582. Sheffield. To Walsingham. Letter of petition desiring Walsingham to prefer her suit to the Queen for grant of the yearly pension of 400, formerly allowed to her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish and her infant daughter Arbella Stuart.

ID 148: PRO, SP 12/158/58, fols. 160-161v. 7 February 1583. Sheffield. To Walsingham. Desires Burghley's favour in the matter of the marriage between her nephew Mr. John Wingfield and the Countess of Kent, which has so displeased her Majesty.

ID 149: PRO, SP 12/170/6, fols. 10r-10v. March/April 1584. Place of composition unknown. To Walsingham. Requests that her sons may have licence to seek their livings in some other place, and care to be taken of their deer. For herself she hopes to find some friend for meat and drink, and so to end her life.
ID 150: PRO, SP 12/172/50, fols. 64r-65v. 2 August 1584. Hardwick. To Burghley. Complains of the hard usage of her husband Shrewsbury towards her. Requests Burghley to write to Shrewsbury on her behalf.

ID 152: PRO, SP 12/183/4, fols. 7r-8v. 6 October 1585. Wingfield. To Burghley. Bess was promised an end to the dispute with Shrewsbury, but her and her children have endured three years of wrong. She requests a final order on the matter.

ID 153: PRO, SP 12/185/1, fols. 1r-2v. 2 December 1585. To Walsingham. Beseeches Walsingham not to send Coppley down before the cause in controversy between her and Shrewsbury has been heard by him and the Lord Treasurer on both sides.

ID 156: PRO, SP 12/207/31, fols. 44r-45v. 6 October 1587. Wingfield. To Burghley. Thanks for his letter sent by her son, William Cavendish. Complains of the conduct of her husband Shrewsbury, who has not been down to her above three times. Complains that he has now withdrawn all his provisions, not suffering her also to have sufficient fine, contrary to the assurances made to her Majesty.

ID 159: PRO, SP 12/238/116, fols. 173r-174v. 11 April 1591. Wingfield. To Burghley. Complains of the unkind treatment of Shrewsbury. Knows not yet what he will do, but will signify things to his lordship as they fall out.

ID 179: LPL, MS 3205, fols. 59r-60v. 30 November 1607. Hardwick. To Mary Talbot. Asks after her health and desires to hear news of her family in London, especially 'little sweet Lord Maltravers'.

ID 180: LPL, MS 3205, fols. 62r-63v. 15 January 1601 or 1607. Hardwick. To Gilbert and Mary Talbot. She is sorry that Charles (Cavendish) is still ill and bids them encourage him to keep his diet. 'I shall thinke longe tyll I see you both'.

ID 181: LPL, MS 3205, fols. 64r-65v. Mid – late 1580s. Chelsea. To Mary Talbot. Bess begs to hear from Mary that night or she shall not sleep.

ID 185: LPL, MS 3205, fols. 72r-72v. 1580s. Chelsea. To Mary Talbot. Bess is glad to hear that Mary and her family are well and sends her blessings. She herself has been suffering aches and pains because of the damp weather.

ID 187: LPL, MS 3205, fols. 75r-76v. 28 February, 1597/8. Hardwick. To Gilbert and Mary Talbot. Bess hopes to hear from them to know that they are in health.

ID 202: Chatsworth, Devonshire MSS. 4 August 1585. Chatsworth. To Shrewsbury. A response to an angry letter from Shrewsbury.

ID 204: Chatsworth, Devonshire MSS. 24 November 1580? Chatsworth. To Cornwallis. Thanks him 'for the well fenyshing and parfecting of the books betwene my brother syr Thomas kytson and me' and asks him to continue his 'good meanes' so that everything can be finished in good time.

ID 229: Arundel Castle, No 111. 14 October 1585. Highgate. To Shrewsbury. Asks Shrewsbury to 'charge' her particularly so that she may know her faults. Defends herself against Shrewsbury's claim that her and her children are trying to overthrow

his house. Claims that his 'extreme dealing' has ruined her and proclaims her innocence.

ID 230: Arundel Castle, No 113. 13 June 1586. To Burghley. Informs Burghley of a 'noble man' who she thought would help her in 'the tyme of my nede' but has instead turned against her. She puts her whole trust in Burghley and hopes he will restore 'the opresed estate of me and myne'.

ID 231: Arundel Castle, No 123. 19 December 1590, Sheffield. To Burghley. Thanks Burghley for his help 'in my laste and greatest misfortune'. Also thanks him for his 'kynd letter' and his judgement within it regarding her late husband's disposition.

ID 234: Arundel Castle, No 124. 18 February 1590/1, Hardwick. To Mary Talbot. Asks her daughter to advise her husband Gilbert not to hinder the bringing to judgement of Sir John Berrone or 'other ways countenance or befrende s[i]r Iohn Berrone or hys followards therin'.

Abbreviations:

LADY: <la:>. 3 examples - lines 5 and 6 of ID 181.

LORD: <lo:>. 5 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 156.

LORDSHIP: <lo:>. 18 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 152. <lop:> 18 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 159.

MAJESTY: <ma^{ty}:>. 18 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 148, <ma^{ty}>. 8 examples, all in ID 145, e.g. line 11 (this letter also contains 2 examples of the <ma^{ty}:> form, on lines 32 and 35), <mag^{ty}> - 9 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 202.

MASTER: <m^r>. 17 examples. E.g. line 3 and 6 of ID 152.

NOTWITHSTANDING: <notwthstanding>. 1 example – line 8 of ID 116.

SIR: <S^r>. 4 examples. E.g. line 24 of ID 149.

WHICH: <w^{ch}>. 36 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 187.

WITH: <wth>. 62 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 152.

WITHALL: <wthall>. 1 example – line 6 of ID 159.

WITHDRAW: <wthdrawe>. 3 examples. E.g. line 17 of ID 156.

WITHDRAWNE: <wthdrawne>. 1 example – line 35 of ID 229.

WITHDREW: <wthdrew>. 1 example - line 26 of ID 150.

WITHIN: <wthin>. 2 examples – line 14 of ID 150 and line13 of ID 229.

WITHOUT: <wthout>. 12 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 159.

YOUR: <you>. 2 examples – line 1 and 27 of ID 156.

Abbreviation Summary:

WITH is the most abbreviated word in this set of 18 letters. It is also used in medial
position, although not in final position, as in Bess's <fourthew^t> for FORTHWITH.
There are no abbreviated versions of words beginning 'pre', 'per' and 'par', as there
are in the holograph ID 107 and 109. This scribe tends to include a colon directly after
his abbreviations of LADY, LORD, LORDSHIP and in most instances of
MAGESTY. There are a small number of words, namely LADY, LORD,
LORDSHIP, MAGESTY, MASTER and WITH, that are consistently abbreviated
when they appear. The majority of these words are titles. Macrons are used in place of
the second <m> when there is a double <m> in medial position within a word; see for
example the abbreviated form <comend> for COMMEND on the penultimate line of
ID 145's body. On line 24 of ID 159, a macron is used in place of the missing <n> in
THOUSAND.

Punctuation:

< , > **-** ID 116, 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 180, 181, 185, 187, 202, 204, 299, 230, 231, 234

< ; > **-** ID 143, 145, 150, 152, 153, 159, 179, 180, 181, 185, 187, 229, 230, 231, 234

< ;, > **-** ID 185

< ; / > - ID 143, 150, 187, 230

< . > **-** ID 116, 145, 148, 150, 180, 187, 202, 229, 234

< ./ > **-** ID 116, 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 156, 179, 180, 185, 187, 202, 229, 230, 231, 234

< .// > - ID 116, 150, 153, 180

< ./// > - ID 116

< / > **-** ID 181, 185

< // > **-** ID 159, 187

< /// > **-** ID 185

< ( ) > - ID 145, 150, 229, 231

Punctuation Summary:

The punctuation practice across this hypothetical set of scribal letters is relatively varied. Some letters, such as ID 152, have a lot of punctuation, whilst others, such as ID 148, 149 and ID 204 have relatively little. In the letters that contain a lot of punctuation, the punctuation is stable and controlled. Commas and semi-colons are

consistent features of the hand, although commas do not appear in ID 179, and ID 156 does not contain any semi-colons. The commas in both these marks tend to be long and sweeping in appearance. A punctus followed by a virgula suspensiva (./) is also present in the majority of these letters and could therefore be classed as a distinctive feature of this scribe's punctuation practice. The punctus tends to hover well above the base of the line and the combination of punctus and virgula suspensiva tends to be followed by a noticeably large punctuation gap; see for example line 23 of ID 152 below. Indeed, medial punctus's, hovering above the line, are common across these letters. However, these punctus's are usually used in combination with other punctuation marks. There are occasional examples of solo punctus's and solo virgula suspensivas, but they are rare. As has been noted in the Abbreviation section of the profile, the scribe tends to include a colon directly after certain abbreviations, namely LADY, LORD/LORDSHIP and most instance of MAGESTY.

Capitalisation:

There is relatively little capitalisation within these 22 letters. The scribe tends to capitalise titles, such as 'Secretary' on line 3 of ID 152, in addition to proper nouns, although this is not a totally consistent practice. For example, the names listed in ID 181 are not capitalised. The scribe will also occasionally capitalise common nouns starting with initial <c>, <i> or <j>; examples are 'Care' on line 4 of ID 156, 'Ientylman' on line 10 of ID 148 and <Judge> on line 13 of ID 230. As a grapheme, initial <l> looks like a majuscule, because it has a flat bottom. However, this is just the shape of the allograph, rather than evidence of capitalisation.

Duct:

This scribe is constantly lifting his pen from the paper in order to form individual allographs. Therefore, although it is more of a 'free' italic hand than a 'formal' or 'set' one (see Fairbank and Wolpe, 1960: 37-8), it is not a cursive hand. This differentiates it from the hand of Scribe 1, which is cursive. The hand is slightly sloped. However, due to the large number of pen lifts, I would argue that the sloping is due to angle of the page on the desk rather than the rapidity of the writing. The traces of the scribe are careful but assured. There is not 'the delicacy of touch, of

finger on the quill' (1960: 41). Rather, the strokes produced by this scribe's traces are confident and deliberate. This confidence is embodied within the scribe's descenders. They are markedly long and substantial, and properly finished, rather than slight and diaphanous.

The bowls of letter shapes such as *<d>*, *<o>*, *<a>* and *<g>* are more angular than rounded. There is very little splay evident in the strokes. Instead, there is a lateral compression of the letters so that, for example, the letter *<o>* is often almost reduced to a single minim. See for example the *<o>* in *hope*, line 15 of ID 152. This can also be seen in the italic hand of Lady Grace Cavendish, Bess of Hardwick's daughter in law. See Plate 19 of *English Handwriting: 1400 – 1650* by Preston and Yeandle, p.56-7 for an example. The profiled scribe's writing is usually of a medium size, but it does occasionally increase in size. In ID 156 for example, the handwriting gets larger towards the end of the letter. In ID 179, 181 and 185, the size of the handwriting is relatively large compared to the rest of the letters in this hand.

Finally, a comment on the overall equilibrium of the hand. The configuration is of a relatively high standard across the letters that this scribe wrote, i.e. the traces are well co-ordinated throughout the form of each individual letter. The rhythms of the scribe's personal ductus are regular and stable, lending the hand a fluid aspect. The hand is functional, neat, consistent and legible.

Penmanship:

In general, this scribe writes with accuracy and the letters contain few insertions, crossings out or blotting. The ratio of nib-width to minim height determines the boldness of a particular writer's strokes (see Parkes 2008: 153). In the case of this scribal hand, there is a ratio of six nib-width's to one minim, the length of which is approximately half that of a descender. This ratio results in relatively bold strokes.

The pen angle seems to have been kept constant when writing. This is shown by the characteristic variation in line thickness and consistency between letters that a constant pen angle will provide. Characteristically, this scribe will leave a small

amount of space between the letters that go to make up a word, although the amount of space left varies slightly from letter to letter.

There is always a fairly generous amount of space left between individual words in these letters, although there is some variation across the set of 18 letters. For example, there is significantly more space between words in ID 179, than there is in ID 153. The module of the writing is consistently measured and regular, which suggests that the scribe was either writing on a ruled line or writing between ruled lines. The scribe only deviates from this regular module on occasion. For example, the last lines of the first page of ID 156 exhibit a slightly less regular module.

Finally, a short word on the layout of the handwriting on the page. If a letter is more than a page long, the scribe will cover the whole of the first page with handwriting. A top and left margin are always left. Sometimes, for example in ID 152, 156 and 159, the subscription and signature are at a measured, equal distance from each other and the letter. Whereas in other letters, such as ID 153, 179, 181 and 185, the subscription and signature are relatively close both to each other and to the letter. These are the two main patterns of layout in these letters. There is a symbol below the signature in ID 179, 180, 181 and 185.

Graphemes:

<g> There is one allograph of the <g> grapheme in this hand. This allograph has a rounded and circular lobe and a pronounced, backward-curving descender, which swoops down before looping around to the right. See for example the initial << g >> <goodness> on line 2 of ID 152 below.

<I> There is one allograph of the majuscule <I> grapheme in this hand. It has a long, curved approach stroke and a long descender that makes a shallow curve around to the left. The key feature of this allograph is that the descender is crossed with a small, horizontal line. See for example the majuscule << I >> on line 13 of ID 152 below.

<p> There is one allograph of the <p> grapheme in this hand. It consists of a small, straight approach stroke that leads up to a straight descender. The lobe of the

allograph is often strikingly angular, as in the initial <p> of <prodecessors> on line 12 of ID 148, although in some letters, such as ID 152, the lobe is slightly more rounded. The distinctive feature of this allograph is the space between the top of the lobe and the descender; they are rarely joined together. See for example the initial << *p* >> of <promyssed> on line 22 of ID 152, or the medial << *p* >>s of <happye>, on line 30 of ID 152.

<h> There is one allograph of the <h> grapheme. The downward ascender is made with a curved stroke. It is sometimes hooked at the top – see for example the second <had> on line 9 of ID 159. The bowl of the << *h* >> allograph is consistently angular; it resembles an upside-down <v>. See for example <her> on line 2 of ID 152 below. There is often a diacritic mark above the allograph.

<k> There is one allograph of the <k> grapheme. The ascenders of Scribe 2's << *h* >> and << *k* >> are made with a corresponding curved stroke. The narrow lobe is joined onto the kicking limb, at the end of which the pen lifts before it forms the next letter. See for example <make> on line 3 of ID 152 below.

<d> There is one allograph of the <d> grapheme. The lobe of the allograph is pointed and laterally compressed. The ascender slants to the right and can be both looped and not looped. The letter shape has a hook at the bottom, just before the pen comes off the paper. See for example on line 20 of ID 152 below. There are often diacritic marks above the << *d* >>.

<s> There are two allographs of the <s> grapheme in this scribe's italic repertoire. There is an exaggerated, long << *s* >> with an exaggerated headstroke and a small hook at the bottom. In ID 152, this form of the letter shape is used exclusively; see for example <pleased> in the first line. In other letters, this long << *s* >> is used in addition to a short << *s* >>. For example, in ID 159 there are several instances of the short << *s* >>, such as in the word <segnefye> on line 6, alongside instances of the long << *s* >>, such as in the word <set> on line 19. These two allographs do not seem to be in complementary distribution.

<w> There is one allograph of the *<w>* grapheme in Scribe 2's italic hand. It is executed with an exaggerated curved approach stroke, see for example <would> on line 21 of ID 152 below. ID 187 has several especially exaggerated ones.

<t> There is one allograph of the *<t>* grapheme. The shaft does not go right through the headstroke of the << *t* >> allograph. It only comes out of the right hand side of the allograph. See the medial << *t* >> of 'hath' on line 19 of ID 152 below. There is also often a small approach stroke leading up to the headstroke.

<e> There is one allograph of the *<e>* grapheme in this hand. It has a very short tongue that is barely perceptible; see for example <he>, <lyste>, <since> and <downe> on line 19 of ID 152 below.

Spelling questionnaire:

Table 2 – Scribe 2 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORM
1 ARBELLA	*Arbella*. 2 examples - lines 3 and 17 of ID 145. *Arbell*. 1 example - line 10 of ID 181.
2 ARTICLE	*artocles*. 1 example - line 21 of ID 159. *articles*. 2 examples - lines 16 and 21 of ID 159.
3 BOTH	*both*. 13 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 153.
4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	*bound*. 7 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 150. *bounde*. 3 examples. E.g. line 20 of ID 159.
5 CHATSWORTH	*chatsworth*. 1 example - line 14 of ID 150.

6 CHELSEA	*chelsey*. 2 examples - final lines of the bodies of ID 181 and 185.
7 COUNTRY	*contrye*. 4 examples. E.g. line 6 of ID 153. *contrie*. 3 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 185.
8 DAUGHTER	*daughter*. 9 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 187. *daughtar*. 3 examples - line 1 of ID 181.
9 DOUBT	*doubte*. 2 examples - line 15 of ID 153 and line 4 of ID 185. *dout*. 2 examples - line 5 of ID 143 and line 18 of ID 145. *doubt*. 2 examples – line 20 of ID 116 and line 38 of ID 229.
10 FAVOUR	*fauor*. 6 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 148. *fauors*. 5 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 145.
11 FRIEND	*frend*. 13 examples. E.g. line 33 of ID 156. *frende*. 3 examples – subscription of ID 152.
12 FRIENDSHIP	*frendshep*. 1 example – line 35 of ID 145. *frendshepe*. 1 example – line 3 of ID 148.
13 FROM	*from*. 19 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 149.

	frome. 2 examples – line 2 of ID 149 and line 22 of ID 156.
14 GOOD	*good* . 43 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 143.
15 GO	*goe*. 8 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 185.
16 HAVE	*haue*. 56 examples. E.g. line 20 of ID 150.
17 HEART	*harte*. 9 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 185. *hartes*. 1 example – penultimate line of ID 153's body.
18 HER	*her*. 60 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 152.
19 IT	*yt*. 49 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 156.
20 KNOW	*know*. 18 examples. E.g line 4 of ID 143. *knoweth*. 1 example – line 13 of postscript to ID 150. *knowes*. 2 examples – line 32 of ID 150 and line 13 of ID 152.
21 LETTER	*letter*. 6 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 202. *letters*. 9 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 159. *lettar*. 3 examples, all in ID 156. E.g. line 2.
22 LITTLE	*lettyl*. 1 example - line 8 of ID 185. *lettell*. 4 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 179.
23 MAJESTY	*magestye*. 2 examples - line 1 of ID 152 and line 31 of ID 202. *magesty*. 1 example – line 45 of ID 202.

	magestys. 2 examples – lines 23 and 28 of ID 152.
24 MORE	*more*. 22 examples. E.g. line 11 of ID 143.
25 ONE	*one*. 8 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 153. *ons*. 1 example, in the compound *lettylons* - line 8 of ID 185.
26 PLEASURE	*pleasur*. 1 example - line 24 of ID 152. *pleasuar*. 1 example - line 20 of ID 148.
27 RECEIVE	*receue*. 1 example, line 1 of ID 156 (fol. 44v). *reseue*. 3 examples. E.g. line 37 of ID 159 (fol. 173r).
28 SERVE	*sarue*. 4 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 153.
29 SERVICE	*saruice*. 1 example - line 14 of ID 152. *seruice,* 2 examples - lines 21 and 40 of ID 145. *saruyce*. 2 examples - line 6 of ID 149 and line 29 of ID 230.
30 SHALL	*shall*. 20 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 181. *shal*. 1 example - line 18 of ID 153.
31 SHEFFIELD	*Sheffeld*. 2 examples – final lines of the bodies of ID 145 and ID 231.
32 SHORTLY	
33 SHOULD	*should*. 20 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 143.

	shoulde. 1 example – line 1 of ID 231.
34 SHREWSBURY	*shrousbury*. 2 examples - lines 7 and 12 of ID 159. *shrousburys*. 1 example – line 4 of ID 187.
35 SINCE	*since*. 9 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 181. *synce*. 7 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 149.
36 SUBJECT	*subyecte*. 1 example – line 15 of ID 145. *subiect*. 1 example – line 15 of ID 148. *subiects*. 1 example – line 10 of ID 150. *subiectes*. 1 example – line 31 of ID 230.
37 SUFFER	*suffar*. 4 examples. E.g. line 16 of ID 152. *suffare*. 1 example – line 3 of ID 159.
38 TALBOT	*talbott*. 3 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 152.
39 THIS	*this*. 28 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 181. *thys*. 26 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 149.
40 THOUGH	*tho*. 4 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 159 (letter fol. 173v). *though*. 3 examples. E.g. line 35 of ID 159. *thoughe*. 1 example - line 8 of ID 159 (letter fol. 173v).
41 WAS	*was*. 29 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 159.

42 WHAT	*what*. 13 examples. E.g. line 6 of ID 149.
43 WHOLE	*wholl*. 4 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 150.
44 WOULD	*would*. 17 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 156. *woulde*. 1 example – line 32 of ID 187.

Spelling summary:

25 out of 43 items present in this group of letters, so just over half, have more than one spelling form in this hand (this number does not include plurals). This indicates a fairly high degree of orthographic variation across this hand. However, this scribe exhibits a slightly more stable spelling practice than Scribe 1. There is a slightly higher number of items which take only *one* spelling form across the set of letters thought to be copied by Scribe 2; 18 out of 43 items take one form in Scribe 2's hand, compared to 17 out of the 43 items in Scribe 1's hand. 20 out of 43 items took two spelling forms in Scribe 2's hand, compared to 14 out of 43 in Scribe 1's hand. However this is possibly because there are more items in Scribe 1's hand that are manifested by three or four different spelling variants. 11 out of the 43 items present had three forms, and four different spellings of item <her> were found in the letter set thought to be copied by Scribe 1. In comparison, only five out of the 43 items present in Scribe 2's letter set took three forms, and none of the items were manifested by more than three forms.

There are several diagnostic features of Scribe 2's spelling practice that can be gleaned from the questionnaire above. The modern spelling of <daughter> first appeared in English in the sixteenth century, so at the time these letters were written it was a relatively new spelling. It is also thought to be of Southern English origin. Scribe 2 uses this new, Southern form, whereas Scribe 1 prefers the Northern form of <dowter>. There is also a use of <ub> in the spelling form <doubt> for item <doubt>. The use of <ub> in this spelling was a result of the influence of Latin on English during the Early Modern period. This influence caused this item to be

artificially spelt *<doubt>, whereas it was traditionally spelt <doute> in English*. This artificial Latinate spelling was abandoned in French in the seventeenth century, but was retained in English. Interestingly however, there are also two examples of the traditional English <dout> form of item <doubt> in this set of letters. Other distinctive spelling features include the use <i> in dominant spelling variants <this> and <since> (Bess tends to use <y> and <e> instead of <i>), <tho> for item <though> and <artocle> for item <article>. Other distinctive spelling variants that could not be included in the above set questionnaire include: <must> for item <must>, <faythfull> for item <faithfull>, <fassyon> for item <fashion>, <deuyce> for item <device>, <duaring> for item <during>, <infortunatt> for item <unfortunate>, <egnorance> for item <ignorance>, <parswagyon> for item <persuasion> , <purpas> for item <purpose>, <wettnys> for item <witness>, <quiett> for item <quiet>, <cease> for item <cease> and <cressonmas> for item <christmas>.

Conclusion:

This profile set out to test the hypothesis that a group of 18 letters are copied by a single scribe. 17 of these 18 are included in the finished profile seen above. The process of completing the profile eliminated one letter from this group of 18 (namely ID 121, which is now thought to have been copied by Scribe 3). This analytical process also led to the eventual inclusion of the four Arundel letters, ID 229, 230, 231 and 234. The hypothesis that the set of 21 letters profiled above are copied by a single scribe is strongly supported by the data presented. The punctuation is uniformly consistent and controlled across these letters. Commas, semi-colons and punctus's followed by virgula suspensivas (./) are frequently used. The commas tend to be long and sweeping, while the punctus's tend to hover above base of the line. The combination of punctus and virgula suspensiva (./) tends to be followed by a noticeably large punctuating space, or gap. The rhythms of Scribe 2's personal ductus are stable, and the hand is careful and assured, although it could not be classed as cursive. The letters contain few insertions, crossings out or blotting, and a top and left margin are usually left.

There is a stable execution of graphemes across these 21 letters. The only one of the graphemes profiled that has more than one allograph is *<s>*. There is a long *<< s >>*

in complementary distribution with a short << *s* >>. There are several diagnostic allographs in this hand; <*g*>, <*I*>, <*p*> and <*t*> are particularly distinctive. The scribe's descenders are markedly long, and the bowls of graphemes such as <*d*>, <*o*>, <*a*> and <*g*> are more angular than rounded, displaying a high level of lateral compression. There is a fairly large amount of orthographic variation in this hand. However, close to half of the items included in the standardised spelling questionnaire are represented by just one form in these letters. It was shown in the spelling summary that overall, this scribe is more stable in his spelling habits than Scribe 1.

Scribe 2 will characteristically capitalise initial position <*l*>, and there are often diacritic marks above the << *d* >> and << *h* >>, which are very distinctive. Most of the 21 letters are either family correspondence or letters to Burghley and Walsingham regarding Bess's marital dispute with her fourth husband Shrewsbury. Six of these are to Burghley, four are to Walsingham and three, ID 116, ID 202 and ID 229, are to Shrewsbury himself. ID 179, 180, 181, 185 and 187 are affectionate letters written to her daughter Mary Talbot and her husband Gilbert. They ask after the health of Mary, Gilbert and their children and express a longing to see them. ID 234 is a more serious letter to Mary regarding a certain Sir John Berrone. Although the letters span three decades, they are predominantly composed in the 1580s.

Below is an image of letter ID 152: Public Records Office, SP 12/183/4, fols. 7r-8v.
Figure 3 - Image of letter ID 152: Public Records Office, SP 12/183/4, fols. 7r-8v

my very good Lord, yt pleased her mageſtye at my laste attending
of her hightnes, of her graſyus goodneſ to aſſure me that your ho:
and mr Secretory ſhould in ſhorte tyme heare and make a fynall
end betwene my ho: me and my chyldern, of ſuch wronges as
ye done to us, my Lo: promyſſed to ſend up his ſonne harry Talbott
to atende one your lo: and mr secretor for the fenistring of this
lamentable longe delayed cauſe, yet ys the maister ſtyll put of
and yt ys now iij yeares and more that I and myne have induŕed
thes extreme wronge, I beseache your lo: to be meane to her ma:
that we be no longar delayed and that by your lo: paynes and
travell therin & we may growe to ſome ende, elſe are we not
able to indure yt any further, but to our vttar undoing, her
mageſtye knowes I have comytted no faulte, my deſire was
to doe the beste ſarvice that dyd lye in me, w:hout respecte of any
perryll myghat happen to me or myne, my aſſured hope ys
that her ma: wyll delevar me and not ſuffar longar delays,
and that I may leve w:th my huſband as I ought, my lo:
makes a sporte at this broken recon: becauſe ſeing he ys ſuffared
to uſe me as he lyst, ſince laſt coming downe hath he not
ben paſt thryſe w:th me, ſtayed not above a day at a tyme;
never would ſuffar me to come to him to any other of his
houſes, w:ch I earneſtly ſued for yt, and that he promyſſed
her ma: to ſende ofen for me —/   her mageſtys good
pleaſur was and comaundyment that I ſhould adreſſe my ſelfe
to your lo: from tyme to tyme, for any thinge wherein I
found my ſelfe wronged, w:ch makes me preſume to troble
your lo: thus more, knowing that your lo: wyll be moſte ready to
ſee althinges parformed that her mageſtys pleaſur ys to have
done./   and thus beſeeching the almightye to ſend your lo:
a moſte happye longe lyffe I humble take my leave/
at wengfeld this vj:th of october

your lo: poore frende greatly
oppreſſed

E Shrewsbury

7   (4)

Scribal Profile

Scribe 3

Letters: 13

Address, body, subscription in one italic scribal hand (thought to be Scribe 3's hand), signature in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 124, 125, 126

Address, body: in one italic scribal hand (thought to be Scribe B's hand), subscription, signature: in another italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 121

Address, body in one secretary scribal hand, subscription in an italic scribal hand (thought to be Scribe B's hand), signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 127, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 139, 161

Address, body and postscript in one secretary scribal hand, subscription in an italic scribal hand (thought to be Scribe B's hand), signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 132

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 121: Hatfield, Cecil Papers 10/42, ff. 72-73. September 1578. Chatsworth. To Burghley. Bess hopes to be with the Queen shortly, and thanks Burghley for his goodness to Stuart and her daughter Arbella Stuart.

ID 124: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 32/48, ff. 79-80. 20 May 1595, Hardwick. To Cecil. Congratulating Cecil on his appointment as Principal Secretary.

ID 125: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 80/9 [unfoliated:, ff. 1-2]. 2 June 1600, Hardwick. To Cecil. Asks him to support her in her cause against her husband Shrewsbury, who has overthrown the estate of lands belonging to her children.

ID 126: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 250/16 [unfoliated:, ff. 1-2]. 6 October 1600, Hardwick. To Cecil. Appeals again for his support in the dispute with Shrewsbury over her son Henry's land.

ID 127: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 86/12 [unfoliated]. 28 April 1601, Hardwick. To Cecil. A reinforcement of a previous petition: 'I must contynewe my former suit'.

ID 129: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/127, ff. 165-166. 29 January 1603, Hardwick. To the Queen. Re. Arbella Stuart. Asks for the Queen's 'further pleasure' in the matter and complains that 'the bad p[er]swasions of some, have so estraunged hir minde and natural affection from me, that she holdes me the greatest enemie she hath'.

ID 130: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/129, ff. 169-170. 1603, Hardwick. To Stanhope and Cecil. 1603. Re. Arbella Stuart. Refers to her trials with her granddaughter. Encloses a declaration by Arbella within her own letter.

ID 131: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 91/105., ff. 190-191. 6 February 1602, Hardwick. To Cecil. Re. Arbella Stuart. She requests the presence of Sir Henry Brouncker because Arbella finds it easy to talk to him.

ID 132: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/150, ff. 195-196. 1603, Hardwick. To Cecil. Re. Arbella Stuart. She has been unwell. She again asks for the presence of Sir Henry Brouncker.

ID 134: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 92/1 [unfoliated]. 3 March 1602, Hardwick. To Stanhope and Cecil. Re. Arbella Stuart. She will not tell Brouncker who she 'hath

showed to be so affectionate'. Asks them to persuade the Queen to remove Arbella from Hardwick.

ID 135: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/167, ff. 218-219. 10 March 1602, Hardwick. To Brouncker. Re. Arbella Stuart. Describes in detail Arbella's attempted escape from Hardwick.

ID 139: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 84/75 [unfoliated, ff. 1-2]. 18 January 1602, Hardwick. To Cecil. Defends her son Henry in a dispute he is involved in with a Master Thomas Gerrard and trusts he 'shall haue redresse thereof'.

ID 161: BL, Additional, MS 12506, ff. 209r-210v. 1604, Hardwick. To Caesar. Regarding a petition made on the behalf of the inhabitants of the 'forest of the Highe Peake' by 'Robert Allyn Huhn Needham and Iohn Wright'. Claims the petition is untrue.

Abbreviations:

LADY: <La:>. 2 examples – lines 10 and 11 of ID 121.

LORD: <Lo:>. 1 example - line 7 of ID 121.

LORDSHIP: <Lo:>. 3 examples, all in ID 121, e.g. line 10. <L:>. 1 example - line 4 of ID 121.

MAJESTY: <ma^{ty}>. 2 examples – lines 1 and 8 of ID 124. <ma^{tie}>. 3 examples. E.g. line 6 of ID 121.

MASTER: <m^{r}>. 3 examples – line 1 of ID 125, lines 1 and 15 of ID 126.

THAT: <yt>. 4 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 124.

WHICH: <w^{ch}>. 2 examples - line 10 of ID124, line 8 of ID 125.

WILLIAM: <w.^m>. 1 example – line 9 of ID 125.

WITH: <wth>. 5 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 121.

Summary:

All four of the letters predominantly copied by this scribe (ID 121, 124, 125 and 126) employ the <wth> contraction for WITH. Certain aspects of this scribe's abbreviation practice are distinctive, namely his contraction of *william* to *w.m* and his use of *yt* for *that*, although Scribe 6 also employs these. There are five macrons used in this set of letters, for example above the word 'sonn' on line 7 of ID 124.

Punctuation:

<.> - ID 121, 125, 126

<,> - ID 124, 125, 126

<;> - ID 124, 126

< : > - ID 121

<./ > - ID 121, 124, 125, 126

<;/> - ID 124

Punctuation Summary:

The amount of punctuation used in the letter bodies copied by this scribe is stable, i.e. it is approximately the same in all of them. This scribe likes to punctuate; commas are frequently used, and there is consistently some kind of punctuation mark directly after the address. Blank spaces are also often left after the end of sentences – see for example line 16 of ID 126 below. However, the employment of particular punctuation marks across the four letters is erratic. For example, in ID 124 there is a

large number of semi-colons, in ID 126 there are less, and in ID 121 and 125 there are none at all. A similar thing can be observed in relation to the solo punctus. This mark is used in ID 121, 125 and 126, but not in ID 124. Furthermore, it is only used once in the letters in which it is present. In all three cases, it signals the boundary of a sentence. Scribe 3 favours a punctus and virgula suspensiva combination to signal the end of sentences (often in addition to a blank space), although on line 8 of ID 124 there is an example of a semi-colon followed by a virgula suspensiva in this position. This scribe does not use any diacritics aside from the macrons mentioned in the Abbreviations section.

Capitalisation:

There is a minimal amount of capitalisation in this set of scribal letters. It is only employed for all the proper nouns (with the exception of 'hardwick') and for the titles 'Secretary' and 'Lady'.

Duct:

The personal ductus of Scribe 3 is very similar to Scribe 2's. The hand is a legible italic. It is a pure rather than mixed hand, and it does not feature flourishes or any other stylish idiosyncrasies. It is sloped and some of the letters are joined but it cannot be called cursive hand; the scribe is lifts his pen from the paper in order to form individual allographs, and only joins up the occasional letter shape, such as *<u>*. Like Scribe 2, this scribe has a smooth writing movement that results in confident and deliberate traces and consequently, strong strokes on the paper.

There are however some noticeable differences between the ducts of these two hands. The bowls of Scribe 3's allographs *<d>*, *<o>*, *<a>* and *<g>* more rounded than those of Scribe 2, as are the minims of *<m>*. So, although Scribe 3's allographs are not more splayed or more loose than those of Scribe 2, there is less evidence of lateral compression. The size of Scribe 3's handwriting varies; it is much larger in ID 121 than it is in ID 125, for example. Overall, this hand is careful but purposeful and fluid; it does not contain any inconsistencies.

Penmanship:

This scribe's penmanship is of a high standard; there is no evidence of blotting and no repetition of words. There is only one error; a crossing out in ID 124, and one insertion; the word 'Lennox' at the end of line 13 of ID 121. The spacing of the words and allographs is similar to the spacing found in Scribe 2's hand. Aspects of general layout are also similar; top and left margins are always left and there is no marginalia. However, there are some ways in which Scribe 3's penmanship is different from Scribe 2's. In the former's hand, there is a less obvious distinction between the strokes, so it is likely that a narrow nib with a fine point and a less constant pen angle was used. Scribe 3's hand has a fairly regular module, although there is some variation, which would indicate that he was not writing on ruled lines. See for example ID 126, lines 10 – 15. Finally, there are no examples of the symbol that appears below the signature in some of the letters copied by Scribe 2.

Graphemes:

<g> There is one allograph for the <g> grapheme in this hand. The lobe is particularly cylindrical; see the initial << g >> of <greatly> on line 14 of ID 126 below. The lobe and the first part of the descender looks like the number 9. The second part of the descender is a large rounded hook. See for example the terminal << g >> of <according> on line 6 of ID 126 below.

<h> There is one allograph for the <h> grapheme in this hand. The ascender of the << h >> is often curved round to the right. There is occasionally a hook at the top of the ascender. The body of the allograph is a distinctly rounded arch which is often carried on below the line, so that it almost looks like a descender. See the initial << h >> of <happy> on line 17 of ID 126 below.

<y> There is one allograph for the <y> grapheme in this hand. The descender of the << y >> is slanted to the left. There is occasionally a hook or even a rounded curve at the bottom of it. This scribe's allograph is marked by his approach stroke, which is usually visible – see the initial << y >> of <you> on line 8 of ID 126 below.

<*ß*> This scribe uses the German Eszett ligature for double <*s*>. See for example <rea*ß*ured> on line 5 of ID 126 below. It is not consistently used however.

<*r*> There is one allograph for the <*r*> grapheme in this hand. It often has a foot at the base of the stalk, particularly in final position, and/or a visible approach stroke. For the latter feature, see the medial << *r* >> of <proceeding> on line 11 of ID 126 below.

<*w*> There is one allograph for the <*w*> grapheme in this hand. This allograph has a visible curved approach stroke. The final minim often curves right round in towards the rest of the letter shape. See the initial << *w* >> of <wyll> on line 16 of ID 126 below.

Spelling questionnaire:

Table 3 – Scribe 3 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORM
1 ARBELLA	*Arbella*. 1 example. Line 14 of ID 121.
2 ARTICLE	
3 BOTH	*both*. 1 example. Line 9 of ID 126.
4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	*bound*. 1 example. Line 13 of ID 126. *bounden*. 1 example. Subscription of ID 129.
5 CHATSWORTH	*chattesworthe*. 1 example – final line of ID 121's body.
6 CHELSEA	
7 COUNTRY	
8 DAUGHTER	*doughter*. 1 example – line 13 of ID 121.
9 DOUBT	
10 FAVOUR	*fauor*. 4 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 126. *fauors*. 1 example – line 16 of ID 126.

11 FRIEND	*frend*. 6 examples. E.g. first line of ID 124.
12 FRIENDSHIP	
13 FROM	*from*. 4 examples. E.g. last line of ID 125.
14 GOOD	*good*. 8 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 124.
15 GO	*goeth*. 1 example – line 6 of ID 125.
16 HAVE	*haue*. 3 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 125.
17 HEART	
18 HER	*hir*. 9 examples. E.g. first line of ID 124.
19 IT	*yt*. 1 example. Line 3 of ID 125.
20 KNOW	*know*. 1 example. Line 12 of ID 126.
21 LETTER	
22 LITTLE	
23 MAJESTY	
24 MORE	
25 ONE	*on*. 2 examples. E.g. lines 6 and 9 of ID 124.
26 PLEASURE	
27 RECEIVE	*reseue*. 1 example - line 6 of ID 121. *reseued*. 1 example - line 3 of ID 124.
28 SERVE	
29 SERVICE	*seruice*. 1 example. Line 10 of ID 124.
30 SHALL	*shall*. 2 examples – line 10 of ID 121 and line 9 of ID 126.
31 SHEFFIELD	
32 SHORTLY	*shortly*. 2 examples - lines 5 and 8 of ID 121.
33 SHOULD	*shold*. 1 example. Line 5 of ID 125.
34 SHREWSBURY	*Shrouesbury*. 1 example - line 3 of ID

	126.
35 SINCE	
36 SUBJECT	*subiects*. 2 examples. Line 10 of ID 124.
37 SUFFER	
38 TALBOT	
39 THIS	*this*. 3 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 124.
40 THOUGH	
41 WAS	
42 WHAT	
43 WHOLE	*whole*. 1 example - line 5 of ID 124.
44 WOULD	*wold*. 1 example. Line 12 of ID 126.

Spelling summary:

Only 26 of the 44 spelling items are present in the letter set. This is probably due to the fact that there are only four letter bodies copied by this scribe in this data set. The items that are present are all represented by one spelling form only; this indicates an exceptionally high level of orthographic stability in this hand. Diagnostic spelling features of this hand include <hir> form of item <her>, <doughter> for item <daughter> and <chattesworthe> for <chatsworth>. The forms of items <would> and <should> (<wold> and <shold>), show that Scribe 3 is not adopting the Latinate form involving <u>. Other distinctive spellings not included in the questionnaire above include <faythfull> for item <faithfull> <rome> for item <room>, shoe for item <show>, <reson> for item <reason>, <myne> for item <mine>, <always> for item <always> and <honorabell> for item <honourable>. Overall however, this scribe's spelling practice is relatively close to modern day standardised spelling.

Conclusion:

This profile set out to test the hypothesis that all of these 13 letters are either mainly copied by or contributed to by a scribe writing in an italic hand, here referred to as the hand of Scribe 3. In combination, these data strongly suggest that this hypothesis is

correct. Scribe 3's scribal practices are notably stable in comparison to those of Scribe 1 and Scribe 2, for example. This stability is most apparent in Scribe 3's punctuation, personal ductus, execution of graphemes and spelling habits. This italic hand has a number of distinctive features, the most outstanding of which is the Eszett Ligature, used as an alternative to double <s>. This palaeographic feature is unique to this scribal hand. Other distinctive features include the rounded aspect of several of the allographs, the contraction of <william> to <w^m>, the relatively high number of macrons used, the minimal use of capitalisation and the predominant usage of the 'hir' form of the 'her' spelling item.

Furthermore, all but one of these letters are written from Hardwick, and span the years 1595 – 1604, the later years of Bess's life. It is therefore likely that this scribe was based at Hardwick Hall during this ten year time period. ID 121, a letter to Burghley, is written from Chatsworth and is a much earlier letter than the other twelve, dating from 1578. Nine of the thirteen letters contributed to by Scribe B are addressed to Cecil, namely ID 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 134 and 139. ID 130 and 134 are also addressed to Stanhope. Seven of the thirteen letters (ID 121, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134 and 135) refer to Bess's granddaughter Arbella Stuart. Eight of the thirteen letters are petitions of one kind or another. The combination of overall consistencies and outstanding features allows for a confident assertion that all of these thirteen letters are contributed to by the individual scribe, here referred to as Scribe 3.

The image below is an image of letter ID 126: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 250/16 [unfoliated:, ff. 1-2].
Figure 4 - Image of ID 126: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 250/16 [unfoliated:, ff. 1-2]

good mr Secretary. I must continue my ernest suit for your honorable
favor, yt such lands of my sonn Henry Cauendysshe, as were
passed lately vnder the great seale, by the Erle of Shrousbury
in too of his saruants names, most unconscianably and vnna=
turally; might be reassured by them, to the right owners and
possessors therof, according to iustice and equitie, and according
to hir ma.ties most gratius intention, signified by proclamation
for the quieting of hir subiects possessions; and herein you
shall bind both me and myne greatly vnto you. / my sonn
wm at his coming from London told me, yt you misliked in
som parte his proceding in this matter; I besech you to make
the best construction, I know he wold not wyllingly doe any
thing to your mislike, he hath bene alweys much bound to
you, and hath relyed greatly on your fauor. I pray
you good mr Secretary continue still your honorabell
fauors towards him. / I wyll not now further trobell
you. / I pray god to graunt you long and happy lyfe
wth all honor and contentmt.   from hardwyck this
vith of October -/

your assuryd faythfull frend

E Shrousbury

Scribal Profile

Letters: 8

Address, body, subscription: in one italic scribal hand, signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 001, 140

Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription: in an italic scribal hand, signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 129, 130, 131, 134, 135

Address, body, postscript: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription: in an italic scribal hand, signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 132

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 001: Folger, Bagot Papers L.a. 843. 19 September 1594, Hardwick. To Bagot. Regarding 'the matter touching that lewde workman Tuft', a servant who has left before finishing the work Bess hired him to do.

ID 129: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/127. 29 January 1603, Hardwick. To the Queen. Regarding Arbella Stuart. Asks for the Queen's 'further pleasure' in the matter and complains that 'the bad p[er]swasions of some, have so estraunged hir minde and natural affection from me, that she holdes me the greatest enemie she hath'.

ID 130: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/129. 2 February 1603, Hardwick. To Stanhope and Cecil. Regarding Arbella Stuart. Refers to her trials with Arbella. Encloses a declaration by Arbella within her own letter.

ID 131: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 91/105., ff. 190-191. 6 February 1602, Hardwick. To Cecil. Regarding Arbella Stuart. She requests the presence of Sir Henry Brouncker because Arbella finds it easy to talk to him.

ID 132: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/150, ff. 195-196. 21 February 1603, Hardwick. To Cecil. Regarding Arbella Stuart. She has been unwell. She again asks for the presence of Sir Henry Brouncker.

ID 134: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 92/1 [unfoliated]. 3 March 1602, Hardwick. To Stanhope and Cecil. Regarding Arbella Stuart. Arbella will not tell Brouncker who she 'hath showed to be so affectionate' towards. Asks them to persuade the Queen to remove Arbella from Hardwick.

ID 135: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/167, ff. 218-219. 10 March 1602, Hardwick. To Brouncker. Regarding Arbella Stuart. Describes in detail Arbella's attempted escape from Hardwick.

ID 140: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 99/114 [unfoliated, ff. 1-2]. 13 April 1603, Hardwick. Bess to Cecil. Regarding the 'faults imputed' to her natural son Henry Cavendish.

Abbreviations:

Function Words

WITH: <wth>. 45 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 001.

WITHALL: <wthall>. 3 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 001.

WHICH: <w^{ch}>. 18 examples. E.g. line 15 of ID 129.

YOUR: <yor>. 15 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 140.

Titles

MASTER: <m^r>. 7 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 132.

SIR: <s^r>. 22 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 131.

LORD: <lo>. 1 example – line 5 of ID 130.

LORDSHIP: <lo^p>. 1 example – line 6 of ID 130.

MAJESTY: <ma.^{tie}>. 40 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 129.

MISTRESS: <mrs>. 1 example – line 46 of ID 135.

Pre- abbreviation

PRESUME: <psume>. 2 examples – line 32 of ID 129 and line 13 of ID 135.

PRESENT: <psent>. 3 examples. E.g. line 26 of ID 135.

PREVAYLE: <pvayle>. 2 examples – line 17 of ID 130 and line 10 of ID 134.

PREVENT: <pvent>. 1 example – line 31 of ID 134.

PRETENCE: <ptence>. 1 example – line 34 of ID 130.

PRECISE: <pcise>. 1 example – line 37 of ID 130.

PREFIXED: <pfixed>. 1 example – line 24 of ID 134.

Per- abbreviation

PREFORMANCE: <pformaunce>. 1 example – line 5 of ID 001.

PERSWADE: <pswade>. 8 examples. E.g. line 10 of ID 130.

PERSONS: <psons>. 2 examples – line 35 and 36 of ID 130.

IMPERTINENT: <imptinent>. 1 example – line 8 of ID 134.

Par- abbreviation

PARDON: <pdon>. 3 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 140.

DEPART: <dept>. 3 examples. E.g. line 27 of ID 135.

PART: <pt>. 3 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 129.

PARTE: <pt>. 1 example – line 19 of ID 129.

PARTIE: <ptie>. 5 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 129.

IMPART: <impt>. 2 examples – line 14 of ID 130 and line 6 of ID 131.

Omission of final <s> in plural forms

JUSTICES: <Iustice>. 1 example – line 8 of ID 001.

FAULTES: <faulte>. 1 example – line 3 of ID 140.

PLACES: <plac>. 3 examples. E.g. line 22 of ID 134.

RESTES: <reste>. 1 example - line 39 of ID 135.

DAGGES: <dagge>. 1 example - line 45 of ID 135.

HEREABOUTES: <hereaboute>. 2 examples - line 33 of ID 130 and line 61 of ID 135.

THINGES: <thinge>. 3 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 132.

BLESSINGES: <blessinge>. 1 example line 14 of ID 132.

DOUBTES: <doubte>. 1 example – line 24 of ID 129.

INSTRUMENTES: <instrumente>. 1 example – line 4 of ID 130.

Miscellaneous

QUARTER: <qrter>. 1 example – line 43 of ID 135.

Abbreviation summary:

This scribe is by far the keenest abbreviator of all Bess's scribes. The most commonly abbreviated words are 'with' and 'majesty', which appear in abbreviated form in all but one of the letters. The standard secretary script abbreviations of *pre-*, *par-* and *per-* are used. These are all looped allographs of the <p> grapheme. Scribe 4 habitably omits the final <s> of plural forms, replacing it with an <e> allograph with a long tongue. Furthermore, Scribe 4 is the only one of the major scribes who abbreviates <mistress> to <mrs>, although it should be pointed out that this word is not used very often throughout Bess's letters.

Punctuation:

<.> ID 001, 130

<./> ID 001, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 140.

<,> ID 001, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 140.

<:/> ID 135

<:> ID 129, 134

Punctuation Summary:

The scribe will use a punctus followed by a virgula suspensiva (<./>) to signal the end of a sentence. This mark features heavily in these eight letters. The solo punctus only appears in two letters; ID 001 and ID 130. In both it is used to signal the end of a sentence, although both letters also feature the <./> mark in this position. These letters all feature commas. The scribe uses a macron for 'commendacons', the abbreviated version of 'commendacions' in ID 001 and 'seruat', the abbreviated version of 'seruant', in ID 129.

Capitalisation:

Scribe 4's capitalisation practice is generally stable. He or she consistently capitalises proper nouns, titles and references to royalty; an example is 'Highness', on line 2 of ID 130. There also seems to be a policy of capitalising words that refer to powerful, important bodies; examples include 'Privie Counsell' on line 55 of ID 135 and 'Almightie', a reference to the Christian deity, on line 32 of ID 134. There is the occasional arbitrary majuscule such as the initial <A> of 'Ayer' on line 32 of ID 135. The scribe tends to capitalises words with <c> in initial position; see for example 'Comforth' on line 35 of ID 129. Finally, there is not a consistent policy of starting new sentences with majuscules. This varies, even within individual letters.

Duct:

Scribe 4's hand is a professional, legible, pure secretary hand. It is cursive, but it is not free or facile. Rather, the uniform nature of the writing and module suggest a careful approach. The graphemes are straight and even rather than sloped. Compared to the hand of Scribe 5 it is neat and orderly, with fewer flourishes, less splay and more lateral compression. However, it is still an accomplished secretary hand. It is characterised by loops and curls, and there is an occasional flourish-like approach stroke on some majuscules, namely upper case <m>, <a> and <b>. See for example 'Maye' in the first line of ID 129 or 'Matie' on line 33 of ID 129 below.

The scribe's movement of the pen across the paper is smooth, but it is not fluid. This scribe is clearly more interested in producing an accurate secretary hand than a flamboyantly fluid one. The strokes used to execute the minims are very regular, although the angularity of the minims themselves varies; sometimes they are more angular, see for example 'imagin' on line 26 of ID 129, while at other times they are more rounded, particularly in the case of initial <*m*>. The bowls of the letters are carefully executed so that they appear rounded and full; see <*o*> and <*a*> in particular.

The handwriting itself is consistently small, although there are slight variations in its size; it is slightly larger in ID 129 than it is in ID 130 for example. There are no inconsistencies at all; it is likely that this scribe was aiming to make his or her secretary hand as flawless as possible. All of this combines to give the overall impression of a conscientious hand that exhibits a high degree of equilibrium. It is not fluid, but neither is it laboured or mechanical.

Penmanship:

This scribe is clearly a confident writer who was more than adept at using a pen. The distinction between thick and thin strokes, noticeable in the contrast between the thick stroke used to create the ascender of the <*d*> allograph and the thinner strokes that create the minims, indicates the use of a broad nib and a constant pen angle. The module of the writing is very even and precise in all the letters that this scribe copies. This high level of consistency would suggest that this scribe wrote on ruled lines. Like his module, this scribe's spacing is stable. Both the words and the letters in the letters he copies are consistently close together.

Scribe 3 copies the subscriptions of all of these letters apart from ID 001 and ID 140, in which Scribe 4 copies the subscription as well as the main body. Bess signs all of these letters. In all the letters apart from ID 129 the main body of the letter, the subscription and the signature are all close together. For a description of the subscription in ID 129, please see the 'penmanship' section of Scribe 3's profile. A top and left margin are always left and there is no evidence of writing in the margin, insertions, crossings out, blotting or repetition of words.

Graphemes:

<*h*>: There is one allograph for the <*h*> grapheme in this hand. It is a classic secretary script <*h*>, with a joined loop for the limb, leading into a rounded descender that joins onto the following letter form. This scribe's << *h* >> is very consistent and uniform. This allograph exhibits lateral compression; the descender is always directly below the looped limb of the letter shape. For an example of Scribe 4's << *h* >>, see <thought> on line 15 of ID 129 below. Scribe 5 has two allographs for the <*h*> grapheme and they are both more fluid and looser than this scribe's allograph.

<*m*>: There is one allograph for the <*m*> grapheme in this hand. It is fairly compressed, and the minims are of equal height. It is characterised by rounded arches, particularly when in initial position. There is usually an approach stroke visible but it is curled in, as if it is another minim. This is in contrast to the exaggerated approach stroke of Scribe 5's << *m* >>, which is either kicking down to the left or kicking out about the letter shape. For an example of minuscule << *m* >> see the initial << *m* >> of <my> on line 19 of ID 129 below. There is often a flourish on the majuscule; see the initial << *m* >> of <Maye> in the first line of ID 129. This scribe's << *w* >> allograph is very similar to his << *m* >>.

<*k*>: There is one allograph for the <*k*> grapheme in this hand. It is as looped as the << *h* >> allograph. The looped ascender is a continuation of the previous grapheme in the word, which then loops back around to form the backbone of the << *k* >> allograph. This looped ascender gives the impression that there is another lobe on top of the actual lobe of the allograph. The limb beneath the lobe is short and tends to kick out into mid air rather than meet the base of the line. See the medial << *k* >> of <lyking> on line 17 of ID 129 below.

<*y*>: There is one allograph for the <*y*> grapheme in this hand. Like the << *h* >> allograph, this has a descender that comes directly below the lobe of the allograph. It makes a deep loop around. There is also a curled approach stroke like with << *m* >> and << *w* >>. See the initial << *y* >> of <your> on line 5 of ID 129 below.

<d>: There is one allograph for the <d> grapheme in this hand. It is similar to Scribe 6's italic << *d* >> allograph, in that its ascender is noticeably slanted to the left. It is the only letter shape or grapheme to do this in Scribe 4's hand. See for example the medial << *d* >> of <minde> on line 10 of ID 129 below.

Spelling questionnaire:

Table 4 – Scribe 4 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORM
1 ARBELLA	*arbell*. 11 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 135.
2 ARTICLE	
3 BOTH	*both*. 3 examples. E.g. line 21 of ID 134.
4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	*bounde*. 2 examples – line 5 of ID 129 and line 2 of ID 130.
5 CHATSWORTH	
6 CHELSEA	
7 COUNTRY	*countrie*. 1 example. Line 39 of ID 135. *cuntrie*. 1 example. Line 33 of ID 130.
8 DAUGHTER	
9 DOUBT	*doubt*. 7 examples. E.g. line 8 of ID 129.
10 FAVOUR	*favor*. 5 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 130.
11 FRIEND	*frend*. 3 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 140.
12 FRIENDSHIP	
13 FROM	*from*. 15 examples. E.g. line 10 of ID 129.
14 GOOD	*good*. 12 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 129.

15 GO	*goe*. 7 examples. E.g. line 8 of ID 135.
16 HAVE	*have*. 36 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 129.
17 HEART	*harty*. 1 example. Penultimate line of ID 001.
18 HER	*hir*. 72 examples. E.g. line 11 of ID 129. *her*. 1 example. Line 4 of ID 132.
19 IT	*it*. 24 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 134. *yt*. 8 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 134.
20 KNOW	*knowe*. 3 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 135.
21 LETTER	*letter*. 9 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 140.
22 LITTLE	*little*. 6 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 140.
23 MAJESTY	
24 MORE	*more*. 12 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 130.
25 ONE	*one*. 11 examples. E.g. line 5 of ID 135.
26 PLEASURE	*pleasure*. 10 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 130.
27 RECEIVE	*received*. 2 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 140. *receiued*. 1 example. Line 4 of ID 001.
28 SERVE	
29 SERVICE	*service*. 6 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 134.
30 SHALL	*shall*. 9 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 129.
31 SHEFFIELD	
32 SHORTLY	
33 SHOULD	*should*. 7 examples. E.g. line 19 of ID

	135.
	shoulde. 7 examples. E.g. line 14 of ID 129.
34 SHREWSBURY	
35 SINCE	*since*. 5 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 001.
36 SUBJECT	
37 SUFFER	*suffer*. 5 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 135. *suffred*. 4 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 134.
38 TALBOT	
39 THIS	*this*. 27 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 129.
40 THOUGH	*though*. 3 examples. E.g. line 8 of ID 134.
41 WAS	*was*. 16 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 135.
42 WHAT	*what*. 10 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 130.
43 WHOLE	
44 WOULD	*would*. 3 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 135. *woulde*. 7 examples. E.g. line 9 of ID 135.

Spelling summary:

32 of the 44 items listed in the questionnaire are present in this set of letters. Only six of these 32 items take two forms as opposed to one. This indicates that there is a relatively low level of orthographic variation across these eight letters. There are several diagnostic features of Scribe 4's spelling practice that can be gleaned from the questionnaire above: the dominant <hir> form of item <her>, the <have> form of item <have> (several of the other writers profiled prefer the <haue> form), the dominant

form of <it> for item <it> and the <cuntrie> form of item <country>. Distinctive spelling forms of items not included in the above questionnaire were looked for, but very few were found.

Conclusion:

This profile set out to test the hypothesis that the bodies of these eight letters are copied for Bess by an individual scribe, here referred to as Scribe 4. In combination, these data strongly suggest that this hypothesis is correct. Scribe 4's hand is at times compared to the hand of Scribe 5, another scribe employed by Bess who consistently writes in a secretary hand. Both of these scribes were based at Hardwick and wrote a professional secretary hand, but their hands are markedly different. Scribe 4's personal ductus exhibits a high degree of care and equilibrium; his hand is less ostentatious than Scribe 5's. He maintains a constant pen angle and a stable module. Furthermore, these eight letters do not contain any scribal errors, another sign of this scribe's meticulousness. His use of abbreviation is heavy yet consistent, and there is only one allograph for each of the graphemes profiled.

There are not many especially idiosyncratic features that mark this scribe out; the fact that his or her personal ductus is so different from that of Scribe 5 is probably the best identification aid. However, there is one outstanding linguistic feature; the dominant form of 'hir' for the spelling item 'her'. There are 72 examples of the 'hir' form, compared to only one of the alternative 'her' form. Furthermore, there is a theme running through the majority of these letters: Arbella Stuart. All of them except ID 001 were written between 1602 and 1603 and all except ID 001 and ID 140 regard Arbella. Also, all except ID 001 are addressed to those involved, directly or indirectly, in the Arbella debacle of those years; Cecil, Stanhope, Brouncker and the Queen herself. The combination of overall consistencies and outstanding features allows for a confident assertion that Scribe 4 copied all eight of these letters from Bess of Hardwick.

Below is an image of letter ID 129 Hatfield, Cecil Papers 135/127, ff. 165-166.
Figure 5 - Image of letter ID 129 Hatfield, Cecil Papers 135/127, ff. 165-166

Maye it please your most excellent Ma:tie I vnderstand by Sr henry Bronker
letters, some 2t of your highnes pleasure touching this vnadvised yong woman
here: and doo most humbly desire that I maye knowe your Ma:ties further pleasure
I can not yeilde to your Ma:tie such humble and dutifull thanke as I am most
bounde to doo for your Ma:tie most gratious favour and goodnes to me / And
princely acceptance of my faythfull poore service / I will not respect my
trouble or charge to doo your Ma:tie any service that shall lye in me during
lyfe / but I doubt yt is not in my power nowe to doo that service to yo:r Ma:tie
in this matter, as I desire. for the bad perswasions of some, have so estraunged
hir minde and naturall affection from me, that she holdes me the greatest
enemie she hath, and hath given hir self over to be ruled and advised by others
so that the bonde of nature being broken, I can not have any assurance of
hir good cariage / I can not but doubt there is an other matter in working
but what the same should be I can not coniecture / some vaine wordes she
hath spoken tending to such a matter, wch I thought at the first were to make
me more negligent in loking to that wch was before discovered / she is borne
in hande as I gather, that she shall have your Ma:ties good lyking and
allowance of any thing she doth, and have libertie to have resorte to hir
and hir self to goe or ride at hir owne pleasure / ffor my owne pt, I should
have little care howe meanly soever she were bestowed, so as it were not
offensive to your highnes / So farr as my credit doth extende wth hir, I advise
hir to attempt nothing wthout yo:r Ma:ties pleasure first knowne / she sayth she
will doo all dutie to yo:r Ma:tie but desireth me to forbeare to examyn hir /
hir vayne speech putts further doubte into me of hir follie / yo:r Ma:tie in yo:r
wisdome vppon this smale light, will looke further into this matter then I
can imagin. The greatest light I gathered, was by those fooles I formerly
sent to Sr henry Bronker / they growe nowe so warie that I doubt I
hardly meet wth any more / sometimes she will saye that she can be taken
of my handes yf she will, wch I haste for the shorte time your Ma:ties pleas
shalbe for hir staye here, I shall suffytiently loke to, but I can not doo yt
give hir libertie to walke and ride abroad and to have resorte to hir /
I humbly crave pardon of yo:r highnes for my presuming to trouble your
Ma:tie wth my rude scribling / And so wth my daylie and earnest prayer
to the almightie to graunt yo:r Ma:tie Long and happye rayne wch is and
ever shalbe my greatest comforte, I most humbly cease / from hardwick
this xxixth of January 1602 /

your Ma:ties
most bounden
faythfull servnat
and subiect

E Shrewsbury

Scribe 5

Letters: 3

Address, body: in one secretary scribal hand, subscription: in an italic scribal hand, signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 127, 139, 161

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 127: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 86/12 [unfoliated]. 28 April 1601, Hardwick. To Cecil. A reinforcement of a previous petition: 'I must contynewe my former suit'.

ID 139: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 84/75 [unfoliated, ff. 1-2]. 18 January 1603, Hardwick. To Cecil. Defends her son Henry in a dispute he is involved in with a Master Thomas Gerrard and trusts he 'shall haue redresse thereof'.

ID 161: British Library, Additional, MS 12506, ff. 209r-210v. 1604, Hardwick. To Caesar. Regarding a petition made on the behalf of the inhabitants of the 'forest of the Highe Peake' by 'Robert Allyn Huhn Needham and Iohn Wright'. Claims the petition is untrue.

Abbreviations:

MAJESTY: <ma^{tie}>. 3 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 139.

MASTER: <m^{r}>. 8 examples. E.g. line 1, 3, 9 and 12 of ID 139.

PERSON: <pson>. 1 example – line 8 of ID 139.

WHICH: <w^{ch}>. 2 examples – line 4 of ID 127 and line 12 of ID 161.

WITH: <wth>. 4 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 127.

YOUR: <yor>. 7 examples. E.g. line 15 of ID 139.

Abbreviation Summary:

Scribe 5 maintains a conventional abbreviation practice. He or she abbreviates <which> and <with> like all the other scribes profiled. In accordance with the secretary script this scribe uses, he or she employs the conventional secretary abbreviation of word-initial *per-* to a particular allograph of <p> that is recognised within the script, alongside similar abbreviations for *par-* and *pre-*.

Punctuation:

<,> ID 127, 139.

<.> ID 127, 139, 161

<./> ID 127, 139, 161

<:> ID 127, 161

<.,> ID 127

Punctuation Summary:

Scribe 5's punctuation practice is consistent across these three letters. They are not heavily punctuated; the punctuation is relatively sparse compared to the punctuation in letters copied by Scribe 6 for example. Unusually, the most frequent punctuation mark is the comma. There are twelve commas compared to only seven instances of the punctus suspensiva combination <./>. There are also two colons. One is these is

unusually employed as an end-stop to a sentence on line 6 of ID 127. There is only one instance of <,>; it occurs in ID 127. There are not any noticeable blank spaces before new sentences, as there are in letters copied by other scribes. Macrons are used fairly frequently: above the abbreviated version of <commendacions> in ID 161, <common> in ID 161, <occasion> in ID 139 and <confirmation> in ID 127.

Capitalisation:

Scribe 5's capitalisation practice is largely stable. Scribe 5 will start sentences with a majuscule and capitalise titles and proper nouns. Furthermore, the initial allographs <*c*> and <*i*> are consistently majuscules. <*i*> is also interchangeable with <*j*> in initial position. This scribe will capitalise words or phrases he or she considers important; see for example 'Duchie Seale' on line 8 of ID 161. However there are three majuscules in this group of three letters that are apparently arbitrary; initial <*m*> in 'My' (line 10, ID 139), initial <*l*> in 'Late' (line 10, ID 139) and initial <*a*> in 'Answere' (line 11, ID 161).

Duct:

Like Scribe 4, Scribe 5 writes a pure secretary hand; there are no italic elements included. Like Scribe 4's hand, it is legible, cursive, and straight rather than sloped. However, it is an idiosyncratic, ornamental hand that is less neat and orderly than the careful Scribe 4's. This scribe clearly had a developed and sophisticated sense of style. There are more flourishes, slightly more splay and slightly less lateral compression. The scribe's movement across the paper is smooth and the resulting strokes of the pen are wispy and trailing, not unlike the hand of the 'Feathery Scribe' identified by Beal (1998). The lightness of his touch is particularly apparent in ID 161. The graphemes are similar in size to those committed to paper by Scribe 4, although they are slightly larger in ID 139. Overall, this is a fluid, accomplished and consistent hand. Scribe 5 is a confident writer who wrote a more relaxed hand than the Scribe 4, but is as self-conscious a writer as Scribe 6.

Penmanship:

The chiaroscuro effect, i.e. 'the contrast of the graphic patterns of letters against the background of the writing surface' (Parkes 2008:149), seems to vary slightly. The writing in ID 127 and ID 139 is relatively bold on the page, whereas in ID 161 it is lighter, with the occasional broad, dark stroke. A distinction between thick and thin strokes in ID 161 indicates the use of a broad nib and a constant pen angle. The less obvious distinction between the strokes in ID 127 and ID 139 makes it likely that a different pen was used to write these letters. It is likely to have had a narrow nib with a fine point. The module of the writing and the spacing of the words and letters are both very stable and the layout of the letters is totally consistent. The subscription and signature are close both to each other and to the body of the text. A top and left margin are always left and there is no writing in the margin. There are no insertions, crossings out, blottings or repetitions of words. This reaffirms the professional nature of Scribe 5's scribal practice.

Graphemes:

<*s*> There are two allographs of the grapheme <*s*> in this hand. The dominant one is the long secretary << *s* >> that is characteristic of this script. It looks like an upright cane, with a handle-like curve at the top leading into a straight descender. See for example initial and medial << *s* >> of <supposing> on line 4 of ID 139 below. There is also a short, cursive final << *s* >> that loops round and finishes with a curl at the top. See the final << *s* >> of <this> on line 2 of ID 139.

<*d*> There are two allographs of the grapheme <*d*> in this hand, which are not in total complementary distribution. One of the allographs has a rounded lobe and a long straight ascender that leans heavily to the left. The length of this ascender varies slightly across the different letters; it is longer in ID 161 than in ID 139. For an example from ID 139 see the medial << *d* >> of <evidently> on line 6. This allograph is predominantly used in initial and medial position, although it is occasionally used finally, such as in <and> on line 6 of ID 139 below. The other allograph is shorter and more looped; the ascender does not slant but almost appears to be another lobe. It occurs finally and medially but not in initial position.

<h> There are two allographs of the grapheme *<h>* in this hand and they are in complementary distribution. The first only occurs in initial position and is a recognisable *<h>* shape. Instead of coming off the paper once the allograph has been formed, the scribe continues the stroke with a long curving join to the next letter. See the initial << *h* >> of <honorable> on line 15 of ID 139. The other allograph predominantly occurs in medial position but is also very occasionally used in initial and final position. It has a similar but more exaggerated curving stroke that joins it to the following letter but lacks the ascender of the other allograph. See for example the medial << *h* >> of <the> on line 13 of ID 139 below.

<y> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<y>* in this hand. It usually has an exaggerated approach stroke, and always has an angular body and a descender very similar to the curving stroke of the first << *h* >> allograph profiled. See the initial << *y* >> of <you> on line 16 of ID 139.

<k> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<k>* in this hand. The ascender curves around to lean over the lobe of the letter. The leg occasionally showcases the swirling, ornamental nature this scribe's writing; see the final << *k* >> of <Hardwick> on line 17 of ID 139 below.

<b> There is one allograph of the grapheme *<b>* in this hand. The visible approach stroke goes on to form a loop at the top of the ascender. The remainder of the ascender is straight and the lobe of the letter is rounded. See the initial << *b* >> of <by> on line 4 or <but> on line 5 of ID 139 for examples.

Spelling questionnaire:

Table 5 – Scribe 5 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORM
1 ARBELLA	
2 ARTICLE	
3 BOTH	
4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	

5 CHATSWORTH	
6 CHELSEA	
7 COUNTRY	
8 DAUGHTER	
9 DOUBT	*doubt*. 1 example - line 5 of ID 139.
10 FAVOUR	*favour*. 2 examples - lines 11 and 15 of ID 139. *favoure*. 1 example – line 3 of ID 127. *fauour*. 1 example - line 13 of ID 161.
11 FRIEND	*frend*. 3 examples. E.g. subscription of ID 161.
12 FRIENDSHIP	*frendshippe*. 1 example - line 11 of ID 139.
13 FROM	*ffrom*. 3 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 127.
14 GOOD	*good*. 4 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 139.
15 GO	
16 HAVE	*have*. 1 example - line 9 of ID 139. *haue*. 3 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 161.
17 HEART	
18 HER	*her*. 2 examples – line 4 of ID 139 and line 5 of ID 127.
19 IT	*yt*. 2 examples – line 5 of ID 139 and line 2 of ID 127.
20 KNOW	
21 LETTER	
22 LITTLE	*litle*. 1 example - subscription of ID 127.
23 MAJESTY	
24 MORE	
25 ONE	

26 PLEASURE	*pleasure*. 1 example - line 2 of ID 139.
27 RECEIVE	
28 SERVE	
29 SERVICE	
30 SHALL	*shall*. 3 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 139.
31 SHEFFIELD	
32 SHORTLY	
33 SHOULD	
34 SHREWSBURY	*shrouesbury*. 1 example - line 13 of ID 139.
35 SINCE	
36 SUBJECT	
37 SUFFER	
38 TALBOT	
39 THIS	*this*. 6 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 139.
40 THOUGH	
41 WAS	*was*. 1 example - line 1 of ID 161.
42 WHAT	
43 WHOLE	
44 WOULD	

Spelling summary:

Only 15 of the 44 surveyed items are present in these three letters, so very few. Only two of these 15 items take more than one form. This is indicative of a high level orthographic stability. However, with such a small data sample (539 words) it is hard to know if this is representative of this scribe's orthographic practice as a whole. The scribe uses the Latinate spelling form <doubt> for item <doubt>. Other distinctive

spelling forms highlighted by the questionnaire include <frendshippe> for item <friendship>, <her> for item <her> (as opposed to <hir> or <har>) and <this> for item <this> (as opposed to <thys>). From outside the questionnaire, the only distinctive spellings found were <trooble> for item <trouble> and <geve> for item <give>.

Conclusion:

This profile set out to test the hypothesis that this set of three letters are copied by the same scribe, here referred to as Scribe 5. In combination, these data strongly suggest that this hypothesis is correct. Firstly, there are a number of overall consistencies in palaeography and spelling across ID 127, 139 and 161. In all three of them, the punctuation is relatively sparse. The personal ductus exhibited is consistently legible, cursive and straight rather than sloped. The module, spacing and layout of the letters are all stable, and there are no identifiable inaccuracies. Of the six graphemes profiled, three of them (<s>, <d> and <h>) have two allographs in the hand and three (<y>, <k> and <b>) have one allograph each. Scribe 5's orthographic practice is also consistent across the letters. The majority of the items in the spelling questionnaire only have one form each.

These palaeographical and linguistic consistencies are substantiated by several distinctive features. These are: the capitalisation of initial <c> and <i>, the relative lack of the punctus suspensiva combination (<./>) so frequent in letters copied by other scribes, the distinctive use of colons and the most ornamental personal ductus of all the major scribes. Finally, the date, place and content of the letters support the scribal attribution. The letters were all written in the early 1600s, from Hardwick, and they all concern Bess's private business: ID 127 reinforces a previous petition, ID 139 defends her son Henry Cavendish and ID 161 defends herself against a petition. This makes it likely that Scribe 5 was a professional scribe based at Hardwick Hall around the turn of the seventeenth century, who copied correspondence for Bess that related to her family's interests, financial or otherwise. The combination of overall consistencies and outstanding features allows for a confident assertion that the Scribe 5 copied all three of these letters for Bess of Hardwick.

Below is an image of letter ID 139: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 84/75 [unfoliated, ff. 1-2].

Figure 6 - Image of letter ID 139: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 84/75 [unfoliated, ff. 1-2]

Scribe 6

Letters: 3

Address, body, subscription: in one italic scribal hand, signature in a second italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 160, 163

Address, body: in one italic scribal hand, subscription in a second italic hand, signature in a third italic hand (possibly Bess's holograph hand):

ID 128

Archive reference, date, place of composition, recipient and content:

ID 128: Hatfield, Cecil Papers, 135/112, ff. 146r-146*v. 9 January 1603, Hardwick. To the Queen. Regards the maintenance of Arbella Stuart. She asks that Arbella may be placed elsewhere.

ID 160: British Library, Additional, MS 24783, ff. 113r-114v. 11 March 1593, Hardwick. To William Lacy. An assertive response to Lacy, who has claimed to 'haue title to forth of Turvills anghton'. She informs him that her lawyers are prepared to meet with his, upon notice given from him.

ID 163: British Library, Lansdowne MS 71, ff. 3r-4v. 21 September 1592, Hardwick. To Burghley. Regards the safety of herself and Arbella. Bess requests that no 'trayterus and naughty persons' be allowed to stay near her houses and describes some trouble she had with one such person referred to as 'Morley'.

Abbreviations:

SIR: <s^r>. 1 example – line 4 of ID 128.

MAJESTY: <ma^{tie}>. 16 examples. E.g. line 10 of ID 128. ma^{ty}. 1 example. Line 6 of ID 163.

MASTER: <m^r>. 3 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 163.

LORDSHIP: <lo^p>. 10 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 163.

WHICH: <w^{ch}>. 2 examples - lines 16 and 35 of ID 163.

WITH: <wth>. 4 examples. E.g. line 7 of ID 128.

THAT: <yt>. 15 examples. E.g. line 3 of ID 163.

YOUR: <yor>. 2 examples - line 10 of ID 163 and line 10 of ID 160.

LETTER: <l^{re}>. 1 example – line 1 of ID 163.

SEPTEMBER: <sept>. 2 examples – lines 2 and 43 of ID 163.

ADVERTISEMENT: <adutisemt>. 1 example - line 10 of ID 163.

WILLIAM: <W.m>. 2 examples – lines 23 and 38 of ID 163.

Summary:

The <ma^{tie}> abbreviation of MAGESTY and the <yt> abbreviation of <that> are the most frequent abbreviations in this set of three letters. This scribe abbreviates LETTER, SEPTEMBER and ADVERTISEMENT, nouns that are not abbreviated in any other letters signed by Bess. The only other scribe who uses the <yt> for THAT and <W.m> for WILLIAM abbreviations is Scribe 3. However in every other respect this scribe has a conventional abbreviation practice; forms such as wch for WHICH,

wth for WITH and ma^{tie} for MAGESTY are common during this period. Macrons are sometimes used in place of medial \<n\> , \<m\> and \<i\>. In ID 128, \<commaunding\> is shortened to \<comaunding\> and \<confounde\> is shortened to \<cofoude\>. In ID 160, macrons are placed above medial \<m\> and \<i\> in \<commendacions\> to form \<comendacons\> and in ID 163, \<preuent\> is shortened to \<preuet\> and \<commit\> becomes \<comitt\>.

Punctuation:

< , > ID 128, 160, 163

< ; > ID 128, 163

< ;. > ID 160

< . > ID 160, 163

< ./ > ID 128, 160, 163

< / > ID 128, 160, 163

Punctuation summary:

All three of these letters are heavily punctuated. As can be seen from the list above, commas, punctus's combined with virgula suspensiva and solo virgula suspensiva are all consistent features of this hand. A variety of marks are used to end-stop sentences; for example, in ID 160, some sentences are end-stopped with a combination of a semi-colon and a punctus: **< ;. >**. However, **<./>** features most prominently in this position. Semi-colons are used in ID 128 and 163, but not in ID 160. The solo punctus is infrequent.

Capitalisation:

There is a large amount of capitalisation in the letters copied in this scribal hand. A distinctive feature of this scribe's capitalization practice is that the majority of the sentences in these three letters begin with majuscules. This is not a totally consistent practice because there are some exceptions, for example in ID 160. However despite these exceptions, this is still a diagnostic feature of this scribal hand. The only other writer profiled in this chapter who frequently uses majuscules in this position is Scribe 5. Proper nouns are consistently capitalised, as are titles and words relating to the Christian deity and the monarchy, hence the capitalisation of 'Most Gratius Souereigne', 'Royall', 'The Almightie', 'Quene' and 'Magesty'.

Duct:

ID 128 and ID 163 are copied in a legible italic scribal hand. There are no flourishes but it is an elegant hand; there is a decorative aspect to the long majuscules *<T>* and *<A>*, for example. The hand is more consciously stylish than the hands of the other major scribes. It is more cursive than the other hands – the scribe joins initial *<g>* for example, although there are some free-standing allographs, such as the long *<s>*, in either initial or medial position. The hand is clearly the product of a smooth movement. There is a delicacy here that is not present in the other italic hands present in letters signed by Bess. The curl of the long *<s>* and the furl at the bottom of the *<y>* allograph exemplify this delicacy. The writing is small but carefully crafted and executed. The *<o>* and *<a>* are fairly rounded, and are not very compressed. The letter shapes do not exhibit much splay or lateral compression, and it is a notably straight hand; there is not as much slant here as there is in the other hands.

The hand in ID 160 is slightly different, in that it is more of a mixed hand. There are several graphemes, namely *<h>*, *<s>*, *<f>*, *<e>* that have both italic and secretary allographs in this letter (see the image below). It is a slightly messier version of the more carefully elegant hand exhibited in ID 128 and ID 163. However, the overall similarity of this hand to the hand exhibited in the other two letters (see the decorative initial *<A>* majuscule of <And> on line 11 of ID 160 below), in addition to the other palaeographic and linguistic features outlined in the other sections, strengthens the argument that the same scribe wrote all three letters.

Penmanship:

There is a definite variation in line thickness, and in the colour of the ink on the paper in these letters. Sometimes it is light, sometimes dark. This indicates the use of a broad nib and a constant pen angle. The module of the writing is remarkably stable, although it is slightly right slanting in ID 128 and 160. This indicates that the scribe had a steady hand but did not make a habit of using ruled lines. Individual words are evenly spaced throughout these letters, although the spacing of individual letters within a word varies. In some words, such as <she> on line 13 of ID 163, the graphemes are relatively spaced out, but in the majority of words the graphemes are closer together. The writing in ID 163 is remarkably small and the lines are close together; as a result, the scribe manages to compact a lot of writing onto one leaf. The writing in the other two letters is less compact.

The layout of the letters is in accordance with the contemporary epistolary convention. For example, in ID 128, a letter to the Queen, the subscription is split into two parts in the same way as it is in ID 129, a letter copied by Scribe 4 but also addressed to the Queen. The second half of it is at the bottom of the page, just above the signature. A top and left margin is always left and none of the scribal letters have any writing in the margin. There is one crossing out and one insertion in ID 163, one insertion in ID 160 and none in ID 128. There is no blotting or repetition of words in any of these three letters.

Graphemes:

<d>: There is one allograph of the <d> grapheme in this hand. The ascender is distinctive in that it makes a low curve right back around the bowl. In some words, such as <god> on line 23 of ID 128, the ascender actually loops round to join up with the initial << g >>. In ID 163, the sample letter below, see the initial << d >> <deuysed> on line 4.

<s >: Scribe 6 has four different allographs of the <s> grapheme in his hand. There is a relatively rare short italic << s >>, (see initial << s >> of <shalbe> on line 40 of ID 163 below), a more common long italic << s >> (see initial << s >> of <such> on

line 24 of ID 163 below) and a shape remarkably similar to the German Eszatt Ligature <ß> for double <s>. This does not occur in ID 163 but is present in medial position in <aßure>, a word on line 22 of ID 128. There is also a long secretary << s >> allograph present in ID 160; see the initial << s >> of <some> on line 7 of ID 160 below.

<p>: There is one allograph of the <p> grapheme, with foot at the bottom of the descender and an exaggerated approach stroke. See the initial << p >> of <pleasure> on line 16 of ID 163 below.

<h>: There are two allographs of the <h> grapheme in this hand. The first is similar to Scribe 3's << h >> allograph in that the bowl of the letter is rounded, and the end of it is often carried on below the line so that it almost looks like a descender. However, this feature is often more pronounced in this hand than in Scribe 3's hand. Sometimes it is so pronounced that the long leg of the bowl carries on below the line, loops around and joins onto the following letter. See the second medial << h >> of <Chattesworthe> on line 26 of ID 163 for an example. The second allograph is a version of a secretary << h >>; see the final << h >> of <forth> on line 2 of ID 160 below.

<A>: There is one allograph of the <A> majuscule in this hand, and it is distinctively elaborate. One half of it is similar in design to this scribe's long << s >>. See <Arbell> on line 4 of ID 163 for an example. The majuscule << B >>, with its circular, looped approach stroke, is also in the same style, as is the scribe's << T >> majuscule; see <Talbotts> on line 2 of ID 163.

Spelling questionnaire:

Table 6 – Scribe 6 Spelling Questionnaire

ITEM	FORM
1 ARBELLA	*arbell*. 7 examples. E.g. line 4 of ID 163.
2 ARTICLE	
3 BOTH	

4 BOUND/BOUNDEN	*bound*. 2 examples – line 14 and subscription of ID 163. *bounde*. 1 example - line 6 of ID 163.
5 CHATSWORTH	*Chattesworthe*. 1 example. Line 26 of ID 163.
6 CHELSEA	
7 COUNTRY	*cuntry*. 1 example. Line of ID 163. *cuntrey*. 1 example – 163.
8 DAUGHTER	
9 DOUBT	*dobt*. 1 example. Line of 5 ID 163. *dobtfull*. 2 examples - line 8 of ID 128 and line 32 of ID 163.
10 FAVOUR	*fauor*. 1 example. Line 3 of ID 128.
11 FRIEND	*frend*. 1 example – subscription of ID 160.
12 FRIENDSHIP	
13 FROM	*from*. 10 examples. E.g. line 43 of ID 163.
14 GOOD	*good*. 4 examples. E.g. line 1 of ID 163.
15 GO	*go*. 1 example. Line 25 of ID 163.
16 HAVE	*haue*. 13 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 128.
17 HEART	*harte*. 1 example. Line 10 of ID 128.
18 HER	*hir*. 9 examples. E.g. line 12 of ID 128.
19 IT	*it*. 2 examples - line 19 of ID 128 and line 6 of ID 163. *yt*. 5 examples. E.g. line 8 of ID 163.
20 KNOW	*knowledge*. 1 example. Line 7 of ID 163.
21 LETTER	*letter*. 2 examples - line 4 of ID 128 and

	line 40 of ID 163.
22 LITTLE	*litle*. 1 example - line 10 of ID 163.
23 MAJESTY	
24 MORE	*more*. 4 examples. E.g. line 13 of ID 163.
25 ONE	*on*. 3 examples. E.g. line 27 of ID 163. *one*. 1 example - line 9 of ID 160.
26 PLEASURE	*pleasure*. 1 example - line 16 of ID 163.
27 RECEIVE	*reseuyd*. 1 example - line 1 of ID 163.
28 SERVE	*serue*. 1 example - line 35 of ID 163. *seruant*. 1 example – line 2 of ID 163. *sarvant*. 1 example – subscription of ID 128.
29 SERVICE	*service*. 1 example - line 19 of ID 128. *seruice*. 1 example - line 16 of ID 163.
30 SHALL	*shall*. 2 examples - lines 10 and 41 of ID 163.
31 SHEFFIELD	
32 SHORTLY	
33 SHOULD	*shold*. 1 example - line 3 of ID 163.
34 SHREWSBURY	
35 SINCE	*since*. 2 examples - lines 21 and 28 of ID 163.
36 SUBJECT	
37 SUFFER	*suffred*. 1 example - line 25 of ID 163.
38 TALBOT	*talbott*. 1 example - line 2 of ID 163.

39 THIS	*this*. 6 examples. E.g. line 2 of ID 163.
40 THOUGH	
41 WAS	*was*. 6 examples. E.g. line 18 of ID 163.
42 WHAT	*what(soever)*. 1 example - line 5 of ID 163.
43 WHOLE	
44 WOULD	*wold*. 1 example - line 16 of ID 163.

Spelling summary:

32 of the 44 items contained within the spelling questionnaire are present. Most of these items take one form in the three letters, although five items take two forms. This points to a relatively stable orthographic practice, although with such a small data sample (1,244 words) it is hard to know if this is representative of this scribe's orthographic practice as a whole. There are several forms in this scribe's orthographic repertoire worth mentioning. From the completed questionnaire above, <dobt> for item <doubt>, <haue> for item <have>, <hir> for item <her> (the only form), <shold> for <should>, <wold> for item <would>, <this> for item <this> (which is interesting because the scribe tends to use <y> for <i> elsewhere, in words such as <neyther> for item <neither>) and <cuntrey> for item <country>. A distinctive aspect of this scribe's spelling practice not picked up by the questionnaire is that there is both a dominant and subordinate form of the item <the>. The dominant form is <the>, the subordinate form is <ye>.

Other spelling forms worth mentioning that are not covered by the questionnaire include: <howse> for item <house>, <howre> for item <hour>, <cold> for item <could>, <red> for item <read>, <hed> for item <head>, <retorn> for <return> and <lerne> for item <learn>. As can be seen from the lists above, this scribe has a tendency to omit medial vowels; he misses out the medial <u> of items <could>, <would>, <should> and <doubt>, the medial <o> of item <country>, and the medial <a> of items <read>, <head> and <learn>.

Conclusion:

This profile set out to test the hypothesis that ID 128, 160 and 163 are copied for Bess by the same individual scribe, here referred to as Scribe 6. In combination, these data suggest that this hypothesis is largely correct. However, the process of completing the profile highlighted the fact that the subscription of ID 128 is copied in a second italic scribal hand. There is a relatively large amount of capitalisation and punctuation in the bodies of all three letters. The scribal hand is italic, elegant and consciously stylish. The duct of the hand is consistently fluid and the scribe's penmanship is of a high standard; a constant pen angle and a stable module are maintained. The spelling practice is also relatively stable; only five of the spelling items looked for took more than one form.

Furthermore, there are several outstanding features. The scribe's <*d*> allograph, with its curved ascender, is unique to this hand. He or she also often uses capitalisation to signal the start of new sentences. In relation to spelling practice, there is a tendency to omit medial vowels and the use of the subordinate spelling form <*ye*> for item <*the*>. The content of ID 128 and 163 is similar in that they both regard Arbella Stuart. Furthermore, all three letters are written from Hardwick between 1592 and 1603. This suggests that this scribe was based in and around Hardwick Hall during the later years of Bess's life, when she was Shrewsbury's widow.

Below are two images. The first image is of letter ID 163: British Library, Lansdowne MS 71, ff. 3r-4v. The second is an image of letter ID 160: British Library, Additional, MS 24783, ff. 113r-114v.

Figure 7 – Image of letter ID 163: British Library, Lansdowne MS 71, ff. 3r-4v

My honorable good lord, I resceyvd your lo[rdship] lettre on wedensday towards night, beinge
the xx[th] of this Sept, by a servant of mr John Talbotts of Ireland, my good lord thoughe
at the first much trobled to think y[at] so wycked and mischevous practises sholde be
devised, to intrap my poore Arbell & me, but I put my trust in thalmighty & next use such
diligent care, as I doubt not but to prevent whatsoever shalbe attempted by any wycked person
agenst y[e] poore chyld, I am most bounde to hyr ma[ty] yt yt pleased hyr to acquaint your lo[rdship]
to gyve me knowledge of this wycked practyse, and I humbly thanke your lo[rdship] for advertising
advertising yt, yf any such lyke hereafter be discovered I besech your lo[rdship] I may be forewarned
yt I woyll not have any unknowen or suspected person to come to my house, uppon y[e] least
suspicion that may happen here, any wey, I shall gyve advertisement to yo[ur] lo[rdship], I have little resort
to me, my house is furnished w[ith] sufficient company, Arbell walks not late, at such tyme as she
shall take y[e] ayre, yt shalbe nere the house, & well attended on, she goeth not to any bodyes house
atall, I se hyr almost every howre in the day, she lyeth in my bed chamber, yf I could be more
preside then I have bene I woylde, I am bound in nature to be carefull for Arbell, I find hyr
lovinge & dutyfull to me, yet hyr owne good & safety is not derer to me, nor more by me regarded
then to accomplysshe hyr ma[ty] pleasure, & yet w[ch] I think may be for hyr servise, I wold rayther
wysshe many deaths then to se this or any such lyke wycked attempt to prevayle. About a yere or
more there was on Harrison a seminary y[at] lay at his brothers house about a myle from Hardwyck
whome I thought then to have caused to bene apprehended & to have sent hym up, but found
he had licence for a tyme, notwithstandinge the seminary sone after went from his brothers,
findinge how much I was discontented wth his beinge so ner me. Since my cominge now into the
countrey I had some intelligence that the same seminary was come agyn to hys brothers
house, my son w[m] Cavendysshe went thither of a sudden to make serch for hym, but could not
find hym, I wryte thus much to your lo[rdship] yf any such traytours and noughty persons (choringe hyr
ma[tyes] clemency) be suffred to go abroad, yf they may not harber nere my houses, wyngfeld, Hardwick
nor Chattesworthe, in derbyshyre, they are the lykest instruments to put a bad matter in execution
execution. On Morley who hath attended on Arbell & red to hyr for the space of thre yere & a half
sheed to be much discontented since my retorn into y[e] countrey, in somych he had lyved in hope, to have som
annuytie graunted him by Arbell out of hyr land during hys lyfe, or some lease of groundes to y[e] value
of forty pound a yere, alledging y[t] he was so much damnifyed by leving of y[e] universitie, & now w[th]
some y[t] she were wyllinge yet not of abylytie to make him any such assurance. I understanding by
dyvers y[t] Morley was so much discontented, & w[thall] of late havinge some cause to be doubtfull of his
forwardnes in relligion (thoughe I cannot charge him wth papistry) toke occasion to parte wth him, and
after he was gone from my house and all hys stuff caried from hens, the next day he retorned
agyn, very importunate to serve, w[thout] standinge upon any recompense, w[ch] made me more suspicious
& y[e] wyllinger to parte wth him. I have an other in my house who well supply Morleys place
very well for y[e] tyme, I woyll have those y[t] shalbe sufficient in lerninge, honest & well
disposed, so nere as I can. I am enforced to use the hand of my son w[m] Cavendysshe, not
beinge able to wryte so much my self for feare of bringinge great payne to my hed, by onely
praying to your lo[rdship] lettre, & nether Arbell nor any other lyvinge, nor shall wth from tyme to tyme
yf I may be directed, as occasion shall fall out, to the uttermost of my understanding, I have &
woylbe carefull. I besech thalmighty to send your lo[rdship] a longe & happy lyfe, & so I most humbly
commit your lo[rdship] to his protection. from my house at Hardwyck this xxj[th] of Sept 1592

Yore Lordshyps as I am bound

E Shrewesbury

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Figure 8 - Image of letter ID 160: British Library, Additional, MS 24783, ff. 113r-114v
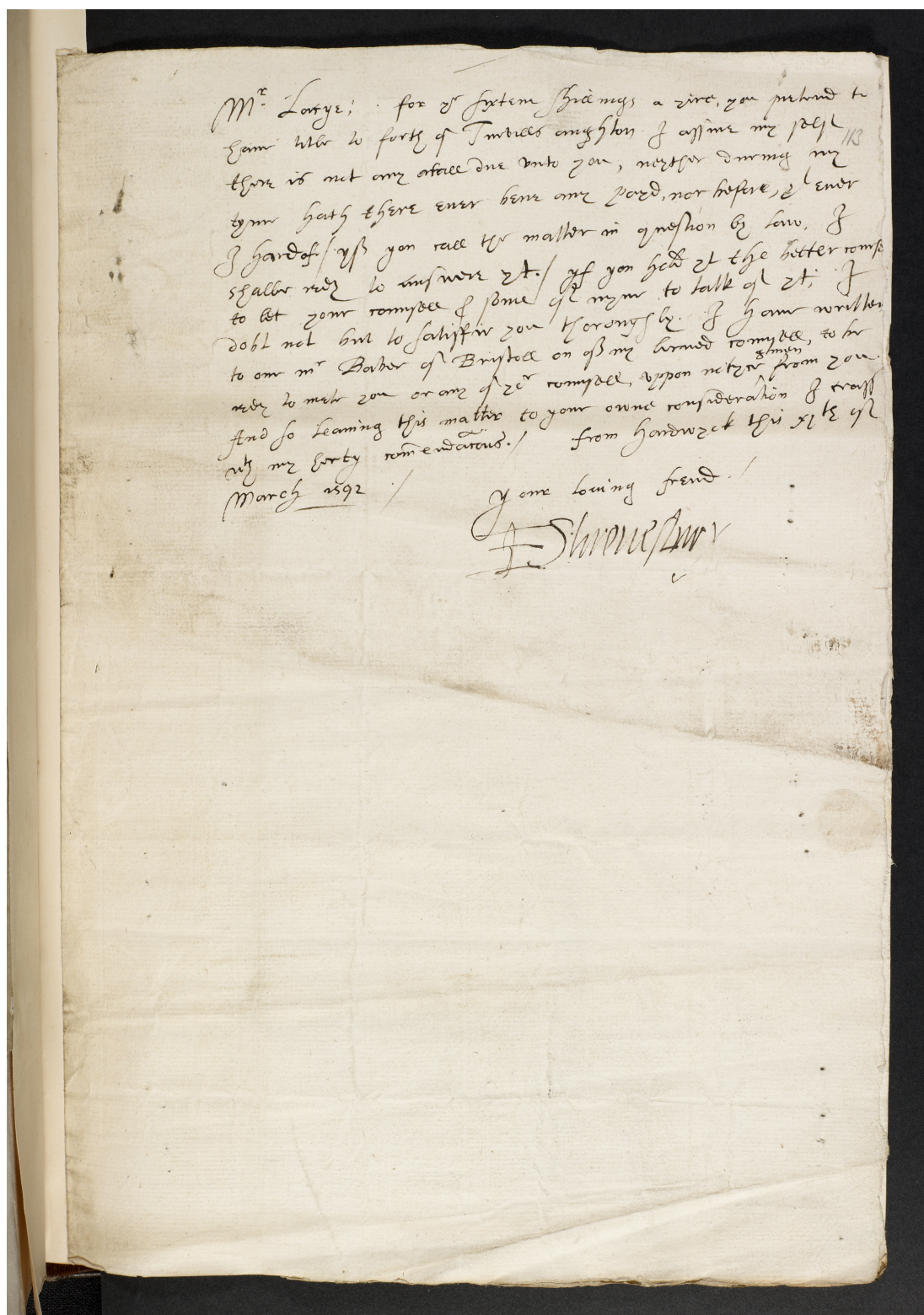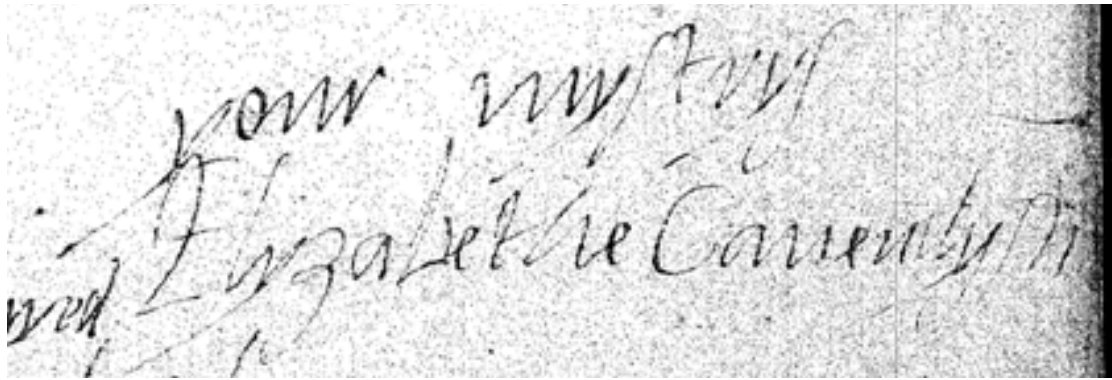
3.1.4 Stage 4

Once the scribal profiles have been completed and groups of letters have been assigned to particular hands in the eventual data set, the final stage involved in the identification of Bess's holograph handwriting can be carried out. This stage, referred to here as Stage 4, involves the allocation of one of the hands identified in the eventual data set to a particular individual. In the case of this particular data set, it is argued here that Scribe 1's hand is the holograph hand of Bess herself.

In order to identify Scribe 1's hand as Bess's holograph hand, particular weight was given to the signature found at the bottom of all of 59 letters in the eventual data set (with the exception of letter ID 143, in which no signature is present). It cannot be automatically assumed that the person referred to in this thesis as the 'signer', i.e. the person who could also be called the author or originator of the message contained within an EModE letter, signs their own name. It has to be acknowledged that scribes occasionally signed letters on behalf of the person referred to in this thesis as the signer. However, it can be asserted that this was not the norm, and that people's signatures did tend to be committed to paper in their own handwriting.
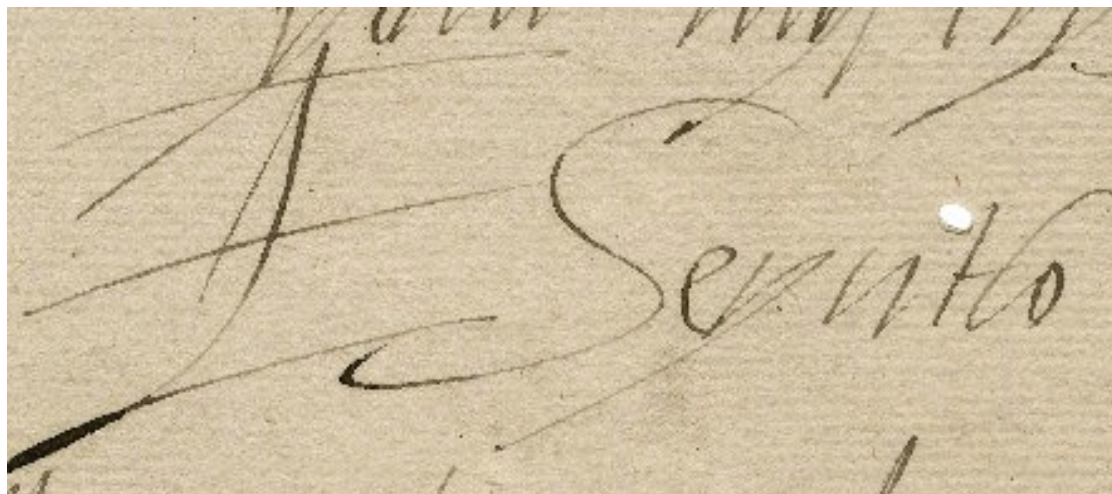
The name Bess uses as her signature changes over the decades, because Bess changed her name every time she married. So, when Bess was married to Sir William Cavendish from 1547 - 1557, she signed her name 'Elyzabethe Cavendysh'. Below is an example of her signature from this time. It is taken from letter ID 099, which dates from 1553:

Figure 9 - Image of signature present in ID 099:

When Bess was married to Sir William St. Loe, from 1559 - c.1565, she signed her name 'E[lizabeth] Seyntlo'. Below is an example of her signature from this time. It is taken from ID 101, which dates from around 1560:

Figure 10 - Image of signature present in ID 101:

Finally, from the time Bess was married to Shrewsbury in 1567 until her death in 1608, Bess signed her name 'E(lizabeth) Shrousesbury. Below is an example of her signature from this time. It is taken from ID 152, which dates from 1585:

Figure 11 - Image of signature present in ID 152:
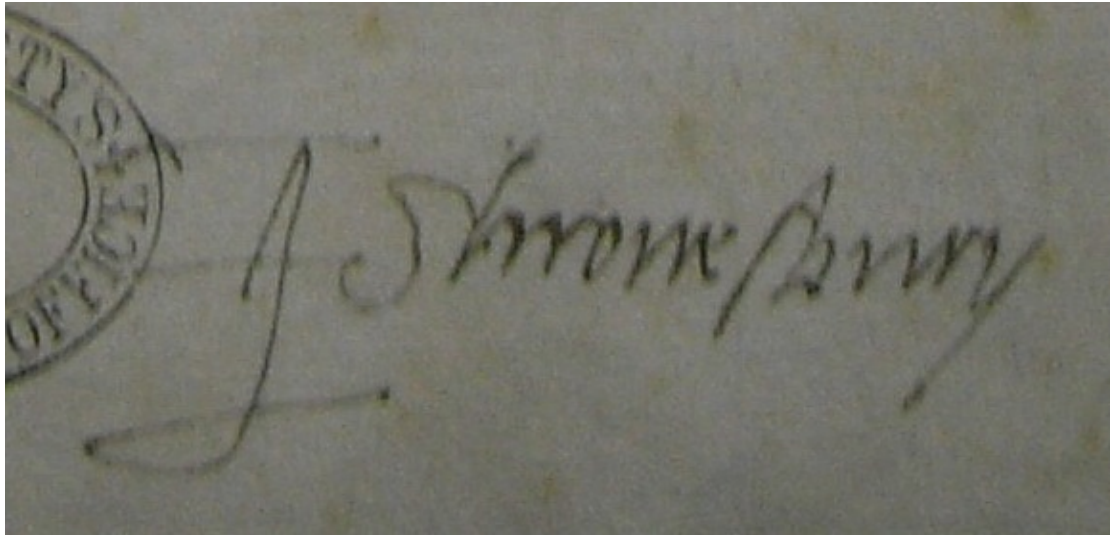
Although the name that Bess uses as her signature changes throughout her life, the distinctive italic hand in which it is rendered remains consistent. It was noticed that the hand in which her various signatures was rendered in bore a striking resemblance to the hand of Scribe 1.To remind the reader what the hand of Scribe 1 looks like, below is an image of page 2 of ID 099, which is provided in Scribe 1's scribal profile above.

Figure 12 - Image of page 2 of ID 099

made vpon ether in plaster daye or lyme
and at ye wyndowes were ye ar glaspe
ys broken to be mended and at ye
[illegible crossed out] to be made as close and
[illegible] as you coniye. I here that
my syster Jane came not home [crossed out]
[illegible] that ys nedefaulle for have
to have amonngste you yf yet be trewe
you lacke nocreat of honnyste as well as
dyscretyon to dene have any thynge
that she hathe amynde to bynge
yn case as she hathe bene. I wolde
be lothe to have any straunger so vsyed
yn my howse and then assure your
selfe I care not whyt yet to have my
syster o yourselfe. lyke as I wolde not [crossed out]
have any superflenete or waste of any
thynge. so lyke wysse wolde I have have
to hyue that whyche ys nedefaulle [crossed out]
and nessary. at my comnye whome I
that knowe more and then I wyll thynke
as I shall have cause. I wolde have
you to gene ✸ to my mydwyffe frome
me and frome my love wylle and to

It was therefore hypothesised that the hand of Scribe 1 could potentially be Bess's holograph hand. In order to test this hypothesis, the duct, penmanship and graphemes of the hand in which the various signatures were rendered was compared with the duct, penmanship and graphemes of Scribe 1's hand. These aspects of the hand in which the signatures was rendered were found to be remarkably similar to these aspects of Scribe 1's hand.

This comparative work made me relatively confident that Scribe 1's hand was Bess's holograph hand. However, before putting forward the suggestion that Scribe 1's hand was Bess's holograph hand, further comparative work was carried out. Other sources which were likely to contain Bess's holograph hand, such as Bess's estate documents, were also investigated for the purposes of comparison. Luckily, in addition to a large and varied body of correspondence to and from Bess, many of Bess's original estate documents have been preserved. After carefully going through all of the estate documents that survive, several examples of what looked like Scribe 1's distinctive italic hand were found, chiefly in Bess's account books. For example, the 'Account Book of Sir William and Lady Cavendish, Michaelmas, 1548 – 1550' contained lists copied in a distinctive italic hand that looked remarkably similar both to Scribe 1's hand and to the hand in which the signatures were rendered.

Images of two pages of the "Account Book of Sir William Cavendish and Lady Cavendish, Michaelmas, 1548 – 50" are provided below. It is possible to see a list copied in the distinctive italic hand in question on both pages. The second page is reproduced so that the reader can see the striking difference between the italic hand in question and the secretary hand beneath it.

Figure 13 - Images taken from the "Account Book of Sir William Cavendish and Lady Cavendish, Michaelmas, 1548 – 50". Folger X.d.486, 2.1, 2.2

My hosbande half yeres rentes due at mychelmas
yn the second yere of the rayne rengne of our soveryne
lord kyng edward the vjᵗ resayud by me as hereafter followyth

Fyrst resayyd the xxjᵗ of october the yere aforesayd ————— xlvj ̄ vijᵈ ob
of John moryson for londes late the lady meres ———————

Iᵗ receyved of John ffytzjohn ———————————————— lxxvj ̄

Iᵗ of rychard catmere ————————————————— iiijˡⁱ vjˢ iiijᵈ

Iᵗ of thomas lowen for meryden yn twyng ——————— plᵇ

Iᵗ of george snape of sownt lawrences ——————— xljᵗⁱ

Iᵗ of maystrys merry for the farme of barnen —————— lxᵇ

Iᵗ of har more for one hole yers rent for
barnen made dew at mychelmas ——————— xxiijˡⁱ

Iᵗ of thomes saryng for the ferme of carlonden at xjˡⁱ vijˢ
allowyd for reparcons and at xxxjˢ xjᵈ allowyd hym
for the lordes rent ——————————————— xlviijˢ

Iᵗ receyved of thomas downes yn parte of payment
of a more somme for the rentes of pomesbornes ——— xvjˡⁱ

Iᵗ resayned of my cosen clerke by the handes
of platers for wyoxen sold vnto hym ——— ixlⁱ vjˢ viijᵈ

Iᵗ of e northe of tewyng for the
halfe yere dew at mychelmas ——————— xxᵇ

Iᵗ of resayud for sartyn blacke cowys of the sayd northe — xxvj ̄ viijᵈ

Iᵗ resanyd of my mother for the laste payment
Iᵗ of my cosen ffretteswell ——————— xxxiiijˡⁱ vjˢ

Iᵗ resanyd of to thomas downes yn parte of
paymente for pomesbornes ——————— xvjˡⁱ

Iᵗ resayved of thomes downes for thou smethe
for copy oulde landes yn barconstede ——— xxijˡⁱ xjˢ

Iᵗ resanyd for the halfe yeres rente dew
at mychelmes for the landes yn wales ——— xxiijˡⁱ xijˢ iiijᵈ

Sm pagin ———— iijᶜ iiijˡⁱ vjˢ ob

As with the signatures, the duct, penmanship and graphemes of the hand in which these lists were written were carefully compared with the duct, penmanship and

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graphemes of Scribe 1's hand. Again, as with the signatures, these aspects of the hand were found to be remarkably similar to these aspects of Scribe 1's hand.

After undertaking this comparative work involving both Bess's signature and her surviving estate documents, my level of confidence that Scribe 1's hand was Bess's holograph hand was relatively high. As a result, it was possible to confidently suggest that Scribe 1's hand was Bess's holograph hand. It should be pointed out that this is a *suggestion* based on empirical evidence, rather than an absolute claim. A strong argument can and has been made that Scribe 1's hand is Bess's holograph hand. Although it is not possible to know with absolute certainty that this is indeed Bess's holograph handwriting, the available evidence strongly suggests that it is.

4. Conclusion to Part 1

Part 1 of the thesis has outlined the data problems faced by any researcher using EModE manuscript letters as sources of a particular individual's language use. It has also presented the four analytical stages involved in the identification of Bess of Hardwick's holograph handwriting within a corpus of her EModE manuscript letters. As a result of the first three stages of this process, six major scribal hands were confidently identified within the eventual data set; the hands of Scribes 1 - 6.

The working hypothesis made at Stage 2 of the process regarding these six hands was tested by the completion of six scribal profiles at Stage 3. The completion of these profiles showed that the working hypothesis made at Stage 2 was essentially correct, although a couple of amendments needed to be made. The first amendment was that the group of 21 letters thought to be copied by Scribe 1 was reduced to a group of 17 letters. These 17 letters all date from before the 1580s. The second amendment was that although Scribe 6's profile strongly suggested that ID 128, 160 and 163 were all copied in the same hand, i.e. the hand of Scribe 6, the process suggested that the subscription to ID 128 was copied in a second scribal italic hand.[48]

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[48] See the conclusions to each of the profiles above for further detail on what is summarised here.

As a result of the final stage of the four stage process, it was possible to confidently suggest that Scribe 1's hand was Bess's holograph hand, and by extension, that Scribe 1 was Bess of Hardwick herself. Stage 4 of the process therefore suggested that although Bess copied 17 of the 59 letters contained within the eventual data set, the majority of the letters in the eventual data set were copied for her by various scribes.

The dates of some of the 17 holograph letters are unknown. However, the ones that are dated were all copied in the 1550s, 1560s and 1570s. The latest holograph letter dates from 1578. After the late 1570s, the only letters that we have from Bess are scribal. The earliest potentially scribal letter that we have a definite date for is ID 143, which dates to 1573. The latest we have is ID 179, which dates to 1607, the year before Bess's death in 1608. The fact that the group of 17 holograph letters is that the letters that are dated all date from before the 1580s is an interesting finding. It raises a question about the timing of Bess's use of scribes, namely: why does the surviving evidence suggest that Bess stopped writing holograph letters after the 1570s? Further investigation will hopefully yield some clues as to why this might have been so.

Both the holograph and the scribal letters cover a range of topics and perform a variety of communicative functions. There are holograph letters of petition, instruction, reportage and request, as well as letters of miscellaneous content. Among the scribal letters there are also letters of petition, of request things and of miscellaneous content. However there are also letters of defence, of complaint, of thanks, and of congratulation. Several of the people who are recipients of Bess's holograph letters are also recipients of Bess's scribal letters (namely Queen Elizabeth I, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil, first Baron Burghley and Shrewsbury). Other recipients of scribal letters include Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury, Julius Caesar, Walter Bagot, William Lacy and Mary Talbot.

The data-sensitive, four-stage process presented in Part 1 of the thesis provides a detailed account of the various hands found in the letters signed by Bess. The result is a complex picture of collaborative situations involving scribes that have fundamental implications for the interpretation of the language within these letters. A comparison of the language use of the six scribes identified in Part 1 sits at the heart of the linguistic analysis presented in Part 2.

Part 2: AND, SO, FOR and BUT as markers of structure and cohesion

1. Introduction to Part 2

As pointed out in the Introduction to the thesis, a primary objective of this research project is to test the accuracy of Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis that 'in terms of the frequency and function of clause-level AND, historical texts used to have a closer resemblance to modern speech than modern writing, before developments around the mid-late seventeenth century' (2010: 168). The project tests the accuracy of this hypothesis by investigating the extent to which the prose contained within Bess of Hardwick's EModE manuscript letters reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech. Specifically, the project is concerned with whether the prose within these letters contains the explicit markers of structure and cohesion that are found in PDE speech.

Part 1 of the thesis demonstrated how a four-stage analytical process was used to identify Bess's holograph prose and the prose of five of her scribes in a sample of her surviving letters. Now that this preliminary analytical process has been carried out, it is possible to take the next steps towards meeting the research objective outlined above. These steps are presented in Part 2. Firstly, Part 2 will describe how a data-driven method was used to identify AND, SO, FOR and BUT as lexical features that could potentially function as markers of structure and cohesion in Bess's EModE holograph letters. It will then present four case studies that investigate the discourse function of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in both Bess's holograph and scribal letters. Having identified how these features pattern in the letters, Part 2 compares the results with previous studies, and draws conclusions about linguistic change in the period.

2. Data-driven identification of lexical items functioning as markers of structure and cohesion in Bess's EModE holograph letters

2.1 Identification of clause-level AND, SO, FOR, BUT as markers of structure and cohesion in Bess's EModE holograph letters

This section describes how a data-driven, discourse-analytic methodological approach was used to identify linguistic features that were functioning as markers of structure and cohesion in Bess's EModE holograph prose.[49] In order to study markers, you first need to identify the units of discourse that they are marking, which in the case of Bess's EModE holograph prose are sentences. At this point, it is worth taking a moment to discuss the notion of 'the sentence' and the problem of what units to use in relation to Bess's EModE letters. This thesis asserts that the prose within Bess's EModE letters is made up of sentences. It also asserts that EModE letters may have a closer relationship to PDE speech than many other kinds of EModE texts. However, these two assertions are not incongruous. Many researchers working exclusively with PDE speech data have noted the existence of sentences in PDE speech, although because the sentences found in speech can be of various sizes and cannot be classified using formalist syntactic criteria, they have been called various different things by different researchers, including 'propositions', 'utterances', 'non-clausal units', 'C-units' (cf. Leech 2000), or simply 'ideas' (cf. Schiffrin 1987).

The last definition is particularly notable in relation to the research presented in this thesis. Schiffrin acknowledges that speech does contain sentences; indeed she refers to the levels of 'sentence and discourse' (1987: 201) in PDE spoken conversation. However, she stresses that the ideational structure of discourse is one of the key aspects of discourse that contributes to its overall coherence. As a result, she states that the sentences that occur in speech 'are semantic: they are propositions, or what I'll just call ideas' (1987: 25).

Schiffrin notes that her definition of the sentences found in PDE speech as simply 'ideas' is deliberately open. The advantage of this openness is that it allows the researcher more scope. As Schiffrin writes, 'Basing a definition on a more precise unit would place a tremendous limit on our analyses by restricting our attention to just that unit' (1987: 31). The deliberate openness of this approach to sentences suits EModE textual material well, because it allows the researcher to accommodate for the fact that, although the sentences found within EModE texts exist within the written as opposed to the spoken mode, some of them may be more akin to the kinds of

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[49] At this primary stage of data collection, only the 17 letters thought to have been copied by Bess herself were used as data sources.

sentences found in PDE speech, i.e. propositional, semantic units of thought, referred to by Schiffrin as 'ideas', than to the visually marked sentences that are a recognizable part of PDE writing.

It also allows the researcher to accommodate for the fact that it is not always clear where EModE sentence constructions begin and end. The characteristic fuzziness of EModE sentence boundaries has been observed by several scholars. Wright observes that in one of the EModE witness narrative she analyses, 'the sentence is not unambiguously marked as a unit of grammar' (1995: 95), and Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice describe the boundaries between sentences in EModE prose as 'fuzzy' (2007: 28). Meanwhile, Culpeper and Kytö state in relation to EModE sentences that 'the principles by which such elements are strung together are not what we might expect (consider the function of *and*)' (2010: 2).

This aspect of EModE sentences is demonstrated by the transcript of ID 204 provided below.[50]

Transcript of ID 204

1 good syr Thomas Cornewallys vnderstanding by my sonne
2 Charles of your frendly dealing and greate paynes taken
3 for the well fenyshing and parfecting of the books betwene
4 my brother syr Thomas kytson and me hath ben such
5 and so faythfully in euery respecte by you parformed
6 as I know not how to be thankfull y enoughe for the
7 same and as you haue thus begonne so I most earnestly
8 desyre you w contenew your good meanes that all thyng
9 may be now fenyshed w[i]thout further prolonging of the
10 tyme wherin as I haue synce the begening had grete
11 cause so I must thynke my selfe greatly behoulding
12 vnto you and secke by all meanes to requyte your
13 frendly dealing   and thus w[i]th my hartyest
14 comendatyons I wyshe you as to my selfe
15 sheffeld this xxiiijth of nouembar

                        your faythfull frend
                        EShrouesbury

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[50] ID 204 is a scribal letter copied by Scribe 2. The sentences in Bess's holograph prose are discussed in relation to holograph letter ID 109 below.

As can be seen in the transcript above, letter ID 204 does not contain any punctuation, or indeed any capitalization beyond the capitalization of the proper nouns 'Thomas Cornewallys' and 'Charles'. It is thus hard to determine where the sentence constructions begin and end in this letter, particularly for the first thirteen lines. There is a prominent space between the words 'dealing' and 'and thus' on line thirteen, which appears to be used to signal the start of a new sentence, beginning 'and thus'. The prominent use of spacing in this instance demonstrates why Schiffrin's deliberately open approach to sentences is a good one to adopt in relation to EModE textual material, because it shows how EModE sentences can be connected and marked in unexpected ways.

Furthermore, defining the sentences that exist in these EModE letters in a narrower way would potentially mean missing the interplay between the conventional, visual marking devices that may mark their boundaries, such as punctuation marks and capital letters, and other, less obvious devices, such as lexical features, unmarked clause boundaries or spacing. Any kind of relationship that may exist between different kinds of markers may turn out to be an important part of how the prose is structured overall.

It was decided that Schiffrin's data-driven, discourse-analytic method of data collection would be used to look for markers of structure and cohesion in Bess's letters. When looking for markers of structure and cohesion a piece of spoken or written discourse, Schiffrin suggests segmenting the discourse into 'a series of identifiable chunks of activity' (1987: 327), before focusing attention on how the speakers or writers 'differentiate such chunks – how they display the boundaries' (1987: 327) between these chunks of activity. The desired result is a catalogue of marking features that have some kind of organizational salience in the discourse, a catalogue which is firmly grounded in observations of how the speaker or writer in question differentiates between discourse units (which in the case of Bess's letters are sentences).

A key feature of this approach is that entries within such a catalogue would include both linguistic and non-linguistic markers for what Schiffrin refers to as 'both local and global sized units' (1987: 327). In the case of my EModE written data, 'linguistic markers' could be lexical features such as adverbs, vocatives or conjunctions, 'non-linguistic markers' could be visual markers such as punctuation marks, capital letters and spacing, 'local sized units' are sentences and 'global sized units' are units or structures above the sentential level. Schiffrin also notes that there is a possibility that some segments of discourse would be found to be unmarked. However, this finding can potentially be turned to great advantage, because the researcher might then begin 'to look to those locations as favoured locations, or key sites, for the emergence of markers' (1987: 327).

It was anticipated that there would be a variety of both linguistic and non-linguistic marking features present in Bess's holograph prose. As noted in the Introduction to the thesis, Culpeper and Kytö point out that before the mid-late seventeenth century, written communication in English was likely to have been aided by '(a) grammatical features (notably, clause boundaries), (b) a variety of punctuation marks, and (c) lexical features (notably, conjunctions). In other words, features similar to today's spoken communication are likely to have guided earlier written communication' (2010: 168).

In order to establish which (if any) lexical features had some kind of organizational salience in Bess's holograph prose, a data-sensitive, close-reading technique was employed in order to independently identify the sentences within Bess's holograph prose. Each letter was read several times, both silently and aloud. The nature of EModE sentences and prose (discussed directly above) meant that this was, to some extent, an unavoidably uncertain process of reconstruction.

Take for example the transcript of ID 109, a holograph letter addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, which is provided below.

Transcript of ID 109

1 my good lord and brother yt ys wrete to me at lenth

2 by my sone gelberte talbott how honorabley your .L[ordship]
3 contenewes your wontyed care to do good styll to me an
4 and mine, and theryn ys expressed your .L[ordship]s honorabel[l]
5 prouydence now entended for my dowter le[n]nox yn
6 maryage, I shall euer acknolege besydes ane enfenytte
7 nomber your goodnesses to me and myne, the latte
8 good spede and prefarment my sonne charles hade,
9 brought to passe by your .L[ordship]s only wysdome. but as
10 your .L[ordship]s nobell myndeys euer workenge nobells effectes
11 and the same frewtes by good fourtune I and all
12 …ne amongst otheres to owre great comfortes do
13 [torn]ely taste, I beynge of no powre nor abelyte any
14 [torn]wes to make apeare the dewty of thankes/
15 [torn]your .L. the greatter by me and myne ough...
16 [torn]nde your .L[ordship]s worthey fame whyche ys all the
17 [torn]compence [I] cane make and the beste sarues all
18 myne are [deletion] abell to do vnto your .L[ordship] all the dayes of
19 ther lyues. and for my dowter Lennox of whome
20 your ^.L[ordship]^ plecythe to haue that especyall care, and we most
21 bonde to your .L[ordship] for yt, yeldynge humbyll thankes to
22 your .L[ordship] she dothe styll fynde har selfe so many wayes
23 bonde to you, as wylbe aduysed by your .L[ordship] more then
24 any man [deletion] and I hartely desyre your .L[ordship] ^to^ conte[n]new
25 that honorabell mynde towardes har ether for the Lord Sandes
26 or any other thal shalbe thought metyste, and
27 yf yt plese your .L[ordship] to comende eny to Chattysworth
28 as a place for sundery cauncus I desyre fourst to enter
29 ther aquentance, he or whome else your .L[ordship] comendes
30 shalbe as frendly welcome as I am beho[u]ldyng to geue one
31 sent by your .L[ordship], wereyn as yn althynges elles I do
32 refare her happy mache, her well bestoynge ys my
33 greatys care, some of my frendes haue heretofore
34 wyshed sondery good machus for her, yf I coulde haue
35 fo[u]nde yn her the lyste lykenge more to one then a
36 nother I wolde haue trobeled your .L[ordship] herw[i]t[h] w[i]t[h]out whouse
37 specyall help I knowe yt colde take not good affecte
38 she sayth ouer to me she cane nott determyne harselfe
39 to lyke of any for a hosbande whome she neuer saye nor
40 knowyethe [deletion] not hys lykenge of har. I defare all to
41 your .L[ordship]s honorabell good consederacyon of whome
42 as a vary nobelyte hym selfe I take my leue w[i]t[h] my prayer
43 for all hapenes to you and yours shefelde
44 the xviij of maye

your .L[ordships] faythefull
syster

E Shrouesbury

The prose in this letter is split into sentences of various lengths. However, the process of trying to identify their boundaries is often a challenging one. For example, where is the end of the first sentence after the address, that begins 'yt ys wrete to me at lenth' (line 1)? Does it end on line 6 of the letter, after the word 'maryage'? Or does it, as the punctuation would suggest, end on line 9, where 'your .L[ordship]s only wysdome' is followed by a punctus?

After reading and re-reading the 17 holograph letters several times, it became apparent that although the boundaries between Bess's holograph sentences are not consistently marked with visual-marking devices such as capital letters and punctuation marks, many of them are long units of meaning that often contain a complete thought. It also became apparent that it is easier to reconstruct these sentences when they are viewed within the context of the letter text as a whole. For example, ID 109 is a petitionary letter which thanks Dudley for his efforts to find a suitable match for Bess's widowed daughter Elizabeth, dowager Countess of Lennox, and asks him to continue in his efforts. On lines 32-33 there is a relatively short sentence: 'her well bestoynge ys my greatys care'. This is immediately followed by a comma, and then a new sentence, which begins with the words 'some of my frendes' (cf. line 33 of the transcript above). This sentence continues for the following four lines, and represents a unit of meaning. To paraphrase it: 'some of my friends have tried to find good matches for Elizabeth, and if she had liked any of them at all I would not have troubled you further'. Although the end of this sentence is not signalled by any kind of visual marking device, a good indication that it has come to an end on line 37 is that it is immediately followed on line 38 by a new sentence, which begins 'she sayth ouer to me' (cf. line 38 of the transcript above). Although this sentence is related to the previous sentence, it can nevertheless be seen as a distinct unit of meaning or sense in its own right.[51]

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[51] These constructions are classed as sentences rather than rhetorical periods. The rhetorical period (or periodus) of medieval grammar is defined by Parkes as 'an utterance or complete rhetorical structure which expresses a single idea, or sententia (q.v.); its constituent parts are commata (or incisa) and cola (or membra) (qq.v.)' (1992: 306). These constructions are classed as sentences because they are not complete rhetorical structures. They lack the crucial element of rhetorical balance and sense of rhythmical completion that characterises rhetorical periods.

Once the sentences in each of the 17 holograph letters had been loosely identified, the next stage in the operational method was to see if the boundaries of these loosely identified sentences were marked or connected and if so, how. It was initially observed that visual marking such as punctuation could sometimes was used as a guide, when present. For example, to return to the example of ID 109 above, the end of the sentence that begins on line 38 with 'she sayth ouer to me' is clearly signalled by a punctus on line 40. In full, the sentence reads

'she sayth ouer to me she cane nott determyne harselfe to lyke of any for a hosbande whome she neuer saye nor knowyethe [*deletion*] not hys lykenge of har.' (cf. lines 38-40 above).

However, it was also observed that lexical features are sometimes used to signal sentence boundaries, either on their own or in conjunction with visual marking devices in Bess's holograph letters. For example, on line 19 of ID 109, a new sentence is signalled by the word AND, which is immediately preceded by a punctus marking the end of the previous sentence. This can be seen in the transcript of ID 109 above and is also highlighted in bold in the excerpt below:

the beste sarues all myne are [*deletion*] abell to do vnto your .L[ordship] all the dayes of ther **lyues. and** for my dowter Lennox of whome your ^.L[ordship]^ plecythe to haue that especyall care (ID 109, lines 17-20)

These lexical features were of particular interest. At this point, they were classified as connectives. The one classificatory criterion was that the connectives had to be clause-level, i.e. functioning at the level of the clause, rather than phrase-level, i.e. functioning at the level of the phrase.

The basic grammatical hierarchy adhered to in this thesis is that sentences consist of one or more clauses, clauses consist of one or more phrases, and phrases consist of one or more words. To unpack further: a clause is defined here as a string of words which expresses a proposition and typically consists of at least a subject and a verb. A phrase is a smaller unit than a clause. Although a phrase may be composed of one or more words, it takes its name from its head word. It is therefore possible to have a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, an adverb phrase, a verb phrase or a prepositional

phrase, depending on what the head word of the phrase is.[52] The excerpt from ID 183 provided below exemplifies the difference between clause-level and phrase-level connectives in Bess's EModE holograph prose.

Excerpt from ID 183

1 I wolde make gattes **and** other thynges w[i]t[h] yt yf I hade yt
2 I prey you forder them **and** cause
3 others of your tenante to helpe all
4 god send my my deare swete harte
5 hys helthe. Sonday

The example of AND on line 1 of the excerpt is functioning as a connective at the level of the phrase. What this means is that it is functioning to connect two noun phrases to form the conjoint noun phrase 'gattes **and** other thynges'.[53] By contrast, the example of AND on line 2 of the excerpt from ID 183 above is functioning at the higher level of the clause. It is functioning to connect the clause 'I prey you forder them' with the clause 'cause others of your tenante to helpe all'.

AND often functions at phrase level in the set of 17 holograph letters thought to be copied in Bess's holograph hand, as does OR. For example, OR functions at phrase level on line 20 of ID 099 in the conjoint noun phrase 'charcole **or** wode'. However, the only connectives considered for the purposes of this analysis were those functioning at clause-level. A frequency count of all clause-level connectives across the seventeen holograph letters was conducted. The results are presented below.

Table 7: Clause-level lexical features acting as connectives in order of frequency in
Bess of Hardwick's holograph letters

And	64
As	21
If	21
For	20

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[52] Cf. The Internet Grammar of English: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/internet-grammar/clauses/hierarc2.htm> (1998) and Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 12-17).
[53] For more on noun phrase coordination, please see Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 273).

But	17
I prey you	9
So (that)	8
Which	8
Then	4
Yet	4
Lyke as	2
Seeing	2
Thus	2
Now	2
Because	2
Ever synce	2
Although	2
Till	1
Surely	1
How	1
Wherein	1
Whome	1
Albeyt	1
Beseeching	1
Whereof	1
Nor	1
Who	1
Where	1
When	1
Indeed	1
Either	1
Or	1

As can be seen from the table, there are a large number of subordinating as well as coordinating clause-level conjunctions functioning as salient discourse organizational connective features in Bess's holograph letters. There are also relative pronouns such

as WHICH and adverbs such as INDEED functioning in this way. Among the top five most frequent connectives are two words traditionally classed as coordinating conjunctions, namely AND and BUT, as well as FOR, a word which is used as a subordinator in PDE, but which could be used as a coordinator in EModE.

After these two stages had been completed, the individual letters were returned to and re-read again in order to see if any of the clause-level lexical features presented in Table 1 had more organizational salience than the others, i.e. more of an organizing effect in the overall discourse. Specifically, clause-level lexical features that appeared in sentence-initial position were counted. 'Sentence-initial' is defined here as the position at the start of the sentences that had been loosely identified at the earlier stage of data collection referred to above. Lexical features appearing in this position included expressions such as IN THE MEAN TYME, in addition to individual words (cf. the table below).

Table 8: Salient sentence-initial clause-level connectives in order of frequency in Bess of Hardwick's holograph letters

And	32
If	9
For	8
I prey you	8
But	7
So	6
Lyke as	2
Wherein/of	2
Albeit/although	2
I beseeche	2
Therefore	1
Indeed	1
Yet	1
Surely	1
In the mean	1

tyme	

Again, AND, BUT and FOR are in the top five most frequent features. Due to their frequency in sentence-initial position in the holograph letters, the salient discourse-organizational lexical features eventually chosen for further study were AND, BUT, FOR and SO. IF and I PREY YOU were not chosen. IF was not chosen because subordinate conditional and concessive clauses would have to have been looked at, and there has already been a large amount of work done on conditional clauses in the history of English. I PREY YOU was avoided in order to maintain consistency; it seemed incongruous to include it since the other three features were conjunctions.

2.2 Differentiation of discourse connective and grammatical connective examples of clause-level AND, BUT, SO and FOR

Section 2.1 of Part 2 described how clause-level AND, BUT, SO and FOR were identified as the lexical features whose discourse function in the prose would be investigated in more depth. However, clause-level AND, BUT, SO and FOR are potentially problematic features to focus on from a discourse-analytic perspective. The reason they are potentially problematic to investigate from a discourse-analytic perspective is because they have the potential to function grammatically, as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are traditionally classed as grammatical function words, or closed class words. Other lexical features belonging to open word classes, such as adverbs, pose less of a problem from a discourse-orientated perspective. Due to the fact that they are open-class words, their grammatical function does not need to be so carefully distinguished from their discourse function. The same can be said of lexical expressions such as YOU KNOW and YOU SEE. However, the fact that clause-level AND, BUT, SO and FOR are already connective features adds an element of complexity to the method. In order to address this added element of complexity, the examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT which were functioning as grammatical connectives were distinguished from those which were functioning as discourse connectives.

At this point it is necessary to explain what distinguishes a grammatical connective from a discourse connective. The distinction between grammatical and discourse connectives is clarified by Leech (2000). Leech views these connectives within the context of Present-Day spoken English. In traditional English grammatical models, based as they are on the written mode, these features are exclusively seen as performing a grammatical function as conjunctions. However, Leech notes that in the spoken mode, 'Turn- and utterance initial words such as *So* and *And* illustrated here are of marginal grammatical status, similar to *But* (or even *Because*; see McCarthy, 1998, p.81) in their ability to latch one utterance or turn loosely onto another' (2000: 705).

Leech goes on to state that as a result of this, 'it is safest to abandon the traditional concept of a "compound sentence" and to treat as a discoursal connective each coordinator that begins a new independent clause or equivalent non-clausal unit' (2000: 705).[54] It will be noticed that Leech includes two of the features chosen for further study here, namely SO and AND. However, he also talks about BUT in relation to this. He states that the implication of his suggestion is that '*and, or,* and *but* at the beginning of C-units are comparable to conjuncts like *anyway* or *however* rather than to grammatical conjunctions, which link elements within a larger grammatical structure. That is, such coordinators are to be treated as connectives at a discoursal rather than grammatical level' (2000: 705).

The approach to coordination and subordination requires some further elaboration. Each instance of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT in each holograph letter was examined to see whether it had grammatical properties, i.e. whether it was acting as a coordinator or a subordinator in the way defined by Quirk et al. (1985). If it did, it was listed as a grammatical connective. Furthermore, if a conjunction was being used as a coordinator, the kind of coordination it was involved in, i.e. simple or complex, was ascertained.[55] An example of AND functioning as a clause-level coordinator can

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[54] There is no turn-taking in the data used for this study because it is written as opposed to spoken data. Despite this, Leech's definition of grammatical and discourse connectives remains relevant and applicable.

[55] Chapter 13 of Quirk et al. (1985) includes a useful description of the difference between simple and complex coordination.

be seen in this excerpt from ID 112 (the relevant example of AND is in bold, as are all the relevant examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in the following excerpts):

1 for the byll hath as yet been but onse redde **and** ys so evyll lyked of the howse
2 that I trust throughe the helpe of such as you and other trewe made my frendes
3 yt shall take small effecte to do me any hurte

An example of clause-level SO functioning as a subordinator can be seen in this excerpt from ID 198:

1 yf any ocasyon myght brenge you hether **so** that yt were not
2 yll to you. I wolde be uary glade of yet.

An example of clause-level FOR functioning as a subordinator can be seen in this excerpt from ID 178:

1 hankes hathe bene here w[i]t[h] hys two mene yn affecte euer sence ester [Easter]
2 aboute brewynge of thre querters brewynge of beare and one of all [ale],
3 wher of moste ys spente of the beare, and all the alle **for** that yt was nought

Finally, an example of clause-level BUT functioning as a clause-level coordinator can be seen in this excerpt from ID 184:

1 yn dede you yeldod to geue me aletyll **but** non at all comes.

If the example of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT did not act as a coordinator or a subordinator, it was listed as a discourse connective rather than a grammatical connective. An example of clause-level AND functioning as a discourse connective can be seen in this excerpt from ID 107:

1 your lorddshypp [sic] latters deyrected vnto my lord my
2 husband and to me yn hys absence bearyng day
3 dayte the xiiij of thys Instant montthe of
4 Ianuarye wos not delyuered vnto me before
5 the xx daye of the same at vj of the clocke
6 yn the euenynge/ surelye my L[ord] I wos muche
7 greued because ther was nomore haste w[i]t[h]
8 delyuerye of the sayd letters consyderyng the
9 weyghtye and great cawses dependyng thervpon

10 / **and** my hum[m]ble dewtye and seruyse to be
11 shewed yn the dyspache of suche thynges
12 as the quenes mayestye requyrethe to haue
13 yn redynes wythyn tutbury Castell/

Two examples of clause-level SO functioning as a discourse connective can be seen in this excerpt from ID 111:

1 and yt passe yt wyll not only ondo me and my poore Chyldern but agreat nomber of
2 hotheres yt hathe bene twyse rede yn the lordes howse and the yt shalbe brought yn
3 agayne of monday or tewyesday. **so** that yt ys thoughte yt wylbe m wedynnesday or
4 ^thourysday^ tewyesday or yt be brought yn to the lowar howse. **so** that yf yt wolde
5 plese you to be here at that tyme I shulde thynke my selfe mouste bowden to you.

An example of clause-level FOR functioning as a discourse connective can be seen in this excerpt from ID 123:

1 Good mayster secretory my approuyd good frend to whome
2 I do yn mynd acknoleledge [sic] my selfe greatly beouldynge
3 the openyone you haue of my fydelyte and lyall
4 sarues to har magystye and frendly affeccyone you
5 bare me for that cause shall I dowte not so rath[er]
6 owre myndes to gether as therby shall contenew
7 assuryed frenshep betweste vs. **for** yf ther be fown[d right edge]
8 any subgett more faythfoull to har magystye or
9 more carefoull to dyscharge my bonden dewty to
10 my so nobyll soferyne then I. lett me neuer inioye
11 your frenchepe nor thynke me worthey to leue.

Finally, an example of clause-level BUT functioning as a discourse connective can be seen in this excerpt from ID 111:

1 Syr I am now dreuen to craue your helpe I haue defaryed the tyme of my sendynge
2 to you for that I haue welhopyed tyll now of late that I shulde
3 haue hade no ocasyon at thys presente to haue trobellede you **but**
4 now so yt ys that ther ys abyll yn the parlamente howse agenste me.

In this way, each example of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT in Bess's holograph letters was categorized as either a grammatical connective (i.e. a coordinator or subordinator) or a discourse connective (i.e. an example of AND, SO, FOR and BUT that does not perform as a grammatical coordinator or subordinator).

It is important to acknowledge at this point that although this is a sound approach, there are unavoidable ambiguities present. It is not always easy to separate grammatical function from discoursal function, and to draw the line between them. Even if a connective particle is acting as a discourse connective, as opposed to grammatical connective, it may still potentially have some kind of linguistic contribution to make to its discourse function. Indeed, the extent to which the grammatical properties of these items contribute to their discourse function is a moot point, one which hints at a larger question that has long been a central concern of discourse analysis, namely: to what extent is discourse structure a linguistic structure? This thesis acknowledges these ambiguities. It follows Schiffrin's suggestion that one needs to 'consider the possible relationships between the discourse functions of AND, BUT and OR, which she labels as 'discourse connectives' and the 'syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of conjunctions' (1987: 128). In other words, this thesis acknowledges that the grammatical properties of these features may contribute to their discourse function.

2.3 Discourse connective examples of AND, BUT SO and FOR potentially functioning as discourse markers

The analysis contained within Case Studies 1 - 4 focuses exclusively on the examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning as discourse connectives rather than those functioning as grammatical connectives. Any of these discourse connectives may potentially function as discourse markers in the prose. In this thesis, a discourse marker is defined as a feature which marks some kind of discourse boundary, both at the level of the sentence and above the level of the sentence. It therefore acts as a marker of the structure and cohesion of the discourse.

It was anticipated at this stage of the data collection that some of the discourse connectives would function as discourse markers. Indeed, it can be observed that each of the four examples of the discourse connectives given in Section 2.2 of Part 2 are functioning as discourse markers, because they are all in sentence-initial position. In other words, they are all signalling the start of sentences in Bess's holograph prose. To demonstrate this, here again are the two examples of clause-level SO functioning as discourse connectives in an excerpt from ID 111:

1 and yt passe yt wyll not only ondo me and my poore Chyldern but agreat number of
2 hotheres yt hathe bene twyse rede yn the lordes howse and the yt shalbe brought yn
3 agayne of monday or tewyesday. **so** that yt ys thoughte yt wylbe m wedynnesday or
4 ^thourysday^ tewyesday or yt be brought yn to the lowar howse. **so** that yf yt wolde
5 plese you to be here at that tyme I shulde thynke my selfe mouste bowden to you.

However, it was also anticipated that not all the discourse connectives present in the prose would have discourse-marking functions. Just because an example of clause-level AND, SO, FOR or BUT has been classified as a discourse connective rather than a grammatical connective does not necessarily mean that it will signal a discourse boundary. To illustrate this, here is a discourse connective example of clause-level SO that is not functioning as a discourse marker in Bess's holograph prose (this example comes from ID 198):

1 I thanke hym he hathe taken meche payne to brynge my dysordered
2 thynges yn to some good order I shall by hys meanes be habyll **so**
3 to youse my tenantes. as I trouste.

This discourse connective example of clause-level SO is not functioning as a coordinator or subordinator in the way defined by Quirk et al (1985). Neither is it functioning as a discourse marker, in the way defined above. However, it is still present in Bess's holograph prose. This is intriguing, and demonstrates why the investigative work into the discourse function of these four clause-level lexical features in Bess's holograph and scribal letters, presented in case studies 1 – 4, is so necessary.

Although the definition of discourse marker adhered to in this thesis is relatively straightforward, it is worth briefly situating it within the context of other discourse marker research. The terminology surrounding discourse markers is very liable to change according to school, approach, even researcher. In his thorough overview of discourse marker research, Schourup notes that there is a lack of agreement within the scholarly community about 'the nature of the connection DMs (Discourse Markers) express, the nature and extent of the elements connected, and the grammatical status of the DM category' (1999: 242). Indeed, he notes that the disputes surrounding the (exact) definition of discourse markers have 'quickened in recent years as these features come to be seen not only as an under-explored facet of language behaviour

but as a testing ground for hypotheses concerning the boundary between pragmatics and semantics and for theories of discourse structure and utterance interpretation' (1999: 228).

It is generally agreed that discourse markers do not make up a single grammatical class. If anything, they constitute a functional class. Schourup describes discourse markers as a 'functionally related class of connective expressions' (1999: 227). He states that the term discourse marker typically refers to a more or less open class of syntactically optional, non-truth conditional connective expressions, which are usually short in length. He lists the characteristics that have frequently been attributed to these expressions, namely connectivity, optionality, non-truth conditionality, initiality, orality and multicategoriality.

Discourse markers have been studied by researchers interested in a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines. There are also several different approaches to discourse markers. For example, a key approach to discourse markers is the relevance theory approach, best represented by Blakemore and Carston's relevance theory framework (cf. e.g. 2005). This is a theory-driven approach related to cognitive linguistics, which makes no appeal to coherence relations. Relevance theorists suggest that instead of trying to identify such relations in speech, hearers attempt to determine, for any utterance, how that utterance achieves relevance.[56]

However, the definition of discourse marker adhered to in this thesis is aligned with and should be seen within the context of coherence-based, functional studies. These studies hold that discourse markers signal the 'relation holding between adjacent discourse segments' (Schourop 1999: 239). Foundational functional studies in this area have been carried out by Halliday and Hasan (1976), Mann and Thompson (e.g. 1988), Polanyi (e.g. 1982), Redeker (e.g. 1990), Schiffrin (e.g. 1987) and Fraser (e.g. 1996), among others. Most of these studies focus on speech data; it is only Halliday and Hasan who focus on textual cohesion exclusively.[57] [58]

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[56] See Blakemore 1996: 328.

[57] It is worth briefly clarifying the difference between the two concepts of cohesion and coherence. They are very much related, because they are both qualities that give spoken or written discourse unity and purpose. However, they refer to slightly different things. Cohesion refers to the use of linguistic devices to join units of discourse together. These devices can be individual lexical expressions such as

There have not been many other functional studies of the discourse-marking functions of AND, SO, FOR and BUT, or other words traditionally defined as grammatical conjunctions. Most of the more functional, discourse-orientated work on discourse markers has been done on words that can more easily be assigned a discourse function, such as OH, WELL and ACTUALLY. For example, Lenk (1998) provides a functional account of discourse markers, but prefers to focus upon ANYWAY, ANYHOW, HOWEVER, STILL, INCIDENTALLY and ACTUALLY.

There have been studies that have addressed the discourse function of conjunctions in PDE speech and writing, although they have not usually been conducted under the auspices of discourse marker research. In his 1982 study, Chafe points out that what he calls the 'idea units' of speech are often held together by AND (see e.g. 1982: 38). He also compares the use of AND in informal spoken discourse, namely dinner-table conversations and formal written discourse, namely academic writing. He finds that AND is four times more common in conversation than in academic writing, and more common than the other conjunctions studied. Chafe and Danielewicz (1987) was a follow up study to the 1982 study. It looked at clause-level and phrase-level coordination in lectures and letters, in addition to conversations and academic papers. It found that clause-level coordination was much more common in speech, especially conversational speech, while phrase-level coordination was more present in writing, i.e. letters and academic papers.

Biber et al.'s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999) is a comprehensive grammar of PDE which uses corpora to map the linguistic similarities and differences between spoken and written English. Biber et al. were therefore able

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conjunctions, or lexical devices such as repetition of words or collocations. Coherence refers to the general sense that a text makes sense through the organization of its content. In PDE writing for example, coherence is provided by a clear and understood structuring of sentences and paragraphs.

[58] Discourse marker research continues to expand and diversify. A recent collection of discourse marker research edited by Fischer (2006), demonstrates this diversity. It includes Lewis (2006), which tackles discourse markers from a discourse-pragmatic perspective, Pons Borderia (2006), which adopts a more strictly functional approach, and Rossari (2006), which investigates discourse markers in relation to semantic constraints. It also includes a study by Frank-Job (2006), in which a dynamic-interactional approach to markers is adopted, and Diewald (2006), in which discourse particles and modal particles are viewed as grammatical elements. This last study applies the frame of grammaticalization theory to the particles of German.

to undertake a similar study of coordination as Chafe and Danielewicz, but on a much larger scale. In Biber et al.'s results, clause-level AND was most frequent in spoken conversation in nearly 80% of the instances, as against phrase-level AND. Phrase-level AND was most frequent in academic writing in nearly 70% of the instances, as against clause-level AND (1999: 81).

These results move beyond those obtained in Chafe and Danielewicz (1987) because they show that fiction and academic writing contain more overall instances of the word AND than conversation. However, it is also possible to say that although the overall frequency of AND was higher in those two text types, the number of clause-level coordination involving AND was still higher in those text types associated with speech, such as conversation. Their results are therefore in accord with those of Chafe and Danielewicz. Ong (2002: 37 - 38) writes about how additive sentence structures signalled by AND are a manifestation of orality in the written mode and Ostman (1982) notes that what he calls 'pragmatic qualifiers' are as frequent in writing as they are in speech (1982: 171).

However, it is Schiffrin's discourse-analytic research into the discourse functions of AND, BUT and SO (1987; 2006) in PDE speech that is of most relevance to the analysis presented in Part 2 of this thesis. This is because Schiffrin qualitatively investigates *how* these conjunctions are functioning as discourse markers. Schiffrin suggests that discourse markers are 'sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk' (2006: 321), and that they comprise 'a set of linguistic expressions from word classes as varied as conjunctions (e.g. and, but, or), interjections (oh), adverbs (now, then), and lexicalised phrases (y'know, I mean)' (2006: 321). Furthermore, for a word to be classed as a discourse marker, it should ideally fulfil certain conditions. According to Schiffrin, discourse markers are usually syntactically detachable. They usually occur in initial position and have a range of prosodic contours. In addition, they are able to operate at both local and global levels, and on different planes of discourse (1987: 328).

What is more, Schiffrin suggests that discourse markers are varied in terms of their propositional meanings. Whereas the functions of some markers, such as Y'KNOW or I MEAN, are based on their propositional meanings, other markers, such as OH,

have no propositional meaning. Finally, she suggests that discourse markers are comparable to indexicals (1987: 322-325). Schiffrin develops her earlier ideas about the indexicality and multi-functionality of discourse markers, including AND, in a 2006 paper. In this paper, she suggests that 'the use of markers in ongoing discourse – in which there is always more than one level of structure and significance – expands their domains and creates what appears to be multifunctionality, i.e. one marker contributes to more than one discourse domain' (2006: 322). She goes on to argue that 'this functional range – establishing coordinates in different domains of discourse – helps to integrate the many different simultaneous processes underlying the construction of discourse and thus helps to create coherence' (2006: 322).[59] In relation to the indexical function of discourse markers, Schiffrin suggests that 'they may have default contextual "homes" in the particular domains of discourse to which they point' (2006: 335). So, they may point to an act structure, an information state or to the organization of ideas.

Although Schiffrin does not investigate the discourse function of FOR, she does investigate the discourse function of three of the individual conjunctions chosen for further study in this thesis, namely AND, BUT and SO. She writes that when AND is used as a discourse marker in conversational speech, its use is 'dependent not on the individual clauses, but is sequentially dependent on the structure of the discourse' (1987: 39-40). Furthermore, that AND has 'two (simultaneous) roles in talk: it coordinates idea units and it continues a speaker's action' (1987: 128).

Schiffrin proposes that AND is 'a structural coordinator of ideas which has pragmatic effect as a marker of speaker continuation' (1987: 152). However, she notes that in order to discover 'which ideas are coordinated by *and*, and which actions are continued' (1987: 152), it is necessary for the researcher to look into 'the content and structure of ideas and interactions'. This is because 'it is the containing discourse which tells us what idea units, and what interactional units, are being marked by *and*' (1987: 152).

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[59] Indeed, the multi-functionality of discourse markers is now well recognized, both in modern and historical linguistics. See for example Jucker (2002: 210-230) for a discussion of multi-functionality in relation to markers in EModE.

It can therefore be seen that Schiffrin classes AND as a discourse coordinator in conversational speech. She also classes BUT as a discourse coordinator, but suggests that it has a different discourse function or pragmatic effect. According to Schiffrin, BUT marks 'an upcoming unit as a contrasting action' (1987: 152) in conversational talk. As a result, it has a narrower range of ideational uses than AND does. However, although its range of ideational uses is narrower than that of AND, 'its range is still fairly wide for the simple reason that contrastive relationships themselves are tremendously variable' (1987: 153). Schiffrin suggests that like AND, BUT and OR, SO and BECAUSE are 'used in discourse in ways which reflect their linguistic properties' (1987: 227).

However, Schiffrin views SO and BECAUSE slightly differently from AND, BUT and OR, because the former are not seen as discourse coordinators. Rather, they are viewed as markers which 'have semantic meanings which are realized at both sentence and discourse levels: *because* conveys a meaning of 'cause', and *so* conveys a meaning of 'result' (1987: 201-202). These meanings may appear on any of the three planes of discourse conceived of by Schiffrin, i.e. ideational structure, information state or actions. She also briefly outlines the difference between AND and SO according to her scheme. This is that whilst both lexical features both signal speaker-continuation, '*So* marks speaker-continuation as an **alternative** to participant change in potential transition locations in talk', whereas AND is used 'when continuing is the **preferred** option' (1987: 225). Furthermore, the fact that SO has a semantic meaning, i.e. that of result, means that its use in spoken discourse is more restricted than the use of AND.

The two key studies of the discourse functions of AND in EModE texts, namely Dorgeloh (2004) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010), have both referenced the work of Schiffrin into the discourse functions of AND outlined above. Dorgeloh (2004) notes how AND often functions as a connective across sentence boundaries in EModE texts, and that in order to account for this function, 'a textual or pragmatic, rather than a semantic meaning of AND' (2004: 1762) is required. Dorgeloh notes that this is more a matter of textual cohesion (cf Halliday and Hasan, 1976) than of syntax, and references Schiffrin's study of AND in interactive discourse, where AND is treated as a discourse marker (Schiffrin, 1986, 1987). Dorgeloh suggests that Schiffrin's work

shows us that it is unnecessary to make a 'strict separation between AND as a (grammatical) coordinator and as a (textual) connector'. Instead, she suggests, the focus should be 'on the (grammatical and pragmatic) function of AND, rather than on its meaning (Schiffrin, 1986: 63)' (2004: 1762). Culpeper and Kytö note that it 'rapidly becomes apparent when studying the uses of AND in speech-related texts that AND can coordinate speech acts and serve other discoursal functions' (2010: 160) in EModE texts. In their analysis of the cohesive properties of AND in these texts (2010: 158-183) they refer to and use Schiffrin's work on the discoursal uses of AND (see Schiffrin 1987: 128-152) as a point of comparison. They do this in order to ascertain how similar to speech, or how speech-like, the texts under consideration are.

3. Four Case Studies of the discourse function of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in Bess's holograph and scribal letters

3.1 Case Study 1

Methodology

Case Study 1 seeks to establish the discourse function(s) of the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT below the level of the sentence (i.e. at the level of word and phrase) in each of the six hands identified. In order to establish the discourse function(s) of these features below sentence level, their proximity to, and relationship with commonly-attested grammatical features of PDE speech and writing is investigated. The study asks: are the discourse connectives in each letter in close proximity to any characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing? And if so, can we ascertain anything about the discourse function of the discourse connectives from this? For example, if any of the discourse connectives are frequently being used in close proximity to lexical bundles, which are commonly found in PDE speech and are by their nature bleached of their original semantic content, could it potentially be because they are acting to strengthen the semantic content of the lexical bundles?

It was decided that the best way to investigate the discourse function(s) of discourse connective AND, SO, FOR and BUT below sentence level would be to use a questionnaire. Deciding which features to include in the questionnaire involved

conducting further research into the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing. The thesis adopts the position that although spoken and written communication share a common grammatical framework, there are certain features that are characteristically found in each medium.[60] For example, although imperatives are found in both PDE speech and writing, they have been found by Biber et al. to be much more prevalent in PDE speech (cf. 1999: 221). Furthermore, scholars who take the position that PDE speech and writing share a common grammatical framework tend to acknowledge that PDE speech has a tendency towards 'simplified, loosely integrated, and disjunctive construction, giving grammatical structure a lesser role in the overall communication process than is characteristic of writing' (Leech 2000: 676).[61]

The position that speech and writing are essentially different manifestations of the same grammatical system is adopted here because the research presented in this thesis is principally concerned with the extent to which the writing contained within Bess's EModE letters reflects the spoken medium. As Leech points out, 'The view that written texts are speech-like to varying degrees, and that spoken texts resemble written texts to varying degrees (as statistically demonstrated by Biber (1988), for example), can be accommodated more easily in this model than in one that insists on a radically different approach to spoken grammar' (Leech: 2000: 692).

Information about the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing was primarily drawn from Biber et al.'s *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999), although Leech and Svartvik (1994), Leech (2000: 693 – 711) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 92, chapter 15) were also used as points of reference. Biber et al. (1999) draws heavily on analyses of the texts contained in *The Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus* (the LSWE Corpus). This corpus, which contains over 40 million words of text, focuses in particular on four registers: conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose.

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[60] This view is also taken by Quirk et al. (1985) and Halliday (1989: 79), with Biber et al. (1999) and Leech (2000) continuing the tradition. For an alternative view, namely that the grammar of speech is notably distinct from the grammar of writing, cf. e.g. Brazil 1995, Hughes 1996 and Hughes and McCarthy 1998.

[61] Chafe (e.g. 1982) was among the first, empirically, to demonstrate this tendency towards simplified construction in speech.

It was feasible to look for certain features described by Biber et al. as being more characteristic PDE speech than PDE writing in the EModE written data being used as source material. For example, looking for features such as grammatical ellipsis that are the result of a shared context is a plausible thing to do in relation to this data (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1099). Letter writers often had a shared social and psychological context, if not a physical one. Shared context is 'reflected in the high differential frequency of features that reduce the length and complexity of utterances, by making use of information retrievable from the linguistic or non-linguistic context' (Leech 2000: 694). However it was not feasible to look for all of the features of PDE speech described by Biber et al. (1999). For example, there were certain interactive, dialogic features of conversation that could not be included in the questionnaire because letters are by their nature monologic and do not share the immediacy and responsiveness of spoken conversation. The characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech eventually included in the questionnaire were: lexical bundles, other pragmatic markers, other conjunctions and connectives such as OR, negation, short politeness formulae, vocatives, interjections, exclamations, pro-forms, grammatical ellipsis, imperatives, non-clausal material, questions, repetition, contrastive perspectives and dysfluency.

Lexical bundles (cf. Biber et al. 990 – 1024) are 'recurrent expressions, regardless of their idiomaticity, and regardless of their structural status. That is, lexical bundles are simply sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse.' (1999: 990). They typically consist of a sequence of three or more words and shorter bundles are often incorporated into more than one longer lexical bundle. For example, the three-word lexical bundle *I don't think* is used in many four-word bundles. Biber et al.'s corpus-based analyses suggests that lexical bundles are more characteristic of the spoken than the written mode. They found that although both conversation and academic prose use a large stock of different lexical bundles, 'conversation contains a larger stock of lexical bundles than academic prose; in addition, conversation uses over 1,000 recurrent two-word contracted bundles (e.g. *I don't*).' (1999: 993). Lexical bundles that include a pronominal subject followed by a verb phrase plus the start of a complement clause, such as *I don't know why* and *I thought that was* are also of particular interest in relation to Case Study 1, because Biber et al. note that this kind of lexical bundle is more common in spoken conversation (cf. (1999: 991).

Pragmatic markers can be defined in broad terms as lexical features such as modals and evidentials that help speakers or writers signal their feelings and attitudes to their messages, the people they are communicating with and the situation as a whole. So for example, evidential markers such as *I think*, *I believe* and *I suppose* are used to indicate a speaker's attitude to, or belief in, their statement. Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 361 – 397) and Brinton (1996: 30) both suggest that pragmatic markers are especially common in speech.

Other conjunctions and connectives such as OR were included in the questionnaire as a characteristic grammatical feature of PDE speech because Biber et al. note that PDE speech is often characterised by coordination (cf. 1999: 1078-9). The following example from American English demonstrates this tendency: 'I couldn't find them. So I went to the manager's. He said what's wrong now? So I told him that I liked those so well' (Biber et al. 1999: 1079). Biber et al. note that in addition that AND, BUT and SO, the conjunctions BECAUSE and OR are particularly common as linkers in PDE speech.

Classical negation is 'used to deny or reject a proposition. Clauses are negated by the insertion of the negator *not* or by some other negative word (no, nothing, etc.)' (Biber et al. 1999: 158). An example of '*Not*-negation' from PDE speech is: 'You can do this but you can't do that. Negation was included in the questionnaire as a characteristic feature of PDE speech because Biber et al. found that 'negative forms are many times more common in conversation than in writing' (1999: 159).

Short politeness formulae, vocatives, interjections and exclamations were all included in the questionnaire because they are all seen by Biber et al. as being part of the grammar of conversation (cf. 1999: Chapter 14). Short politeness formulae are often used in conventional speech acts such as thanking, apologizing, requesting and congratulating in PDE speech. Although these formulae normally behave as invariable items, in effect as inserts, they can also combine with grammatical constructions such as prepositional phrases and complement clauses (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1093). Examples of short politeness formulae from PDE speech include *thanks* and *sorry*. Examples from EModE writing may include *I beseech you* or *I pray you*.

Vocatives, which are often noun phrases and are used to single out the addressee of a message, can be divided into several different categories. Biber el al. differentiate between endearments (e.g. *honey*, *dear*), family terms (e.g. *mum*, *dad*), familiarizers, (e.g. *mate*, *folks* and *guys*) and honorifics (e.g. *Mr.*, *Miss*, *Sir*) (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1108). All of these kinds of vocative were looked for in Bess's EModE letters.

Two kinds of insert, namely interjections such as *oh*, *ah*, *ha* and *arrgh* and exclamations such as *what a load of rubbish* are also included in the questionnaire. Inserts are defined by Biber et al. as 'stand-alone words which are characterized in general by their inability to enter into syntactic relations with other structures. However, inserts have a tendency to attach themselves prosodically to a larger structure, and as such they may be counted as part of that structure' (1999: 1082). Both interjections and exclamations have an exclamatory function, expressive of a speaker or writer's emotion.

Pro-forms are substitution words. Examples include personal or possessive pronouns used in the place of nouns, the word 'one', which is often substituted for a nominal, 'do it' or 'that', which are often used instead of a verb or verb phrase, and DO as a pro-verb, which is often used as a substitute for a lexical verb (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 72, 1042-1043). Pro-forms are commonly found in PDE spoken conversation because conversation often involves face-to-face interaction with others who we share a large amount of contextual background with. In-keeping with this shared knowledge, conversation tends to be grammatically marked by 'a very high frequency of pro-nouns, as contrasted by a very low frequency of nouns' (Biber et al. 1999: 1042).

Grammatical ellipsis involves 'the omission of elements which are precisely recoverable from the linguistic or situational context' (Biber et al. 1999: 156). Depending on the position in the clause, there is initial ellipsis, medial ellipsis and final ellipsis. An example of initial ellipsis from PDE speech is: 'You ok?' Ellipsis is more common in PDE spoken conversation than PDE writing because when two people are engaged in a conversation, one speaker will often build on the content of what the other speaker has said, and both speakers will endeavour to avoid unnecessary repetition (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1099).

Imperative clauses are characterized by the lack of a subject, use of the base form of the verb, and the absence of modals as well as tense and aspect markers. They typically urge the addressee to do something (or not to do something). As a result, there does not tend to be any need for tense, aspect, or modal specification. An example from PDE speech is 'get off the chair'. Biber el al. found that imperatives are 'many times common in conversation than in writing' (1999: 221), which is why they were included as a feature of PDE speech in the questionnaire.

PDE spoken conversation is also often characterised by what Biber et al. call non-clausal material (cf. 1999: 1099 – 1108). Non-clausal material is a catch-all category which includes elliptic replies, condensed questions, echo questions, elliptic question and answer sequences, condensed directives, condensed assertions, elliptic exclamatives, other exclamatives, various polite speech acts, vocatives, and phrases functioning as prefaces and tails. This kind of non-clausal material is often semantically omissible. It was included in the questionnaire to accommodate for any kind of non-clausal material which could not be classified as ellipsis, questions, short politeness formulae or vocatives. Questions, which are a kind of independent interrogative clause, were included in the questionnaire as a characteristic feature of PDE speech because Biber et al. found that questions are 'many time more common in conversation than in writing' (1999: 211).

Repetition was included in the questionnaire because spoken conversation tends to contain a large amount of repetition, in the form of locally repeated expressions that cannot be defined as lexical bundles. Speakers will use local repetition in a bid to relieve online planning pressure. So for example, if Speaker 1 says: 'Let's open the whisky', Speaker 2 may respond with 'Ok, let's open the whisky'. Biber et al. found that conversation is notably more repetitive than the three written registers represented in the LSWE Corpus (namely fiction, news and academic prose) (cf. 1999: 997, 1049). Contrastive perspectives were included in the questionnaire because several scholars have noted that juxtaposition is a notable feature of PDE spoken conversation. For example, Biber et al. state that 'coordination and juxtaposition can build up an extremely elaborate conversational turn, especially a turn with a narrative function.' (1999: 1079). Finally, spontaneous speech is often characterised by dysfluency, which can take many forms. It can include pauses, false starts,

grammatical reductions such as contractions, missing auxiliaries and grammatical dislocation. An example from PDE speech is 'what you doing?', in which the auxiliary verb 'are' is missing.[62] Dysfluency was included in the questionnaire because of its prevalence in PDE conversation.

In order to conduct a more thorough investigation, the questionnaire also included two grammatical features more characteristic of the PDE writing than PDE speech, namely elaboration and lexical density. The elaboration focused on was that which occurred below the level of the sentence, i.e. that manifested in high phrase length, fixed expressions and complex lexis.[63] As Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 92) point out, this kind of elaboration is more common in PDE writing than it is in spontaneous PDE speech. The lexical density of a text is the proportion of the text made up of content words, including nouns, main verbs, adjectives and adverbs.[64] In a study that compared PDE writing, in the form of news reportage, and PDE speech, in the form of conversation, Biber et al. found that news reportage had the highest lexical density and conversation had by far the lowest lexical density (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 61-62). As a result of this finding, these researchers assert that PDE writing tends to exhibit a higher degree of lexical density, and therefore a higher frequency of content words, than PDE speech.[65]

As outlined in the overview of the thesis provided in the Introduction, 17 holograph letters (4610 words) and 17 scribal letters (4775 words) were used for the purposes of the four case studies presented in Part 2 of the thesis.[66] Every example of discourse connective AND, SO, BUT and FOR in these 34 letters was subjected to scrutiny (the grammatical connective examples of these four lexical features were not considered). These features were the focus of the study. In other words, if a grammatical feature of PDE speech included in the questionnaire, such as grammatical ellipsis, was found in a particular letter, it was only heeded if it was in close proximity to one of the discourse connectives identified.

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[62] For more on dysfluency as a characteristic feature of PDE conversation, cf. Biber et al. 1999: 1048-9, 1052-66.
[63] See Culpeper and Kytö (2010: 92)
[64] Content words are also known as lexical word tokens. Cf. Biber et al. 1999: 62.
[65] For a discussion of these findings, including a suggestion as to why conversation has a lower lexical density than news reportage, please see Biber et al. 1999: 62.
[66] For a list of these 34 letters, please see section 5 of the Introduction.

In this thesis, 'in close proximity' is defined quite simply as 'near to'. This definition is deliberately broad and open. Defining 'in close proximity' in a narrower way would potentially mean missing subtle interaction between the discourse connectives and the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing, interaction which may provide important clues about the discourse functions of the four lexical features under investigation. Furthermore, keeping the definition of 'in close proximity' relatively open allows the researcher to accommodate for different kinds of grammatical feature. For instance, certain features, such as lexical bundles, might either immediately precede or follow a discourse connective. See for example the quote from ID 140 below, in which a discourse connective example of BUT is directly followed by the lexical bundle 'I have ben':

'**but I have ben** so hardly and vnnaturally dealt w[i]thall by him and others' (ID 140, lines 10-11)

However, other grammatical features, such as contrastive perspectives or repetition, may be further away from individual discourse connectives, or may only become apparent when a larger section of text is taken into consideration. For example, in the quote from ID 159 below, a discourse connective example of SO is surrounded by repetition of the phrase 'set downe', which occurs three times:

'the earle hertofore had refused such articles as he had **set downe**; hervnto M[aste]r Markham replyed that he had full com[m]etione from the earle to conclude all matters and whatsoeuer he should now **set downe** he would be bounde the earle should parforme them, **so** that the xij[th] of marche Laste ther weare artocles **set downe** by M[aste]r Markham betwen the earle of shrousbury and me' (ID 159, lines 16-23)

However, the repetition of this phrase only becomes apparent when the passage is considered a whole. This example demonstrates that certain features of PDE speech and writing require a definition of 'in close proximity' that is flexible enough to accommodate them.

A Microsoft Excel chart template of the questionnaire was created and applied to each of the 34 letters. These charts are provided in Appendix 1 of the thesis. Tables presenting the raw frequencies of discourse connectives in close proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and writing in each of the six hands are presented in Appendix 2. After all the charts had been completed and the discourse function of AND, SO, FOR and BUT below the level of the sentence in each of the six hands identified had been established, the different hands were compared. This was done in order to ascertain how the discourse function these features at this level of Bess's holograph writing compared to their discourse function at this level in the writing of five of her scribes. This comparison is presented in the Results section of Case Study 1 below.

Results

A comparison of the hands of the six individual copyists

In relation to the number of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning discoursally in each of the six hands, it can be said that a relatively large number of the examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT found in Bess's holograph prose are functioning discoursally as opposed to grammatically. Although there are no discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in three of the 17 holograph letters (namely ID 178, 183 and 186), 14 of the holograph letters (namely ID 099, 101, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 120, 122, 123, 182, 184, 198 and 200) all contain at least one example of these four features functioning discoursally.

In total, there are 58 discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in these 14 letters. Ten of these 14 holograph letters contain a greater number of discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT than grammatical connective examples of the same features.[67] Three of them contain equal amounts of

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[67] For a discussion of the distinction between discourse connective and grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT, please see section 2.2 of Part 2. To summarize what is explained in 2.2, if an example of clause-level AND, SO, FOR or BUT is being used grammatically, it is performing a grammatical function as a conjunction, i.e. it is acting as a coordinator or a subordinator in the way defined by Quirk et al. (1985) at a phrasal or a clausal level. If an example of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT is being used discoursally, it is not acting as a coordinator or a subordinator at a phrasal or clausal level.

discourse and grammatical connective examples of the features, while only one of them contains more grammatical connective examples of the features. It can therefore be said that the majority of the holograph letters have either more of the four lexical features under investigation functioning as discourse connectives than grammatical connectives, or an equal number of both.

Of all the scribal letters, those copied by Scribe 2 contain by far the highest number of examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning discoursally. In ID 116, 145, 159 and 179, the letters in the sample copied in Scribe 2's hand, there are 45 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT and 20 discourse connective examples.[68] It can therefore be said that the letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2 contain a relatively high number of these lexical features functioning as discourse connectives compared to the letters copied by the other scribes.

In ID 001, 129 and 140, the three letters in the sample copied in Scribe 4's hand, there are 35 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT compared to twelve discourse connective examples.[69] In ID 128, 160 and 163, the three letters in the sample copied in Scribe 6's hand, there are 26 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT compared to eight discourse connective examples. AND, BUT and FOR all function discoursally in these three letters, but SO does not.

In ID 121, 124, 125 and 126, the four letters in the sample copied in Scribe 3's hand, there are 19 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT and six discourse connective examples. As in the letters copied in Scribe 2's hand, most of the features that are functioning discoursally are examples of AND. Finally, in ID 127, 139 and 161, the letters in the sample copied in Scribe 5's hand, there are 18 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT and only three discourse connective examples. The three discourse connectives are all examples of AND SO, and all appear at the beginning of the conventional closing formula present in many EModE letters.

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[68] Of the features that are functioning discoursally, a large number are examples of AND, rather than the other three features under investigation. For example, all the discourse connectives in ID 179, 145 and 116 are examples of AND.

[69] All four of these lexical features function discoursally in these three letters, although there is only one example of FOR functioning as a discourse connective.

A trend involving the six hands that is beginning to emerge here. The letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2 contain more examples of the four lexical features functioning discoursally, i.e. in a way that is more reflective of how they have been found to function in PDE speech, than the letters copied by Scribes 4 and 6. The letters copied by Scribes 3 and 5 contain even fewer examples of the features functioning discoursally. This trend is made more apparent when the behaviour of these features in relation to the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech included in the questionnaire is investigated. The letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2 contain the highest number of discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in close proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech. Fewer of the discourse connectives present in the letters copied by Scribes 4 and 6 are in close proximity to these features of PDE speech, and fewer still of the discourse connectives present in the letters copied by Scribes 5 and 3 are in close proximity to these features.

By contrast, of all the letters, those copied Scribes 5 and 3 contain the highest number of discourse connectives in close proximity to the characteristic grammatical features of PDE writing included in the questionnaire, namely elaboration and lexical density.[70] Conversely, there are relatively low numbers of discourse connectives in close proximity to elaboration in the letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2. This trend is discussed in further detail below, with reference to the hands of the six individual copyists. The results relating to the proximity of the discourse connectives to features of PDE speech in each hand will be set out first. These results are followed by the results relating to the proximity of the discourse connectives to the features of PDE writing in each hand.[71]

Results relating to the proximity of the discourse connectives to features of PDE speech in each of the six hands identified

Bess

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[70] Cf. the 'Methodology' section of 4.1 for a summary discussion of elaboration and lexical density.
[71] For the corresponding tables of raw data, please see Appendix 2.

As noted above, 14 of the 17 holograph letters analysed for the purposes of the four case studies contain discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT. In total, there are 58 of these features in these 14 letters. 48 of these 58 features are in close proximity to pro-forms. 39 of the 58 discourse connective examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT are close to other conjunctions or connectives. For example, the discourse connective example of AND on line 17 of ID 184 is immediately followed by the conjunction 'if', as can be seen in the following quote:

'**and yf** you wyll sende one other to ly here Crompe may go' (ID 184, lines 17-18)

26 (so just under half) of the 58 features identified in the holograph letters are in close proximity to pragmatic markers such as modal verbs and evidentials. For example, the discourse connective example of AND on line 13 of ID 120 is in close proximity to the modal verb 'may', as can be seen in the following quote:

'**and** I do beseche your magystye that I **may** commette' (ID 120, lines 13-14)

Bess's holograph letters contain lower number of discourse connectives in close proximity to: lexical bundles, vocatives, negation, contrastive perspectives, dysfluency, short politeness formulae, imperatives, repetition, grammatical ellipsis and non-clausal material. To break this down: 17 of the 58 discourse connectives are in close proximity to lexical bundles. An example is the discourse connective AND on line 26 of ID 109, which is in close proximity to the lexical bundle 'yf it plese', as can be seen in the following quote:

'**and yf yt plese** your .L[ordship] to comende eny to Chattysworth' (ID 109, lines 26-27)

12 out of these 58 discourse connectives are in close proximity to vocatives. For example, the two discourse connectives AND and SO line 26 of ID 110 are immediately followed by the vocative 'my good lorde', as the quote below demonstrates:

'**and so my good lorde** preye[nge] to god to sende you helthe and your hartes desyre I ende' (ID 110, lines 26-27).

12 out of 58 discourse connectives identified in the holograph letters are in close proximity to some kind of negation. For example, the discourse connective example of AND on line 37 of ID 099 is closely followed by the verbal construction 'I can not lyke yet', as shown in the relevant quote below:

'**and** then assure your selfe **I cane not lyke yet** to haue my syster so yousede.' (ID 099, lines 37-39)

11 out of the 58 discourse connectives are close to contrastive perspectives. See for example the quote below, from ID 182, a letter addressed to Shrewsbury, Bess's husband at the time:

'you promysed to sende me money afore thys tyme to by oxxen, **but** I se out of syght out of mynde w[i]t[h] your onkende none' (ID 182, lines 16-19)

It is clear from this quote that Shrewsbury promised to send Bess money to buy oxen. The fact that Bess states that when she is 'out of syght' she is 'out of mynde' strongly implies that Shrewsbury has not done what he said he would do. Therefore, the discourse connective example of BUT on line 17 of ID 182 allows Bess to create a contrast between what her husband Shrewsbury said he would do, and what he has actually done.

10 out of the 58 are in close proximity to some kind of dysfluency. See for example, the quote from the postscript of ID 182 below:

'I haue sent you letyll **[plural noun omitted]** for that you loue them, **and** euer seconde day some **ys** sente to your charge and you.' (ID 182, lines 1-5 of the postscript)

In the above example, the plural noun in the main clause preceding the discourse connective AND is omitted. Furthermore, the discourse connective AND is followed by a construction in which the pronoun 'some' is directly followed by 'ys', the third person singular present form of the primary verb 'be', rather than 'are', the third person plural present form of 'be', which is conventionally used in relation to plural nouns and the pronoun 'some'.

7 out of the 58 discourse connectives are in close proximity to short politeness formulae. For example, in the quote taken from ID 111 below, the discourse connective SO is in close proximity to the short politeness formulae 'yf yt wolde plese you':

'**so** that **yf yt wolde plese you** to be here at that tyme I shulde thynke my selfe mouste bowden to you.' (ID 111, lines 19-20).

7 out of the 58 discourse connectives are close to imperatives. An example is the discourse connective AND on line 13 of ID 099, which is in close proximity to the imperative 'cause bronshawe to loke to the smethes', as the following quote demonstrates:

'**and** yn the meane tyme **cause bronshawe to loke to the smethes**' (ID 099, lines 13 - 14)

5 out of the 58 discourse connectives identified in the holograph letters are in close proximity to repetition and 2 of them are close to grammatical ellipsis. An example of a discourse connective close to grammatical ellipsis can be found on line 11 of ID 110, where discourse connective BUT is followed by a clause that has an elided subject, as the relevant quote below demonstrates:

'**but (elided subject)** wyll reste euer moust faythefoull.' (ID 110, line 11)

Finally, ID 112 contains one discourse connective in close proximity to what could be defined as non-clausal material. The discourse connective FOR in the example below is close to the phrase 'as yet', which is classed as non-clausal material because of its semantically omissible nature:

'**for** the byll hath **as yet** been but onse redde' (ID 112, line 11)

However, the 17 holograph letters do not contain any discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in close proximity to three of the characteristic

grammatical features of the PDE speech included in the questionnaire, namely exclamations, questions and interjections.

Scribe 2

15 of the 20 discourse connectives identified in ID 116, 145, 159 and 179, the four letters in the sample copied in Scribe 2's hand, are in close proximity to pro-forms, and just over half (11 out of 20 to be exact) are in close proximity to other conjunctions or other connective elements. For instance, discourse connective SO on line 20 of ID 159 is directly followed by the conjunction 'that', as the quote below demonstrates:

'**so that** the xijth of marche Laste ther weare artocles set downe by M[aste]r Markham' (ID 159, lines 20-21)

These four letters copied by Scribe 2 also contain discourse connectives in close proximity to negation, other pragmatic markers, dysfluency, short politeness formulae, repetition, grammatical ellipsis, questions, lexical bundles and vocatives, albeit lower numbers of them. 5 of the 20 discourse connectives are close to negation, as in this quote from ID 145 below (the discourse connective in question is the clause-level AND at the start of the excerpt):

'**and** more com[m]odetye ys not to be made of thos Lands being as they are in Lesse. **I do not Lyke** she should be now here as she was w[i]th her mother in her Lyfe tyme' (ID 145, lines 23-25)

3 of the 20 features are close to other pragmatic markers. For example, the discourse connective AND on line 21 of ID 116 was close to the pragmatic marker 'I trust', as can be seen below:

'**and** then **I trust** you wyll quiett my harte' (ID 116, line 21)

3 of these features are also close to examples of dysfluency, as in the instance of AND SO on line 38 of ID 145. This feature is close to a noun phrase which has the demonstative determiner 'this', conventionally used in relation to singular nouns, used in relation to the plural noun form 'letters'. This can be seen in the following quote from ID 145:

'**and** so make an end of **this** my vnconsederat Letter**s**' (ID 145, line 38)

2 of the 20 discourse connectives are in close proximity to short politeness formulae, and 2 of the 20 discourse connectives are in close proximity to repetition. One of them is this example of discourse connective SO, from line 20 of ID 159:

'the earle hertofore had refused **such articles as he had set downe**; whervnto M[aste]r Markham replyed that he had full com[m]etione from the earle to conclude all matters and whatsoeuer he should now **set downe** he would be bounde the earle should parforme them, **so** that the xijth of marche Laste ther weare **artocles set downe** by M[aste]r Markham betwen the earle of shrousbury and me' (ID 159, lines 16-23)

As can be seen in the quote above, Bess is talking about certain articles which have been 'set downe'. The phrase 'set downe' occurs three times in this excerpt, twice before the example of SO and then once again after the example of SO.

Two of the discourse connectives are in close proximity to grammatical ellipsis. One of them is the example of AND on line 27 of ID 145, which is directly followed by an ellipsis of the subject and verb 'I am', as can be seen below:

'nether can I be conte[nted] she be in any place wher I may not somtymes se her and dayly here of her well doing, **and (elided subject and verb)** therfore at great chargs to kepe her in house' (ID 145, lines 25-27)

Discourse connective AND on line 15 of ID 116 is the only example of a discourse connective close to what could be defined as a question. It signals the start of is a rhetorical question asked by Bess, as can be seen in the relevant quote below:

'**and** what can you haue more then that her mag[es]ty Iustefyed you and vs,' (ID 116, lines 15-16)

The discourse connective example of BUT line 52 of ID 159 is the only discourse connective close to lexical bundles in these four letters, and the only example of a discourse connective in close proximity to a vocative can be found on line 3 of ID 179, where the discourse connective AND is relatively close to the vocative 'all ours'. This can be seen in the relevant quote below:

'**and** I desire to heare how **all ours** doe at London' (ID 179, lines 3-4)

These four letters copied by Scribe 2 do not contain any discourse connectives in close proximity to the other characteristic grammatical features of speech included in the questionnaire, namely exclamations, imperatives, contrastive perspectives, interjections and non-clausal material.

Scribe 4

There are 35 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT and 12 discourse connective examples in ID 001, 129 and 140, the letters in the sample copied in Scribe 4's hand. Nine of these 12 discourse connectives are close to pro-forms of some kind. For example, the discourse connective BUT line 8 of ID 129 is in close proximity to 'do' acting as a substitute for a lexical verb, as can be seen in the quote from ID 129 below:

but I doubt yt is not in my power nowe **to doe** that service to yo[u]r Ma[ies]tie
in this matter, as I desire./ (ID 129, lines 8-9).

Five of the 12 discourse connectives found in the letters copied by Scribe 4 are in close proximity to lexical bundles. An example is the discourse connective BUT on line 10 of ID 140, which is directly followed by the lexical bundle 'I have ben', as can be seen in the relevant quote below:

'**but I have ben** so hardly and vnnaturally dealt w[i]thall by him and others' (ID 140, lines 10-11)

Five of the 12 discourse connectives are in close proximity to grammatical ellipsis and five are also in close proximity to other conjunctions or connectives, as in the quote below from ID 001 below. In this quote, discourse connective SO is directly followed by the preposition 'with':

'**so w[i]th** my very harty Commendac[i]ons I cease./' (ID 001, lines 10-11)

ID 001, 129 and 140 also contain five discourse connectives in close proximity to some form of repetition. To exemplify this, the transcript of ID 001 is given in full below. It can be seen that the discourse connective example of AND on line 4 is surrounded by two examples of the phrase 'the same', which appears for the first time on line 4 and is then repeated on line 5 (these phrases and the discourse connective are in bold). The phrase 'the same' refers to the 'great workes' mentioned on line 3 of the letter.

Transcript of ID 001

1 M[aste]r Bagott, I thank you for yo[u]r favor and indifferencie in the matter
2 touching that lewde workman Tuft whoe hath delt very badly and
3 lewdly w[i]th me he vndertoke and Covenaunted to doe great work[e]s for me
4 and to fynishe **the same** long since **and** hath receiued much more then
5 reason for **the same** and by absenting himself before the p[er]formaunce
6 thereof hath greatly disappoynted me and hindred my work[e]s. by promise
7 he is my hyred servant but I referr this matter to you and the rest
8 of the Iustic[e]s [of the peace] wherein what seemeth best in yo[u]r discretions I
9 shalbe very well Content w[i]thall./ so w[i]th my very harty Commendac[i]ons I
10 cease./ Hardwick this xixth of September 1594./

Yo[u]r assured loving frend
E Shrouesbury

There are three discourse connectives in close proximity to vocatives in these letters copied by Scribe 4. For example, discourse connective SO line 16 of ID 140 is immediately followed by the vocative 'good Master Secretarie', as can be seen in the quote below:

'**So good M[aste]r Secretarie** wishing you all honor and happynes I Cease./' (ID 140, line 16)

There are also three discourse connectives close to pragmatic markers, three close to contrastive perspectives and three close to negation in ID 001, ID 129 and ID 140. An example of a discourse connective close to negation can be seen in the excerpt from ID 129 below. In this excerpt, discourse connective BUT is in close proximity to the verb phrase 'I can not coniecture', in which the adverb 'not' is used to express negation:

'I cannot but doubt there is an other match in working **but** whoe the p[ar]tie shoulde be **I can not coniecture**./' (ID 129, lines 13-14)

Only two of the 12 discourse connectives identified in the three letters copied by Scribe 4 are in close proximity to examples of dysfluency, and there are no examples close to: imperatives, questions, exclamations, interjections or non-clausal material.

Scribe 6

In ID 128, 160 and 163, the three letters copied in Scribe 6's hand, there are 26 grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT and eight discourse connective examples. Seven out of these eight discourse connectives are close to pro-forms. For example, in ID 128, discourse connective FOR is close to the pro-form 'hir', as can be seen in the quote below:

'**for** I cannot now assure my self of **hir**, as I haue donn[e]./' (ID 128, lines 21-22).

The third person singular pronoun 'hir' (i.e. 'her') is being used here as a pro-form in place of the proper noun 'Arbella' in the above quote. ID 128 is a 24 line letter, and it is wholly concerned with Arbella. However, the proper noun Arbella is only used once, on line 8 of the letter. The rest of the time, Arbella is referred to with either the third person singular pronoun 'hir' or the third person singular pronoun 'she'. 'Hir' is also used four times as a possessive determiner in ID 128, to refer to 'hir vayne doings' (lines 12-13, 'hir vanitie' (line 14), 'hir Loyall and dutifull mind' (lines 14-15) and 'hir service' (line 19).

Half of the discourse connectives (i.e. four out of the eight) are in close proximity to other conjunctions or connectives, and three out of the eight are close to lexical bundles. Another three of the eight are in close proximity to vocatives, such as the example of discourse connective BUT below, which is close to the vocative 'my pore Arbell':

'My good Lord I w[as at the first much trobled to think yt so wicked and mischeuous practises shold be deuysed to intrap **my pore Arbell** & me; **but** I put my trust in thalmighty' (ID 163, lines 2-4).

Three of the eight discourse connectives identified in ID 128, 160 and 163 are close to contrastive perspectives, two of them are close to pragmatic markers and two are close to short politeness formulae. An example of a connective close to the latter can be found on line 7 of ID 163, where discourse connective AND is directly followed by the politeness formulae 'I humbly thanke', as can be seen in the excerpt below:

'**and I humbly thanke** your Lo[rdshi]p for adu[e]rtisinge yt,' (ID 163, line 7)

There is also an example of a discourse connective close to an example of dysfluency in ID 163. In ID 128, discourse connective BUT is in close proximity to repetition in the form of the repeated phrase 'your Ma[ies]tie', as can be seen in the relevant quote from ID 128 below:

'his presisenes at his first com[m]ing to kepe the offence from me, till he had priuatly talked w[i]th Arbell did make me dobtfull yt **your Ma[ies]tie** had som suspition in me; **but** when I considered **your Ma[ies]ties** great wisdom in it, I did in my harte most humbly thank **your Ma[ies]tie** for com[m]aunding yt course to be taken./' (ID 128, lines 6-11)

This is the only example of a discourse connective in close proximity to repetition in these three letters copied by Scribe 6. One of the eight discourse connectives is in close proximity to negation and one is in close proximity to an instance of grammatical ellipsis. However, none of the eight discourse connectives are in close proximity to: exclamations, imperatives, questions, interjections or non-clausal material.

Scribe 5

There are only three discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in ID 127, 139 and 161, the letters copied in Scribe 5's hand. All three of these features are in close proximity to other conjunctions or connective features. For example, the discourse connective example of BUT on line 4 of ID 139 is directly followed by the preposition 'upon' (both BUT and 'upon', spelt 'vpon', are in bold in the quote from ID 139 below).

'my sonne this bearer is come vp to attend yo[u]r pleasure in some matters

touching M[aste]r Thomas Gerrard who hath exhibited a Complaint to
her Ma[ies]tie supposing some wrong[e]s to be offred him by my sonne, **but**
vpon the hearing of the matter, **I doubt not** but yt will very
evidently fall out that my sonne hath and yet doth indure many
great wrong[e]s, and hath offred him none./' (ID 139, lines 2-7)

Two of the three discourse connectives are in close proximity to pro-forms, and one, discourse connective BUT on line 4 of ID 139 (see above), is near a pragmatic marker, namely 'I doubt not', which expresses a degree of certainty about the situation. This pragmatic marker is highlighted in bold in the above quote from ID 139. The discourse connective example of BUT on line 4 of ID 139 above is also the only one of the three markers to be in close proximity to any kind of negation, i.e. 'I doubt **not**'. Furthermore, it is the only example of a discourse connective close to contrastive perspectives in the three letters. As can be seen in the excerpt from ID 139 above, discourse connective BUT separates out the perspective of Master Thomas Gerrard, who has launched a complaint and thinks that Bess's son is guilty of wrongdoing, and the perspective of Bess herself, which is that her son is innocent and that it is Gerrard who is guilty of wrongdoing.

The only other discourse connective close to any of the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech included in the questionnaire in ID 127, 139 and 161 is the discourse connective example of AND on line 17 of 161, which is preceded by the short politeness formulae 'I pray you'. However, none of the three discourse connectives identified in these three letters are close to the majority of features of PDE speech included in the questionnaire. There are none close to: lexical bundles, grammatical ellipsis, vocatives, exclamations, imperatives, questions, dysfluency, repetition, interjections or non-clausal material.

Scribe 3

ID 121, 124, 125 and 126, the four letters in the sample copied in Scribe 3's hand, contain six discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT. Five of these six discourse connectives are close to other conjunctions or connective features. For example, the discourse connective example of AND on line 3 of ID 125 is immediately followed by the adverb 'now', as can be seen in the quote below:

'I haue and doe rely thereon, **and now** occasion is offred wherein you may plentyfully shoe yt' (ID 125, line 2-3)

Half of the six discourse connectives are either in close proximity to vocatives of some kind, or to pro-forms. An example of a discourse connective close to a vocative is AND on line 13 of ID 124, which is directly preceded by the vocative 'my very good frend'. This can be seen in the quote below:

'I pray you remember me in the kindest maner to your nobell and vertuus Lady, **my very good frend**./ **and** so beseching god to bless you w[i]th all honor
and happines, I ceass./' (ID 124, lines

An example of a discourse connective close to pro-forms can be seen in the excerpt below, from ID 126. In this excerpt, discourse connective AND is followed by the second person singular pronoun 'you' and the conjoint noun phrase 'me and myne'. In relation to the latter phrase, it could be said that the possessive pronoun 'myne' is being used as a substitute for the noun phrase 'my family':

'**and** herein **you** shall bind both **me and myne** greatly unto you.' (ID 126, lines 8-9).

There is one example of a discourse connective in close proximity to the verbal construction 'I am in hope', which closely resembles the evidential expression 'I hope' and can therefore be classed as a pragmatic marker. This comes on line 7 of ID 121 and can be seen in the quote below:

'I can not refreyne but signifie unto your L[ordship] the comforte **I am in hope** shortly to reseue by being in hir ma[ies]ties presence. **for** my Lo[rd] is now determined of my comming uery shortly to court./' (ID 121, lines

The one example of a discourse connective in close proximity to a short politeness formulae comes in ID 124, where a discourse connective example of AND is in relatively close proximity to the politeness formulae 'I pray you'. This can be seen in the excerpt from ID 124 below:

'**I pray you** remember me in the kindest maner to your nobell and vertuus Lady, my very good frend./ **and** so beseching god to bless you w[i]th all honor

and happines, I ceass./' (ID 124, lines 11-14)

However, none of the six discourse connectives identified in these four letters copied by Scribe 3 are in close proximity to: lexical bundles, grammatical ellipsis, negation, exclamations, imperatives, questions, contrastive perspectives, dysfluency, repetition, interjections or non-clausal material. It can be said therefore that none of the six discourse connectives are in close proximity to the majority of characteristic features of PDE speech included in the questionnaire.

Results relating to the proximity of the discourse connectives to the features of PDE writing in each of the six hands identified

Scribe 5

As noted at the start of 'Results', the hands of Scribes 5 and 3 were found to contain the highest number of discourse connectives in close proximity to the characteristic grammatical features of PDE writing included in the questionnaire (i.e. elaboration and lexical density). All three of the discourse connectives identified in ID 127, 139 and 161, the three letters copied by Scribe 5, are in close proximity to elaboration and lexical density. To demonstrate this, an excerpt from ID 127 is provided below.

'**And so praying** god to graunt you **long and happie** health I take my leave' (ID 127, lines 6-7)

In the above excerpt, it can be seen that the two discourse connectives AND SO are immediately followed by elaboration in the form of the long formulaic construction 'praying god to graunt you long and happie health', in which the two adjectives 'long' and 'happie' are coordinated in attributive position. It can also be seen in the excerpt that these two discourse connectives are in close proximity to lexical density, in that they are immediately followed by the content word 'praying', the present participle form of the infinitive 'to pray'.

Scribe 3

Four of the six discourse connectives identified in ID 121, 124, 125 and 126, the four letters copied in Scribe 3's hand, are in close proximity to elaboration, and all six of these discourse connectives are in close proximity to lexical density. An example of a discourse connective close to lexical density in one of these four letters copied by Scribe 3 can be found on line 14 of ID 121, where a discourse connective example of AND is preceded by the proper nouns 'Lennox' and 'Arbella' and followed by the plural noun form 'commendaciones':

'I can not render unto your Lo[rdship] sufficient thanks for your goodnes towards my **doughter Lennox** and my **poore Arbella**. **And** thus w[i]th my uery herty **commendaciones** I take my leue of your Lo[rdship]/' (ID 121, lines 11-16)

Scribes 4 and 6

The letters copied by Scribes 4 and 6 also contain a relatively large number of discourse connectives in close proximity to these two characteristic grammatical features of PDE writing. Although only six of the twelve discourse connectives identified in the three letters in the sample copied in Scribe 4's hand are in close proximity to elaboration, eleven of the twelve are in close proximity to lexical density (i.e. content words). An example of a discourse connective close to elaboration from these three letters (ID 001, 129 and 140) can be seen in the excerpt from ID 140 below. In this excerpt, discourse connective BUT is followed by two examples of phrasal coordination: 'hardly and vnnaturally' and 'him and others':

but I have ben so **hardly and vnnaturally** dealt w[i]thall by **him and others** (ID 140, line 10)

An example of a discourse connective in close proximity to lexical density in the three letters copied by Scribe 4 comes on line 23 of ID 129, where discourse connective BUT is immediately preceded and followed by content words in the form of the noun phrase 'yo[u]r Ma[ies]tie' and the lexical verb 'desireth'. The relevant features are highlighted in the quote below:

'she sayth she will doe all dutie to **yo[u]r Ma[ies]tie but desireth** me to forbeare to examyn hir./' (ID 129, line

Furthermore, although only four of the eight discourse connectives identified in the three letters copied in Scribe 6's hand are in close proximity to elaboration, six of the eight are in close proximity to lexical density (i.e. content words).

Bess

In contrast to the letters copied in the hands of Scribes 5, 3, 4 and 6, the 17 letters copied in Bess's holograph hand contain relatively few discourse connectives in close proximity to elaboration (19 out of the 58 to be exact). An example is the discourse connective example of AND on line 22 of ID 107, which is surrounded by three examples of phrasal coordination. This can be seen in the quote below:

'I shall cause furthwythe **thre or fowre** lodgyngs to be furnyshed wyth **hangyngs and other necesaryes and** rather then I shuld not w[i]t[h] **trewe and ffaithfull** hart answere the trust reposed by the quenes mayestye' (ID 107, lines 19-24).

A larger number of these 58 discourse connectives (41 out of the 58) are in close proximity to lexical density. For example, discourse connective SO on line 13 of ID 200 was found to be in close proximity to lexical verb 'for see' (i.e. 'foresee'), as can be seen in the relevant quote below:

'yf any seche matter happon I trouste you wyll **so for se** for me that yet shall not be be hurtefoull to me nor myne' (ID 200, lines 13-14)

Scribe 2

As with the letters copied by Bess, there are relatively low numbers of discourse connectives in close proximity to the characteristic grammatical features of PDE writing included in the questionnaire in these letters, (i.e. in comparison to the letters copied by Scribes 5, 3, 4 and 6). 13 out of the 20 discourse connectives present in these four letters are in close proximity to some kind of elaboration. An example is discourse connective BUT on line 45 of ID 159, which is preceded by the noun phrase 'any new inventyons' and is also close to the conjoint noun phrase 'righte and dew', as can be seen in the quote below:

'that in reason he ys to conclude w[i]thout **any new inventyons**, but he hath

founde me so forwarde styll in relenting my **righte and dew**' (ID 159, lines 45-47)

11 of the 20 discourse connectives are in close proximity to lexical density, i.e. content words. To take an example, discourse connective AND on line 3 of ID 179 is directly preceded by the noun 'goute' and closely followed by the verb 'desire', as can be seen in the quote below:

'I truste your Lord ys well or now of the **goute**; and I **desire** to heare how all ours doe at London' (ID 179, lines 3-4)

Now that the trend relating to the number of discourse connectives in close proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and PDE writing below sentence-level in the 34 letters included in the sample has been described in detail with reference to the hands of the six individual copyists, it is time to step back from the detail and reflect on what the trend itself suggests. The trend outlined above suggests that, in terms of the number of discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in close proximity to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech and PDE writing below sentence-level, the six individual hands can be placed on a spectrum. This spectrum is a conceptual continuum, at one end of which is PDE speech, with its associated characteristic grammatical features below sentence-level, such as lexical bundles and negation; at the other end of which is PDE writing, with *its* associated characteristic grammatical features below sentence-level, namely elaboration and lexical density, i.e. content words.

Figure 14 illustrates the scheme.

Figure 14 - Spectrum: PDE speech/PDE writing

PDE speech					PDE writing
Bess	Scribe 2	Scribe 4	Scribe 6	Scribe 5	Scribe 3

It is important to acknowledge at this point that there are some anomalous findings that go against the general trend noted. For example, the hands of Bess and Scribe 2 contain the highest number of discourse connectives in close proximity to the characteristic grammatical features of spoken PDE. However, there is relatively little grammatical ellipsis close the discourse connectives identified in Bess's holograph letters, and there are relatively few lexical bundles near the discourse connectives present in the four letters copied by Scribe 2. Given the fact that both lexical bundles and grammatical ellipsis are characteristically found in spoken PDE communication (cf. Biber et al. 1999), both of these findings are slightly anomalous. However, it is argued here that despite the existence of these anomalies, the trend outlined above, and the spectrum that emerges from it, still stands. Furthermore, 3.2 will show how the findings of Case Study 2 strengthen the findings of Case Study 1 by confirming the existence of this trend.

A comparison of the 17 holograph letters and 17 scribal letters

Interesting findings also emerge when the holograph material is compared to the scribal material as a whole, i.e. when the 17 holograph letters (4610 words) are compared to the 17 scribal letters (4775 words) included in the data sample. Although three of the 17 holograph letters do not contain any discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT, the other 14 holograph letters contain a total of 58 discourse connective examples of these features. The 17 scribal letters contain a total of 49 discourse connective examples of these features. Overall therefore, there are more discourse connective examples of these features in the holograph letters than there are in the scribal letters, despite the fact that three of the holograph letters (namely ID 178, 183 and 186) do not contain any examples at all.

Furthermore, ten of the holograph letters contain more examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning discoursally than grammatically. By contrast, there is not a single scribal letter that has more of these four lexical features functioning discoursally. In all of the individual scribal letters, the majority of the examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT are functioning as grammatical connectives. To demonstrate this, the transcript of ID 161, a letter copied by Scribe 5, is provided

below. In this transcript, both the grammatical and discourse connective examples of
AND, SO, FOR and BUT are highlighted in bold.

Transcript of ID 161

1 Whereas aboute the xxth of Iune last past a petition was preferred to the King[e]s
2 most excellent Ma[ies]tie by Robert Allyn Hugh Needham and Iohn Wright in the
3 behalf of themselves and others Inhabitant[e]s in and nere the forest of the Highe
4 Peake wherein they alledge that they ought to haue Com[m]on of pasture for theire
5 Cattle w[i]thin his Highness seuerall demesnes of the Castle of the High Peake
6 Called the Inner seuerall of the Champion The sayd petition: is altogether vntrue
7 **and** thereby they Clayme some of his Highness Inheritaunce to be theire owne as
8 by a decree vnder the Duchie Seale and by my answere and my sonne
9 William Cauendishe sent you by this bearer you may perceive. The said petitione[rs
10 were presently after the delyvery of theire petition dispatched to Come to
11 me for Answere thereof **but** they Came not to me vntill w[i]thin this weeke
12 at w[hi]ch tyme they desired rather some Composition in ground then any thing
13 Conteyned in theire petition./ I hartily pray yo[u]r lawfull fauour for the
14 speedie receivinge of the answere **and** dispatch of the matter restinge much
15 beholdinge to you **and** willinge a parte [party] to requite yo[u]r trooble as this
     bearer
16 vpon the dispatch of the matter will further signifie vnto you to whom
17 I pray you geve Credytt./ **And soe** w[i]th my very harty Com[m]endac[i]ons
18 I Ceasse. ffrom Hardwicke this last day of Ianuary .1603./

                              your uery louing frend
                              E Shrouesbury

The above transcript shows that there are four grammatical connectives in ID 161: the
grammatical connective AND on line 7, BUT on line 11, AND on line 14 and AND
on line 15. However, there are only two discourse connectives; 'AND' and 'SOE' on
line 17. Indeed, 'AND SOE' could be viewed as one discourse connective rather than
two due to the fact that 'AND' and 'SOE' are working as a pair (as will be expanded
upon in Case Study 2).

These notable findings relating to the differing frequencies of grammatical and
discourse connectives in the holograph and scribal letters are not that surprising when
seen in the context of the spectrum visually represented in Figure 14 above. In
relation to the number of discourse connectives in close proximity to the grammatical
features characteristic of PDE speech in the 34 letters, the key finding is that there are
more discourse connectives in close proximity to a greater number of these features in

the holograph letters than there are in the scribal letters.[72] The holograph letters contain more discourse connectives in close proximity to *ten* different characteristic features of PDE speech, namely: lexical bundles, other pragmatic markers, negation, other conjunctions or connectives, short politeness formulae, vocatives, pro-forms, imperatives, contrastive perspectives and dysfluency. The scribal letters contain more discourse connectives in close proximity to *three* different characteristic features of PDE speech, namely: questions, repetition and grammatical ellipsis. Therefore, when the differing frequencies are compared, it can be seen that there are more discourse connectives in close proximity to a greater number of characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech in the holograph letters than there are in the scribal letters.

Furthermore, although the scribal letters contain a greater number of discourse connectives in close proximity to three characteristic features of PDE spoken communication (namely questions, repetition and grammatical ellipsis), the frequencies of discourse connectives in close proximity to these three features in both the holograph and the scribal letters are comparatively low.[73] In relation to the characteristic grammatical features of PDE writing included in the questionnaire, the notable finding is that the 17 scribal letters contain a greater number of discourse connectives in close proximity to both elaboration and lexical density. Again, these results are not that surprising when viewed within the context of the spectrum visually represented in Figure 14 above.

Discussion of Results

Case Study 1 offers some fascinating results. It highlights a trend involving how the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT function below the level of the sentence in the hands of the six different copyists. This finding makes it possible to place the six individual hands on a PDE speech/writing continuum, with PDE speech at one end and PDE writing at the other. Case Study 1 also shows that the four lexical features under investigation are being used in a more discoursal way overall in the holograph letters than in the scribal letters, both in terms of the number

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[72] For the corresponding table of raw data, please see the word document in Appendix 2 entitled 'A comparison of the 17 holograph and 17 scribal letters'.

[73] Grammatical ellipsis occurs more frequently around the grammatical connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in Bess's holograph letters.

of these features functioning as discourse connectives and the proximity of these discourse connectives to characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech. The implications of these results will be elaborated upon in the 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 2.

Case Study 1 also highlights which of the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech included in the questionnaire are frequently in close proximity to the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in this group of 34 EModE letters. Eleven features of PDE speech (namely lexical bundles, pragmatic markers (e.g. modal verbs, evidentials), negation, other conjunctions or connectives, short politeness formulae, vocatives, pro-forms, contrastive perspectives, dysfluency, repetition and grammatical ellipsis) are all relatively common in this position. Three features of PDE speech (namely imperatives, non-clausal material and questions) are rarely in close proximity to the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT. Finally, two features of PDE speech (namely exclamations and interjections) are absent from this position altogether.

If the eleven features listed above occur relatively frequently in close proximity to the discourse connectives in these 34 EModE letters, is it possible to suggest that they are also present more generally in these EModE letters, i.e. not just in close proximity to discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT? By the same token, if they are rare or totally absent from around the connectives, may it be assumed that they are rare or generally absent from the letter corpus as a whole? By extension, it is possible to suggest that the characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech, such as lexical bundles, that occur relatively frequently in this group of letters from Bess are also common in EModE letters more generally? The oral nature of EModE letters has been recognised by several scholars, but has this study helped to characterize the oral nature of these letters?

Due to the fact that the analysis focused exclusively on the discourse connectives themselves, and the prose in immediate proximity to them, it is difficult to say anything certain or definitive about this. However, it is possible to suggest, tentatively, that these results potentially give us some pointers. It is certainly likely that if features such as lexical bundles are present near discourse connectives, they are

also present throughout the letters as a whole. However, further research would be needed to confirm this.

3.2 Case Study 2

Methodology

Case Study 2 seeks to determine the discourse function(s) of the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT at or above the level of the sentence in the prose of the six copyists. The analysis seeks to ascertain whether any of these discourse connectives are functioning at or above the sentential level. Furthermore, whether any of them are functioning as discourse markers at either of these levels. In this thesis, the organization of a prose text at the level of the sentence and above is referred to as the 'prose structure' of the text. At the first level of prose structure there are sentences.[74] Sentences are the constituents of the higher level of prose structure, above the level of the sentence. In relation to written, textual material, this higher level relates to the organization of the text as a whole.[75] Adopting a discourse-analytic approach to prose structure involves investigating how written communication, in the form of prose, is organized within each letter text, at both sentence level and above.

The point of reference here is Schiffrin's 1987 observationally-driven research into the discoursal uses of AND, BUT and SO in PDE conversational monologues (mentioned in Section 2.3 of Part 2 and described in more detail below).[76] Schiffin's research on the discourse function of these lexical features in PDE speech is used for the purposes of comparison in this study because it focuses on the discoursal function of these features in PDE speech rather than PDE writing. It can therefore serve as a kind of control, making it possible to gauge the extent to which the discoursal function of these features in the EModE written data reflects their discoursal function in PDE speech. In the process, it also makes it possible to gauge the extent to which the prose contained within Bess's holograph and scribal letters reflects the structure and cohesion of PDE speech.

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[74] For a detailed discussion of the notion of 'the sentence' and the problem of what units to use in relation to Bess's letters, please see section 2.1 of Part 2.

[75] This higher level of prose structure is described in various different ways by different scholars working with ME and EModE prose texts. Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice (2007: 20), and Fleischmann (1990: 26), refer to it as the level of 'discourse'. Brinton also refers to the 'discourse structure' of texts (cf. e.g. 1996: 67), whilst Görlach refers to tense sequence and cohesion at the sentence level, a level he distinguishes from what he terms 'the rhetorical structure of the text as a whole' (1991: 100).

[76] Schiffrin does not investigate the discoursal uses of FOR in speech, so her work can not be used as a point of comparison for this particular lexical feature.

The method employed in this case study is qualitative. Dorgeloh (2004) advocates qualitative analysis for the analysis of the role of sentence-initial AND in the discourse structure of EModE texts. Reflecting on the methodological implications of her own study of sentence-initial AND in EModE texts, Dorgeloh notes that:

'At various stages in the analysis, it has become obvious that quantitative data are not always sufficient to determine the discourse function of a particular linguistic phenomenon. Ultimately, only qualitative analyses will be able to unveil the discourse work that takes place at the various levels of discourse, particularly in cases where a device is applied less frequently. This holds, in particular, for elements whose primary function is on the textual level (as I have noted in earlier work with regard to a different kind of linguistic phenomenon; see Dorgeloh, 1997)' (2004: 1778).

The qualitative method involves applying a detailed qualitative questionnaire to each of the 34 letters used for the purposes of the case studies. This questionnaire focuses on the discourse function of the lexical features at the level of sentence and above. It takes into account the fact that a marker, whether a lexical feature or a visual feature such as a punctuation mark, can potentially function at either of these levels. Firstly, it focuses attention on the level of the sentence. In order to ascertain the nature of the sentences in each letter, the questionnaire focuses on their length, how they were marked and the amount of subordinate clauses within them. It is assumed that the closer the sentences are to the units Schiffrin refers to 'ideas' found in PDE speech, the longer they will be, and the more likely it is that the lexical features under examination will function discoursally in sentence-initial position. However, bearing in mind the observations of scholars such as Houston about the 'incremental' (Houston 1988: 28) nature of the written English sentence during this period, the questionnaire also takes into account the potential existence of multiple subordinate clauses within the sentences.

Secondly, the questionnaire focuses attention on the level above the sentence in the prose. It seeks to ascertain whether the discourse connectives are functioning at this level, whether they are acting as discourse markers at this level, and if they are acting as discourse markers, what they are marking. Specifically, it asks whether they are involved in marking the patterns of linguistic structuring, i.e. topic and functional

relations that Schiffrin (1987) suggests contribute to the configuration of the clear ideational structures found in oral discourse modes such as narratives.

Like Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice (2007: 20), and Fleischmann (1990: 26), Schiffrin refers to the higher level of prose structure as the level of 'discourse'. The sentence level is also referred to by Schiffrin as the 'local' level, while the discourse level is referred to as the 'global' level. Schiffrin uses these terms because she conceives of discourse coherence as having both local and global dimensions. For example, she states that relations between adjacency pairs in spoken discourse can be seen as 'local coherence' (1987: 24), but that an investigation of local coherence phenomena 'can be expanded to take into account more global dimensions of coherence' (1987: 24). It is important to emphasize that these global dimensions exist at the level referred to in this thesis as 'the level above the sentence'. Schiffrin suggests that at this global level of coherence, there are three inter-related components of discourse; exchange structures, action structures and ideational structures.

The first two components of discourse are not relevant to the analysis presented in Case Study 2 because they are described by Schiffrin as 'non-linguistic structures' (1987: 24). Furthermore, exchange structures only emerge in dialogue, whereas this research uses EModE letters as source material, which are monologic in nature.[77] However, Schiffrin's conception of the ideational component of discourse coherence is relevant to the linguistic analysis that Case Study 2 presents. This is because the analysis is particularly concerned with the semantic, ideational aspect of discourse. Therefore, due to its relevance, this component was used as a reference point for the purposes of the analysis.

So what are ideational structures? Schiffrin suggests that unlike exchange and action structures, ideational structures are linguistic in nature. Ideational structures contain sentences that function within them as semantic units. In Schiffrin's words, they function as 'propositions, or what I'll call ideas' (1987: 25-26). Schiffrin goes on to explain that there are three different relations between what she calls 'ideas' that contribute to the overall configuration of ideational structures: 'cohesive relations,

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[77] Schiffrin states that action structures can emerge in either dialogue or monologue (see 1987: 26), but they are not considered in this particular analysis because they are not linguistic structures.

topic relations and functional relations' (1987: 26). These are essentially different patterns of linguistic structuring.[78]

Schiffrin defines cohesive relations as ties which are established when 'interpretation of an element in one clause presupposes information from a prior clause because of the semantic relationship underlying a text' (1987: 26). The influence of Halliday and Hasan's work on cohesion in English (1976) can be seen here. Cohesive relations were not considered during the analysis because the lexical features under investigation were conjunctions and therefore already created cohesive ties, whether as grammatical or as discourse connectives. Furthermore, according to Schiffrin, cohesive relations are related to the interpretation of how an element in one clause presupposes information from a prior clause. They therefore exist on a clausal level, below the level of the sentence. However, the analysis presented in Case Study 2 focuses exclusively on the levels of the sentence and above.

Topic relations are the 'organization of topics and subtopics – what is being talked about' (1987: 26). Schiffrin acknowledges that it is difficult to be systematic about how to identify topics within discourse, although she does note that 'it often seems intuitively very clear, especially when topics shift' (1987: 26). She also suggests that the most promising way of conceiving of topic is as 'a summary of the important parts of discourse content – like a title' (1987: 26). Finally, functional relations exist between ideas within an idea structure. These are slightly easier empirically identify, because, as Schiffrin notes, 'they concern the roles which ideas play *vis-à-vis* one another, and within the overall text: for example, in a narrative, some ideas may serve as a descriptive background for others; in explanatory discourse, some may provide specific instances to illustrate a generalization, or reasons which support a position' (1987: 26).

Building on findings from other studies, particularly in the areas of spoken narrative and argument analysis, Schiffrin identifies four different discourse modes: narratives, descriptions, arguments and explanations. These discourse modes can occur in PDE

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[78] Labov (e.g. 1972) and Polanyi (e.g. 1982) are also interested in patterns of linguistic structuring as a surface feature of spoken discourse. They are particularly interested in the patterns discernable in oral narratives, or stories.

writing or in PDE speech. In PDE speech, all four of these modes can have clear ideational structures. For example, building on the framework proposed by Labov and Waletsky (1967) and Labov (1972), Schiffrin suggests that there are four discourse tasks that feature prominently in conversational narratives. These are: the initiation of the story, the reporting of events within the story, the conveying of the point of the story and the accomplishment of an action through the story.[79]

Conversational arguments are a slightly more complex discourse mode. This is because, as Schiffrin points out, 'argument seems to be a mode of discourse which is neither purely monologic nor dialogic' (1987: 17). Monologic arguments in speech typically consist of two main parts; the position, and the support for the position. However, the dispute of the position, in which 'individuals can address their opposition to any one (or more) of its parts' (1987: 18) comes from the interlocutor(s). Schiffrin thus puts forward a definition of conversational arguments that acknowledges both of these aspects. She suggests that 'the textual relations between, and arrangement of, position and support is monologic, and the interactional organization of dispute (challenge, defence, rebuttal, and so on), is dialogic (1987: 18).

In order to determine the discourse function(s) of the discourse connective examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT above the level of the sentence, the questionnaire asks whether they are involved in marking the topic and functional relations that Schiffrin (1987) suggests contribute to the configuration of the clear ideational structures found in oral discourse modes such as narratives and arguments. For example, the functional transition between the position and the support for that position in an argument may, or may not, be signalled by a lexical feature such as AND functioning as a discourse marker.

The questionnaire also takes into account the possibility that if present, the topic and functional relations that Schiffrin (1987) suggests contribute to the configuration of the clear ideational structures may be signaled by non-linguistic, visual markers such as punctuation marks, or indeed that they may be left unmarked. Schiffrin notes that

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[79] Brinton (1996) is also very interested in narratives, although she refers to 'propositional' rather than 'ideational' relations when discussing them.

in speech, there are often what she calls 'syntagmatic contrasts' created between what she calls 'zero' (i.e. a discourse boundary that is left unmarked) and the discourse markers AND and BUT (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 129 - 134). The alternation between these different kinds of marking helps the listener to better grasp the structure and cohesion of the discourse. This alternation patterning between different kinds of marker is also looked for in the EModE letter data. Indeed, it is important to emphasize that the relationship of the four discourse connectives under investigation to other discourse marking features and devices is a key part of the analysis.

However, there are three things to bear in mind. Firstly, the analysis presented in Case Study 2 is specifically concerned with the monologic textual relations between the position and the support for the position in an argument. In other words, because the analysis presented in this study is concerned with textual data, it is solely interested in the monologic as opposed to dialogic properties of arguments. Schffrin does recognize the existence of monologic spoken arguments. As noted above, she suggests that they are divided into two, functionally differentiated sections; 'the position and the support' (1987: 134). Schiffrin also discusses the discourse function of AND in relation to these two functionally differentiated sections (cf. 1987: 133 – 137).

Secondly, whereas Schiffrin, as a sociolinguist working with PDE spoken data, can isolate the different kinds of discourse mode, i.e. narrative, description, argument and explanation, from each other, and can therefore analyze them all separately, each of these EModE letters has to be analyzed as a unique piece of discourse. Due to the heterogeneous nature of EModE letters, one particular letter may contain more than one of these discourse modes. So for example, it is possible for one EModE letter to contain, potentially, both a narrative report and an explanation. Furthermore, it is possible that a particular EModE letter may contain a narrative report or an explanation that does not have the ideational structure that it has in PDE speech. To demonstrate this, see for example the transcript of letter ID 001 below:

Transcript of ID 001

1 M[aste]r Bagott, I thank you for yo[u]r favor and indifferencie in the matter
2 touching that lewde workman Tuft whoe hath delt very badly and

3 lewdly w[i]th me he vndertoke and Covenaunted to doe great work[e]s for me
4 and to fynishe the same long since and hath receiued much more then
5 reason for the same and by absenting himself before the p[er]formaunce
6 thereof hath greatly disappoynted me and hindred my work[e]s. by promise
7 he is my hyred servant but I referr this matter to you and the rest
8 of the Iustic[e]s [of the peace] wherein what seemeth best in yo[u]r discretions I
   shalbe
9 very well Content w[i]thall./ so w[i]th my very harty Commendac[i]ons I
10 cease./ Hardwick this xixth of September 1594./

                  Yo[u]r assured loving frend
                  E Shrouesbury

ID 001 is a short letter to Richard Bagott that concerns a case involving Tuft, one of Bess's hired servants. As can be seen in the transcript of ID 001 above, the letter contains a central narrative segment that can be said to start with the words 'he vndertoke and Covenaunted' on line 3 and end with the words 'hindred my work[e]s' on line 6. However, this narrative segment is relatively short and does not reflect the four part ideational structure of conversational narratives that has been observed by Labov and Waletsky (1967), Labov (1972) and Schiffrin (1987). Furthermore, it is embedded within a letter to that begins with a show of gratitude to Bagott, a Justice of the Peace, for his 'favor and indifference in the matter' (line 1) and ends with a reassurance that Bess will respect any decision that he and the other Justices make in relation to the case. The kind of heterogeneity that ID 001 demonstrates must be born in mind when searching for ideational structures above the level of sentence in EModE letters.

Thirdly, it is important to bear in mind that, in addition to the ideational structures found in PDE speech, identified by Schiffrin among others, there may be other, genre-specific, formulaic structures present at this higher level of the prose, structures prescribed by contemporary, commonly-employed letter manuals. Due to the fact that an historical discourse-analytic approach to EModE letters as data entails a sensitivity to the nature of EModE letters themselves, any genre-specific formulaic structures that may be present are seen as part of the real object of study, rather than obstacles in the way of it.

The use of prescribed epistolary conventions was very common in EModE letters. The way an EModE letter was set out on the page was relatively conventional and largely adhered to in most of the EModE letters that survive. The opening salutations and expressions used to close the letter tended to be the most formulaic parts of the letter. This is because they usually involve formulaic language that had been prescribed by polite letter-writing social protocol. Most EModE letters that survive have an address, a main body, a subscription and a superscription. Formulaic expressions used to close Early Modern letters included valedictions, such as 'Dutifull commendations' and appreciatos, such as 'The Almightie forever prosper hir sacred Ma[ies]tie' (ID 131). Some of Bess's letters have both a valediction and an appreciato, some only contain one of these two kinds of formulaic closing expression, and some do not contain either.

However, it is the main body of an EModE letter is of more interest, because the structure of the main body of an EModE letter could be more or less formulaic (and therefore more or less reflective of speech), depending on whether or not the letter writer was loyally subscribing to a particular letter model. Letter models prescribed how each part of a letter should be written. They were derived from various inter-related traditions. Gibson notes that 'early modern schoolboys were faced by a composite epistolary theory made up of three interrelated traditions; (1) the medieval ars dictaminis; (2) early modern rhetorical theory; (3) the revived theory of the 'familiar' letter' (2000: 615).

These approaches were also available in 'printed English epistolographies and formularies' (2000: 615). Gibson suggests that the Early Modern letter was pulled in different directions by these inter-related approaches. However, many of the epistolographies that were common throughout Europe during the Early Modern period, including Erasmus's well-known *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522), tried to pull these traditions together. As Nevala points out, these letter-writing manuals outlined the 'proper way to present messages in a particular order' (2004: 37). For example, Angel Day's *The English Secretarie* (1586) outlines four different categories of letter: demonstrative, deliberative, judicial and familiar. It goes into detail about how each of these should be structured, explaining the subcategories of the familiar letter for example.

The use of formulaic continental letter-writing models in sixteenth-century English letters is discussed by Nevalainen (2001). She focuses specifically on the Chancery and Anglo-Norman models. Chancery letters such as letters patent were usually structured along the lines of what Richardson (1984: 213-214) and Hall (1908: 270-80) before him identify as the Latin *dictamen* style. The Latin Chancery Model, based on the *ars notaria*, and outlined by Richardson (1984), is as follows:

Address (Right trusty and…), Salutation (We greet you well/after hearty commendations), Notification (And we let you wit that), Exposition (Whereas), Disposition/Injunction (We are pleased with these presents to grant), Final clause (Injunction: For it is our pleasure, wherefore we will and command; Provisio: Provided that/and these letters shall be a sufficient warrant), Valediction and Appreciato (And so we bid you heartily farewell which knoweth Almighty God, who have you ever in his keeping), Attestation (written at), and finally, the Date.

Although basically similar in outline, the French-related Anglo-Norman model for fifteenth-century private letters suggested by Davis (1965) differs from the typical Chancery model put forward by Richardson (1984) in certain important respects. The principal difference between the two models is that the model suggested by Davis includes an extended health formula. Davis suggests that the full model distinguishes seven divisions, some with subdivisions, and is best seen in letters from children to parents. After the address, it includes what Davis describes as 'a formula commending the writer to the recipient, often accompanied by [2a] an expression of humility and, if the letter is to a parent, [2b] a request for a blessing - this usually introduced by a present participle and strengthened by an adverb or a phrase;' (1965: 236). This formula is then followed by five related items, including for example an expression of desire to hear of the recipient's welfare. For the sake of brevity Davis refers to these five items collectively as 'the health formula' (1965: 236).

In addition to highlighting that there are sometimes elements of more than one model in any particular English letter, Nevalainen shows how these foreign formulas were gradually less adhered to over the course of the sixteenth century.[80] Daybell (2006b) notes that EModE petitionary letters written by women often adhered to a prescribed

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[80] See also Davis (1965), Richardson (1984; 2001), Rice Henderson (1993: 143 – 162) and Roura (2002).

model. He suggests that these letters, 'influenced in different measure by the classical letter form of the medieval ars dictaminis, early modern rhetorical theory and revived theory of the ''familiar'' letter, consisted of five main rhetorical parts, which were commonly employed in Renaissance epistles: exordium (introduction), narratio or propositio (declaration of the substance of the letter, which often included a request or petitio), confirmatio (amplification), confutatio (refutation of objections) and peroratio (conclusion)' (2006b: 5).

EModE letters are complex data to work with, particularly for a researcher adopting a data-sensitive, discourse-analytic approach to prose structure, because they are often formulaic in some parts and expressive in others. However, the research presented in this thesis acknowledges the complexities and nuances present in the data. It takes into account what Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice call the 'conventions governing the production' (2007: 18) of the letters, something that Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice advocate (2007: 18-21). It also acknowledges that although all EModE letters have some degree of conventional structure (i.e. address, body, subscription etc), the loyalty to conventional letter models within individual letters is likely to be variable. It may be affected by who the writer of a particular letter is, whether a particular letter is holograph or scribal, what the purpose of a particular letter is, or indeed the nature of the relationship between the sender and recipient of a particular letter.

Specifically, the questionnaire used for the purposes of Case Study 2 asks whether the individual letters in question adhere to the petitionary letter model outlined by Daybell (2006b) or either of the formats based upon the Chancery and Anglo-Norman models outlined by Nevalainen (2001). It bears in mind the observation made by Nevalainen (2001) that there was less and less adherence to formulaic letter models in sixteenth century letters. If these models are present, the questionnaire seeks to determine whether the four lexical features under investigation are acting as markers of their various sub-sections, and indeed whether there was any syntagmatic patterning going on between different markers in order to better signal structure and cohesion.

It can therefore be seen that these prescribed, genre-specific structures are treated in the same way as the structures found in PDE speech elucidated upon above. In

addition to taking formulaic factors into account, the questionnaire also accommodates for the possibility that neither speech-like nor formulaic structures will be present above the level of the sentence in the prose. Therefore, in addition to asking whether these structures are present, it also asks whether more visual methods of discourse organization are in evidence at this higher level of this prose. In particular, it asks whether paragraphs (of the kind currently used in PDE written prose) are being used.

The questionnaire used for the purposes of Case Study 2 interrogates the function of these discourse connectives at both the level of the sentence and the level above the sentence in the prose. However, it is important to point out that a clause-level discourse connective may potentially function at both of these two levels simultaneously. For instance, a discourse connective example of AND may signal a new sentence, which also happens to be the start of a new topic, or represent a functional shift within an idea structure. Therefore, whilst it is methodologically useful to provisionally separate out these two levels, the questionnaire does take the possibility of overlap into account.

The questionnaire was applied to each of the 17 letters thought to have been copied in Bess's holograph hand. In order to complete the questionnaire, a method of qualitative close reading was employed. Each letter was carefully read, sometimes several times, before detailed notes were made. In order to get a full appreciation of the more visual aspects of prose structure and marking, the original manuscripts were consulted. When this last procedure was not possible for practical reasons, for example if a particular original manuscript letter was held in an overseas archive, high-resolution images of the original manuscripts were consulted. For each letter, a detailed file was created. In each file, there was a completed questionnaire, which took the form of a word document rather than an excel spreadsheet, a typed transcript of the letter and an image of the original manuscript. Once completed, each of these questionnaires constituted a discourse-analytic investigation into how each holograph letter was organized as a piece of discourse.

Once these files had been created for the holograph letters, the same process was carried out on the scribal letters. The same sample of 17 scribal letters that was used

for the purposes of the other three case studies was used here. To remind the reader, this sample consisted of 17 letters and contained at least three letters in each of the five scribal hands identified. Once the discourse function of the discourse connectives AND, SO, FOR and BUT in the hands of Bess, Scribe 2, Scribe 3, Scribe 4, Scribe 5 and Scribe 6 had been established, the discourse function of these features in the six hands was compared. This comparison of the hands of the six different copyists is presented in the Results section below. Finally, after both Case Studies 1 and 2 were completed, the findings relating to the discourse function of the features below sentence level (from Case Study 1) were viewed in relation to the findings relating to their discourse function at and above sentence level (from Case Study 2), in order to see if any larger patterns or trends were present.

Results

A comparison of the hands of the six individual copyists

When the letter set was broken down into the hands of the six individual copyists, it was possible to detect notable variation among the different hands. Each of the six copyists was found to have his or her own unique prose style. Furthermore, it was found that the results that emerged from Case Study 1 relating to the discourse function of AND, SO, FOR and BUT below sentence level in each of the six hands were complemented by the results that emerged from Case Study 2 relating to the discourse function of these four features at and above sentence level.

This finding meant that, in relation to the discourse function of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT, each of the six different prose styles could be placed on the spectrum first suggested in the Results section of Case Study 1. As established in the Results section of Case Study 1, this spectrum is a conceptual continuum, at one end of which is Present Day spoken English, with its associated characteristic grammatical features; at the other end of which is Present Day written English, with its associated characteristic grammatical features.

Case Study 1 was exclusively concerned with the level below the sentence, i.e. the level of word and phrase. Therefore, the only grammatical features referred to in

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relation to the spectrum were those below sentence level, such as negation and familiarising vocatives. However, Case study 2 makes it possible to add grammatical features that occur at and above sentence level to the spectrum. For instance, the use of discourse markers such as AND in sentence-initial position is a characteristic grammatical feature of the spoken mode. It therefore belongs at the PDE Speech end of the spectrum. The spectrum is fuzzy, in the sense that there are no absolute distinctions between the different prose styles. However it is still possible to place each of these prose styles on this spectrum, visualised below:

Figure 15 - Spectrum: PDE speech/PDE writing

PDE Speech					PDE Writing
Bess	Scribe 2	Scribe 4	Scribe 6	Scribe 5	Scribe 3
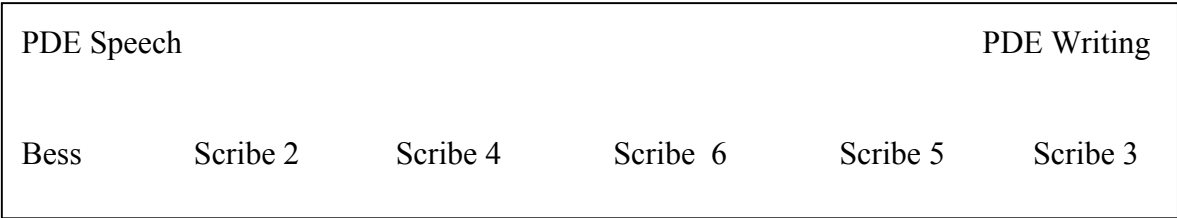
The finding that, in relation to the discourse function of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT, each of the six different prose styles could be placed on the spectrum first suggested in the Results section of Case Study 1, will be expanded upon below. The hands will be discussed in the order in which they appear on the spectrum visualised above.

Bess

Bess's holograph prose is structured and marked in a way which is more reflective of PDE spoken communication than the prose of the other five copyists analysed. It can therefore be placed at the PDE Speech end of the spectrum visualised above. Bess's holograph prose is expressed through sentences of various lengths. These sentences conform to the EModE notion of the sentence as a unit of thought or meaning. They are not regular or consistent in their length or how they are marked. Instead, they vary, both in their length and in how they are marked. Some of them are relatively short. For instance:

'I wolde you knewe my wholle thoughtes' (ID 186, line 11)

However most of them are more akin to what Houston calls the 'incremental sentences' (1988: 28) of the Early Modern period, i.e. long, additive sentence constructions. Here, for instance, is a sentence from ID 099, a letter addressed to Francis Whitfield:

'cause the flore yn my bede chamber to be made euen ether with plaster claye or lyme **and** al the wyndoyes were the glase ys broken to be mended **and** al the chambers to be made as close and warme as you cane' (ID 099, lines 22 – 28).

The examples of AND highlighted in the above quotation are grammatical connectives, working internally within the sentence. It is relatively easy to identify where the above sentence begins and ends. However, it is not always so easy to identify sentence boundaries in Bess's prose. Indeed, it is often unclear where her sentences begin and end. Below is a particularly good example of this phenomenon. It is taken from the start of ID 110, a letter addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The subordinating and coordinating conjunctions are in bold.

'**albeyt** one of my greatest com[fortes] ys to here frome your L[ordship]/ **and** nothynge cane be more acseptabelle vnto me then to here of your wel[l] lykenge the bache, **and** helthe recouered therby I haue ~~bene~~ ^yet not w[i]t[h]standynge^ forborne wrytynge **for that** I wolde geue your L[ordship] no ocasyon hereynge yt was wysshede by lerned aduysse you shulde not youse yt/ **other wysse** I shulde altogeder for gett my selfe/ **whych** shall neuer apeare towardes so nobell a frende/ **as** I fynde by good proffe your L[ordship] ys bothe to me and myne **but** wyll reste euer moust faythefoull **as** many your moust honorabell fauores may Iustely chalenge.' (ID 110: lines 1 – 13).

The above extract appears to be a single additive sentence construction that contains a large amount of qualification. It is an incremental construction in the sense that although both coordinate and subordinate clauses are present, the subordination is not controlled or contained, and does not seem to be anchored to a main clause. It is also not entirely clear where the sentence begins and ends. For example, it could be argued that the words 'other wysse' on line 5 of the extract above signal the start of a new sentence construction entirely. However it is difficult to verify this in a definitive manner.

The sentences identified in Bess's EModE holograph prose are therefore more akin to the kinds of sentences found in PDE speech, i.e. the propositional, semantic units of thought referred to as 'idea units' by Chafe (1982: 38) and as 'ideas' by Schiffrin (1987: 25), than to the relatively short, visually marked sentences that characterise PDE writing, i.e. sentences that begin with a capital letter and end with a full stop. Furthermore, although Bess's sentences frequently contain a large amount of both coordinate and subordinate clauses, it is difficult to define them according to Present Day written English conventions. According to these conventions, there are three recognised types of grammatical sentence in Present Day written English; simple, compound and complex. The reason Bess's sentences do not fit neatly into these three well-defined categories is because Bess's prose exhibits a tendency towards simplified and loosely integrated construction. A tendency towards simplified and loosely integrated construction is a characteristic of PDE speech that has been observed by Chafe (1982), Biber et al. (1999) and Leech (e.g. 2000), among others (cf. Section 3 of the Introduction).

There are a variety of devices used to mark sentence boundaries in these 17 holograph letters. In addition to lexical features such as the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT focused upon in this analysis, sentence boundaries are marked by a variety of visual markers, such as punctuation marks. It is quite common for a sentence boundary to be marked by both a lexical and a visual marker, as will be discussed in more depth below. However, many sentence boundaries in these letters are either marked with nothing but a large space, or are left totally unmarked. To demonstrate the latter phenomenon, a close up image of the relevant part of ID 123 is provided below:

Figure 16 – Image of ID 123:
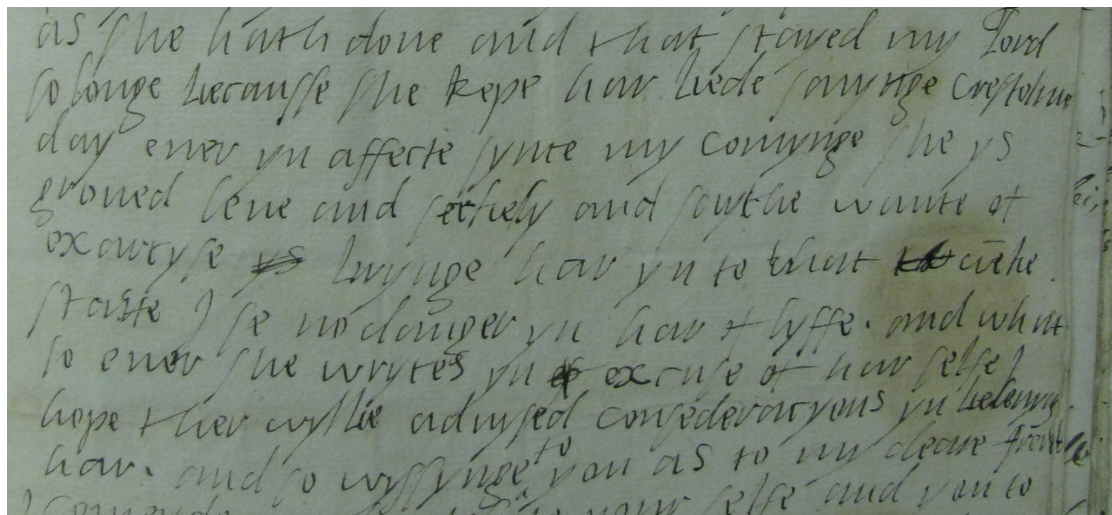
The sentences that are of particular interest occur on the first six lines of the letter image above, and are reproduced in the quotation below:

'and that stayed my Lord so longe becausse she kepe har bede saiynge [saving] crestolme day euer yn affecte synce my comynge she ys growed lene and seckely and saythe wante of exarcyse ys brynge har yn to that w we[e]ke statte I se no danger yn har of lyffe.' (ID 123, lines 18-23)

It can be seen that the first sentence of the quotation is signalled by discourse connective AND, and ends with the word 'day'. However, the following sentence, which begins 'euer yn affecte' is left unmarked. Similarly, the sentence that follows this one, which begins 'I se no danger', is also left unmarked. Another example of unmarked sentence boundaries occurs at the end of ID 112. To demonstrate, a close up image of the relevant part of ID 112 is provided below:
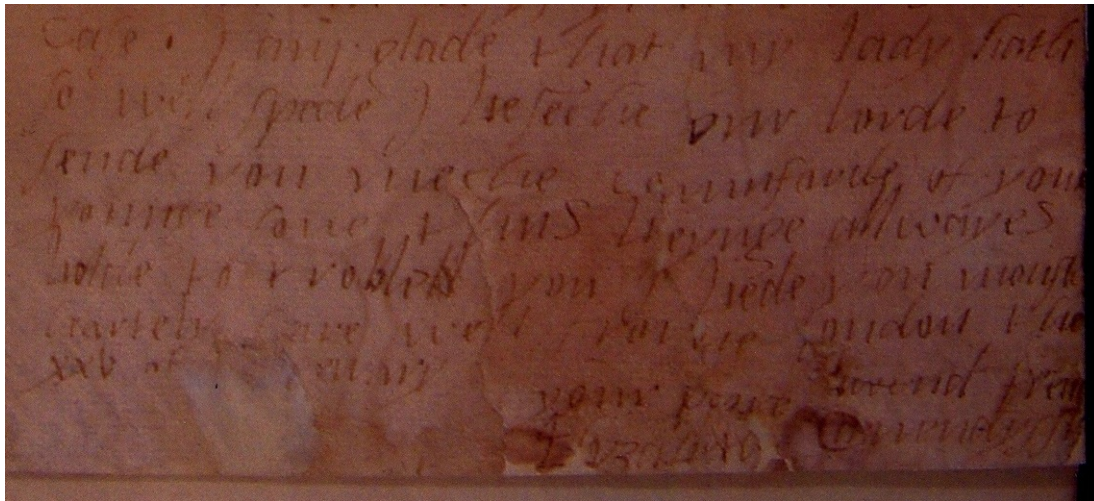
Figure 17 – Image of ID 112

The three sentences that are of particular interest occur on the first six lines of the letter image above, and are reproduced in the quotation below:

'I am glade that my lady hath so well spede I beseche our lorde to sende you seche comfordes of your younge sone thus beynge allwayes bolde for to troblell you I bede you moust hartely fare well Frome London, the xxv of February' (ID 112, lines 25-31)

The first of these sentences begins 'I am glade', the second begins 'I beseche our lorde' and the third begins 'thus beynge allwayes'. However, as can be seen in the image above, none of these sentence boundaries are marked by lexical or visual features.

Visual methods of discourse organization are not in evidence above the level of the sentence in Bess's holograph prose. For example, paragraphs are not deployed. However, there are more speech-like methods of discourse organization in evidence at this level. Four letters contain the clear ideational structures found in conversational narratives and arguments, and the functional relations between sentences that contribute to the overall configuration of these structures. ID 123, ID 200 and ID 111 reflect the structure of monologic conversational narratives, despite the fact that ID 111 is also a letter of petition, while ID 101 reflects the structure of a monologic conversational argument. (ID 123 and ID 101 will be discussed in more detail below with reference to transcripts of both letters). The structures found in descriptions and explanations are not apparent in any of the holograph letters.

As can be seen, not many of the 17 holograph letters contain the clear ideational structures found in conversational narratives, arguments, descriptions and explanations. However, functional relations between sentences within individual discourse topics are identifiable in several of the letters, including ID 183. The transcript of ID 183 is provided below.

Transcript of ID 183

1 my none I here ther ys a brewte that
2 my dowter lenexe my Iuwell
3 and my dowtesr ^grace^ shulde come hether
4 to morow: I cane not beleue yt
5 for that you haue not made
6 me to knowe yt; I prey you lette
7 them stay ther for a shorte tyme
8 yt wylbe the lesse dongorus for
9 the ynfeccyone, whyche myght
10 so hapon ^yf any here shulde take yt^ as wolde torne to owre
11 dyscomforde, w[i]t[h]yn a wecke you
12 shall here frome the corte and
13 then you may sende them two
14 or thre dayes afore you com[m]e, I
15 haue wretyn to strynger, blonte.
16 hadfelde, and perynce to help me
17 w[i]t[h] the caryage of my tember I
18 wolde make gattes ^and other thynges w[i]t[h] yt^ yf I hade yt
19 I prey you forder them and cause
20 others of your tenante to helpe all
21 god send my my deare swete harte
22 hys helthe. Sonday

                your faythefoul

                wyffe E Shrouesbury

In ID 183, there are two main topics: the arrival of Elizabeth, Countess of Lennox, Lady Arbella Stuart and Grace, wife of Henry Cavendish (lines 1-14) and the carriage of Bess's timber (lines 14-20). Embedded within each of these topics are requests that are related to them. So for example, the first request, that Elizabeth, Arbella and Grace be allowed to stay, is contained within a single sentence and is signalled by a

sentence-initial lexical feature 'I prey you' (cf. lines 6-7 of the transcript above). The support for this request, i.e. that it 'wylbe the lesse dongorus for the ynfeccyone' (lines 8-9) if the women stayed, is contained within the following sentence. The boundary between these two sentences is left unmarked.

Indeed, although the ideational structures found in the four discourse modes referred to in the paragraph above are relatively rare in Bess's holograph letters, topic relations are a particularly salient method of discourse organization above the level of the sentence. And, as Schiffrin points out, spoken communication is frequently organized according to topic. Several of the holograph letters, particularly the letters addressed to family members and servants, are organized according to topic above the level of the sentence. These letters often jump from topic to topic. See for example the transcript below of ID 184, a letter from Bess to Shrewsbury. The discourse connective examples of AND and BUT are in bold, as is the first word of each new sentence.

Transcript of ID 184

1 my none **you** saye you wyll bare w[i]t[h] my malyuedy
2 Later but howso euer you bare you haste m[e]
3 to subpley any wante I haue. **you** say
4 you denyed not not [*sic*] [rey]. **yn dede** you
5 yeldod to geue me aletyll but non at all
6 comes. **the** two botles of secke [sack] you sent[e]
7 hether wyll do small sarues here **the**
8 one ys the smalles that euer I
9 drenke lyke as tho yett were halfe
10 water **the** other meche worse **yett**
11 mouste be solde yet sauores so of the
12 uessell that yt ly two mont[h]es more
13 yett wyll not be to be dronke **I** pre[y
14 sende some hether to by yett yf [you
15 cane gett any **or** yf you wyll [haue
16 yett sente to worsope I wyll cau[se yett
17 to be sente. **and** yf you wyll sen[de one
18 other to ly here Crompe may go [both
19 to chewse yett. **crompe** and alsope saythe
20 yf yett be not solde presently yett wylbe
21 worth nothynge **alsope** shewed to me
22 to moue you to geue hym longer day
23 for the pamente of the money he woyes [owes]
24 you. **I** haue taken apone me to gett you to

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[Letter, fol. 70v:]

25 geue hym Crystolmes [Christmas] for the pamente
26 of the one halfe and shroustyde [Shrovetide] for
27 the reste. apone hys ~~other~~ outhe **and**
28 proues that he wyll [not] fayll to paye yett
29 then~~m~~. **the** money ys not meche an[d]
30 you knowe hys trewe dewtyfoull harte
31 towardes you. **the** pekes mene as I
32 here wyl by no meane consente that you
33 shulde knowe the openyon of herneste
34 men[n]e **but** to haue you to longe yett
35 out ^hauynge^ ther openyones. **I** here my boye lak[s?]
36 [p]etycotes and other tryffelles **therys** stoffe
37 be bought at Shefelde good for that
38 [por]posse **lett** not the honeste felow wau
39 [c]thes [watches] I prey you. **I** here he hathe
40 [ta]ken colde. **I** prey you comende me
41 [t]o my good frende w[i]t[h] thankes for the
42 good uenysone. **fare** well ou[s]bende mine
43 thys sonday

<div style="text-align:center">

your faythefoull
wyffe E Shrouesbury

</div>

In ID 184, sentence boundaries are not signalled by discourse connectives. Instead, they are frequently left unmarked. It can be seen, for example, that the sentence boundaries on lines 7 - 17 are not marked, in the way it would be today, with visual markers, such as capital letters or punctuation marks. There is not even any noticeable spacing used. When the sentences in ID 184 are marked, they are marked with a sole punctus (otherwise known as a full stop), usually accompanied by a space, although this is not a regular marking practice.

ID 184 is an example of a letter in which topic relations are the dominant pattern of linguistic structuring above the level of the sentence. The letter is split into six topics. In order, these are: an unidentifiable thing referred to as 'rey' (sic) (lines 1-6), two bottles of sack (lines 6 – 21), the debt of a man by the name of 'alsope' (lines 21 – 31), the 'pekes men' (i.e. men of The Peak, Derbyshire) (lines 31 – 35), Bess's 'boye' (lines 35 – 40), and Bess's 'good frende' (lines 41 – 42). Each shift to a new topic is marked by a specific punctuation mark, namely a sole punctus. So for example, on line 31, the transition from the third discourse topic, 'alsope's debt', to the fourth

discourse topic, 'the pekes men', is marked by a punctus. Thus in ID 184, although the sentence boundaries are frequently left unmarked, each topic boundary is marked with a single punctus, and this is a consistent practice. It can therefore be seen that there is a kind of marking system employed within the letter.

Most of the 17 holograph letters contain discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT. The only letters which do not are ID 178, 183 and 186.[81] When the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in the 14 other holograph letters are used as discourse markers, they are predominantly used at the level of the sentence. In other words, they are used in sentence-initial position to signal the boundaries of sentences. Sometimes they are accompanied by visual markers in this position, sometimes not. So, the discourse connectives under investigation are most often used at the lower level of prose structure in these holograph letters, i.e. to signal new sentences. Meanwhile, the different relations between sentences which contribute to the overall configuration of ideational structures, if such structures are present, are either marked with punctuation marks or left unmarked. See for example, ID 123, a letter from Bess to Walsingham regarding Mary Queen of Scots. The transcript is below and the discourse connectives are in bold, as is the first word of each new sentence.

Transcript of ID 123

1 Good mayster secretory **my** approuyd good frend to whome
2 I do yn mynd acknoleledge my selfe greatly beouldynge
3 **the** openyone you haue of my fydelyte and lyall
4 sarues to har magystye and frendly affeccyone you
5 bare me for that cause shall I dowte not **so** unite
6 owre myndes to gether as therby shall contenew
7 assuryed frenshep betweste vs. **for** yf ther be fown[d
8 any subgett more faythfoull to har magystye or
9 more carefoull to dyscharge my bonden dewty to
10 my so nobyll soferyne then I. lett me neuer inioye
11 your frenchepe nor thynke me worthey to leue.
12 **my lorde** prononced the contentes of thartycles
13 you sente to thys q[ueen] who semed ^not^ so meche to myslyke
14 of the same as that he charged har w[i]t[h] them.
15 **and** not therfor well plesed w[i]t[h] hym. sayd she
16 wold not put har ansore to hys reporte for dowte

[81] Incidentally, all three of these letters are addressed to Bess's husband Shrewsbury.

17 of hys adecyone but wryte har selfe at hur p[er]ell
18 as she hath done **and** that stayed my Lord
19 so longe becausse she kepe har bede saiynge crestolme
20 day **euer** yn affecte synce my comynge she ys
21 growed lene and seckely and saythe wante of
22 exarcyse ys brynge har yn to that w we[e]ke
23 statte **I** se no danger yn har of lyffe. **and** what
24 so euer she wrytes yn es excuse of hur selfe I
25 hope ther wylbe aduysed consederacyons yn beleuyng
26 har. **and** so wyssynge ^to^ you as to my deare fren^d^e
27 I comende me hartely to your selfe and you to
28 the almyghty shefelde the xxjx of desember

<div align="center">

your faythefoull
                    assuryed frend
E Shrouesbury

</div>

29 I came hether of crestolmes euen
30 and lefte my letyll arbell at
31 Chattysworth **I** thanke god she
32 yndewred uary well w[i]t[h] trauell
33 **and** yt I was forsed to take longe
34 Iornes to be here w[i]t[h] my lorde afore
35 this day

In ID 123, new sentences are often signalled by one of the four discourse connectives studied. These are either used on their own (see for example sentence-initial AND on line 18) or with a punctus that signals the end of the previous sentence, (see for example lines 7 and 23). However, they are never capitalized. Several of the sentence boundaries in this letter are left unmarked (see for example lines 3 and 20). It is tentatively suggested here that this letter takes the form of a narrative above the level of the sentence. Furthermore, that the four inter-related parts that make up the ideational structure of conversational narratives, namely the initiation of the narrative, the reporting of events within the narrative, the conveying of the point of the narrative and the accomplishment of an action through the narrative, are also present.

This particular narrative is directed at Sir Francis Walsingham and concerns Mary Queen of Scots, who was in the custody of Bess and her fourth husband Shrewsbury from 1568 to 1584. The letter opens with a relatively extended opening address and salutation in which Bess emphasises her loyalty and subservience to the Queen (see lines 1 – 11). It could be argued that this section also constitutes the initiation of the narrative to follow. It certainly prepares the reader for the narrative that follows. The

transition from the end of this opening section of the letter to the reporting of events within the narrative, which takes up lines 12 -23, is marked with a sole punctus. No other discourse-marking device is used. The transition from the report of events within the narrative to the conveying of the point of the narrative, (see lines 23 – 26) is left unmarked. Incidentally, the point of the narrative is to show Walsingham that although Mary claims to be very unwell, Bess sees 'no danger yn har of lyffe' (line 23). In other words, Bess thinks Mary is in adequate health and that her excuses should be treated with scepticism. This last section could also be said to accomplish an action through the narrative, in the sense that it advises Walsingham to be sceptical about the truth of what Mary writes to him.

It is apparent that while the start of new sentences are either signalled by the four connectives studied or left unmarked in ID 123, higher level functional transitions in the narrative are signalled either by punctuation or are left unmarked. ID 123 therefore arguably contains the alternation patterning found in PDE speech, which was discussed in the 'Methodology' section of Case Study 2. To remind the reader, Schiffrin suggests that in spoken conversation, the discourse connective AND often alternates with what she calls 'zero' (i.e. unmarked discourse boundaries) to produce syntagmatic contrasts which 'organize both the referential and functional elements of an idea structure, at both local and global levels' (1987: 153). In other words, this alternation patterning helps the reader or listener to distinguish between the different levels of the discourse. This particular kind of alternation patterning (i.e. when the start of new sentences are signalled by the four discourse connectives studied while the high level patterns of linguistic structuring, whether they be functional relations or topic relations, are signalled by punctuation or 'zero') is also used in ID 182, 186 and 122 and ID 200.

It can therefore be said that some of Bess's holograph letters exhibit the alternation patterning involving different kinds of discourse organizational device that Schiffrin finds in conversational speech. However, the slight difference is that whereas conversational speech often exhibits alternation between 'zero' (i.e. unmarked clause or idea unit boundaries) and AND functioning as a discourse marker, Bess's holograph letters exhibit alternation between examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT

functioning as discourse markers and punctuation marks, which are marking devices characteristic of the written medium.

Although these discourse connectives are predominantly used as discourse markers at the level of the sentence, they are occasionally used as discourse markers at the level above the sentence. In relation to how the discourse connectives function as discourse markers above the level of the sentence, the salient finding was that they often signal specifically functional relations, and are less often used to signal topic relations. Two letters in which the connectives are used at this higher level of prose structure are ID 099 and 101, both of which are early letters to Francis Whitfield, Bess's trusted bailiff in the 1550s. See for example the transcript below of ID 101, a letter addressed to Francis Whitfield that is thought to date from around 1560. The discourse connectives are in bold.

Transcript of ID 101

1 francy[s] I wyll nott now haue the
2 pourche boched seynge I haue bene
3 att so greatt charges I thynke yet
4 nott materyall yf the batelmente
5 for the sydes be made thys
6 yere or no **for** I am sure the
7 batelmente mouste be sett oupe after
8 the porche be couered **and** yf yet
9 be so then wyll yett be dreye and
10 the battylmente ~~In~~ may be sett
11 oup att any tyme. the batylment
12 for the teryte wolde deface the
13 wolle poureche for yett ^ys^ nether of
14 stone. yett of bothe do I lyke
15 batter the creste beynge of the
16 same stone. I am contented you
17 shall haue the nage comende
18 me to my aunte lynycar fare
19 well francys yn haste as a
20 peryrs the xx of october

                your mystrys
                E[lizabeth] Seyntlo

21 tyll besse knolles and franke thatt
22 I saye yf they pley ther uergenalles

23 that the are good gerles

ID 101 reflects the form of a monologic spoken argument above the level of the sentence. Lines 1-2 set out the position in the argument, or what could also be referred to as the general attitude statement. This is: 'I wyll nott now haue the pourche boched' (mended). This is followed by support for this position. The discourse connective FOR on line 6 marks the transition from the position to the support (whilst simultaneously marking the beginning of a new sentence), while the discourse connective AND on line 8 marks the next logical stage in the support for the position put forward (whilst also simultaneously marking the beginning of a new sentence). It can be seen that both of these discourse connectives are not accompanied by any other marking devices and can therefore be said to be very much discourse markers in their own right.

The finding that there are examples of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT being used as discourse markers on their own in the holograph letters, i.e. *instead* of visual marking devices, is an important one in relation to the overall research aim of the thesis, because this is how these lexical features are used as discourse markers in PDE speech. It therefore shows that there are examples of these lexical features in the holograph letters that are being used in the way in which they are often used in PDE speech. This example also demonstrates what is meant by how the two levels of discourse can overlap, because it shows how these two discourse connectives are simultaneously in sentence-initial position and signalling the ideational structure of the argument.

The discourse connectives are also used to mark functional shifts above the level of the sentence in Bess's holograph letters of petition. These letters are all relatively loyal to the conventional, prescribed structure of a petition outlined by Daybell (2006b). Therefore, in these letters, the discourse connectives mark transitions between the different parts of this conventional structure. See for example the transcript below of ID 120. The discourse connective examples of AND are in bold, as is the first word of each new sentence.

Transcript of ID 120

1 may yt plese your moust exelente magystye **I** am outterly
2 onhabyll to expresse the monyfolde causus I hau[e]
3 to yelde your magystye my moust h[u]mbyll
4 thankes **and** presently yn that I vnderstand
5 by my vary good lorde of lescester that yt hat[h]
6 plesed your magystye of your moust especyall
7 and gracyous goodnes to grante vnto my
8 poure dowter lenex the costody of har chylde
9 nott w[i]t[h]standynge that ther were dyuers
10 meanes yoused to your heghnes for the
11 conterary **someche** the more am I bo[u]nden to
12 rest your faythefoull and thanfoull
13 saruante for the same/ **and** I do beseche
14 your magystye that I may commette
15 wolly vnto your moust Gracyous consedera^cyon^
16 my sayde poure dowteres case of whoyes only
17 goodnes I repouse my wolle troust/ **besechinge**
18 your magystye also to haue yn remembrance
19 the forder sutte of my lord and me one
20 theyes two owre chylderyne behalfe, **and** so
21 as we are moust [bowden] we wyll neuer seasse to prey
22 to the almyghte god longe to prosper your
23 magystye yn all joy perfytt healthe and selycyte
24 w[i]t[h] longe and happy reyne ouer vs at shefelde
25 the xvij of marche

> your magystyes mo[u]st
> bouden subgett and saruant
> E Shrouesbury

In ID 120, a highly formal salutation (line 1) is followed by an exordium (lines 1-4), a narratio (lines 4-11), a propositio (lines 11-13), a petitio (lines 13-20), and finally a peroratio (lines 20-25). The transitions from the exordium to the narratio, from the propositio to the petitio and from the petitio to the peroratio are all marked by the discourse connective examples of AND present in the letter. ID 109 and ID 111 are also letters of petition, and discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT mark functional shifts in the conventional structure of the petition in these letters as well.[82] [83] In these three letters, the discourse connectives are not only playing a

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[82] Both prescribed petitionary and speech-like narrative structures were identified in ID 111.

[83] ID 110 is also a letter of petition, but in this letter the discourse connectives are working at the level of the sentence, while transitions between different parts of the petition are signalled with punctuation marks.

crucial structural role, they are also being used in harmony with prescribed structures above the level of the sentence, rather than against them.

Finally, it is notable that in ID 112, a letter to Bess's friend Sir John Thynne, there is sequential patterning involving the individual connectives AND, BUT and FOR. Discourse connective FOR is used at the level above the sentence to mark functional and topic relations, while grammatical connective AND and BUT are used at the level of the sentence. Schiffrin notes that this kind of sequential patterning involving individual lexical features functioning as discourse markers can occur in speech. She notes that when speakers are telling stories and discourse marker AND becomes what she calls 'the textual norm' (1987: 133), SO 'creates a sequential contrast with that norm' (1987: 133). This kind of patterning between individual lexical features also occurs in the prose of Thomas Malory. Fludernik suggests that Malory was a writer who employed an 'oral' prose style (1995: 387). She notes that in Malory's prose, '*Than* appears to mark major plot developments, but *so* and *thus* seem to be responsible for signalling higher discourse units (the beginning of episodes or the conclusions of discourse units)' (1995: 385).

Although it is possible to say that ID 109, 110, 111 and 120 do adhere relatively faithfully to the prescribed petitionary letter model outlined by Daybell (2006b), none of the holograph letters comprehensively adhere to either the Chancery or the Anglo-Norman model. The majority of these holograph letters do begin and end in a fairly conventional way, which could be said to reflect the Chancery model. Furthermore, the conventional marker AND SO is often used to signal the start of the closing formula (see for example line 26 of ID 123 above). However, within this conventional frame, these holograph letters tend to exhibit relatively expressive language, and do not strictly adhere to any particular genre-prescribed model or structure.

Scribe 2

Although Scribe 2's prose is relatively speech-like compared to the prose of the other scribes, it is not as reflective of the structure and cohesion of speech as Bess's holograph prose. Like Bess's holograph prose, Scribe 2's prose consists of sentences conforming to the EModE notion of the sentence as a unit of thought or meaning.

They do not closely resemble the grammatical sentences found in Present Day written English. Instead, this scribe's sentence constructions tend to be very long, with boundaries that are often unclear. When sentence boundaries are identifiable, they are usually visually marked with punctuation, although this punctuation is often accompanied by discourse connective AND, which signals the start of new sentence constructions. For example, five of the nine examples of discourse connective AND in ID 145 are used in this way. The majority of these sentence-initial discourse connective examples of AND are preceded by some kind of punctuation mark, typically either < ./ > or < , >.

However there are two examples of discourse connective AND that are used as discourse markers in their own right, without any preceding punctuation. One occurs in ID 116, the other in ID 145. All four of the letters copied by Scribe 2 used for the purposes of this analysis (ID 116, 145, 159 and 179) contain discourse connective examples of AND. However, only ID 159 contains examples discourse connective SO and BUT.[84] Discourse connective AND, SO and BUT are all used in sentence-initial position in this particular letter, although each example is preceded by punctuation of some kind.

There is an interesting use of another lexical feature in sentence-initial position in ID 116, namely the vocative 'my Lord'. There are five examples of it in this position in this letter. It is usually directly preceded by punctuation (commonly < ./ >), but is used as a discourse marker in its own right on line 12. There is an alternate use of this marker and the discourse connective AND in sentence-initial position throughout the letter. So for example the sentence on line 6 starts with 'my Lord', while the following sentence on line 8 starts with discourse connective AND.

Scribe 2 does not tend to use capitalization at sentence boundaries. Nor does this scribe tend to leave sentence boundaries unmarked. The only example of a capital letter in this position is on line 19 of ID 116, and the only unmarked sentence boundary can be found on line 14 of ID 116. The use of spacing to signal sentence boundaries is more common, although a space is always used in combination with

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[84] None of these four letters contain any examples of discourse connective FOR.

some kind of punctuation, and the use of spacing is not as pronounced as it is in Scribe 3's hand, for example. Furthermore, although spacing is used as a guide to the reader, it is not exclusively reserved for sentence boundaries.

Visual methods of discourse organization used in PDE writing, such as paragraphing, are not used above the level of the sentence in Scribe 2's prose. What about methods of discourse organization found in PDE speech? ID 159, a letter addressed to William Cecil, could be said to loosely reflect the ideational structure of a conversational story. It is a narrative regarding the money, lead and cattle that Shrewsbury owes Bess, according to prior agreement. The first ten lines of the letter constitute the initiation of the story. Bess wishes to tell Cecil 'how matters now reste betwene the earle of shrousbury and me' (lines 6-8). The story itself makes up the bulk of the letter, and runs from line 10 to line 51.

However, Bess does not conclude this narrative by conveying the point of the story. Rather, she points out what her feelings are about the matter: 'but yf this goe not forwarde I wylbe Loth to taulke the forte [fourth] tyme' (lines 51-52). This shift from the narrative Bess's view on the narrative is what Halliday and Hasan (1976: 238-244, 321) would describe as a shift from external to internal, that is to say a shift from the narrative of the story to the speaker or writer's comment upon it.[85] As can be seen, discourse connective BUT signals this shift from narrative to view on narrative. It can therefore be seen that there is at least one example of discourse connective BUT functioning above the level of the sentence in this letter.

ID 116 is a complex letter in which Bess reaches out to Shrewsbury in an attempt at reconciliation. It is a defence of Bess's own conduct and is therefore essentially an argument. Despite its complexity, it can be said to adhere to the relatively simple position, support for position ideational structure found in monologic spoken arguments. It begins with an initial statement of Bess's position:

'the innocency of my owne harte ys such and my desyar so infenyt to procuer your good conceat as I wyll Leaue noe ways vnsought to attayne your fauor, w[hi]ch Longe you haue restrayned from me./' (ID 116, lines 1-2).

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[85] Culpeper and Kytö identify a similar shift from narrative to comment upon narrative in an extract of history writing from 1703. In their example, the shift is marked by clause-level AND (2010: 174-175).

So, Bess's position is that she is innocent, and that she wants to win back Shrewsbury's favour. There are then a number of different strategies employed in support of this position. These include requests, defences of Bess's own conduct and coordinated rhetorical questions, as can be seen in the quotation from ID 116 below:

'**and in all dutys of a wyffe I beceach you not to rune w[i]th a setteled condemnatyone of me** for my harte can not accuse yt, sh[*torn*] a gaynst you, **nether ys ther any thynge alleged agaynst me that dyssarueth seperatyone**./ my Lord how I haue rendred your happynes euery ways weare superfluvs to wryte, for I take god to wettnys my Lyffe should evar haue ben adventured for you, and my harte notw[i]thstanding what I haue suffered thyrstes after your prosperety, and desyers nothynge so much as vs haue your Loue./ **alas my Lord. what benyfits yt you to seake my troble and desolatyon, or wherin doth yt sarue you to Lett me Lyue thus absent from you'** (ID 116, lines 3-12).

The quotation opens with a request (highlighted in bold), which is followed by a defence of Bess's own conduct (again in bold). The quotation ends with a set of coordinated rhetorical questions (also highlighted in bold). It can be seen that each of these different aspects of the defence provide different kinds of information for Shrewsbury. The clear intention behind the collective use of these different strategies is to induce Shrewsbury to draw a positive conclusion about the credibility of Bess's position, i.e. to convince him that she is indeed innocent. There is a discourse connective example of AND used to signal the start of the support part of the argument on line 3 (cf. the quotation above). However most of the sentence-initial discourse connective examples of AND function within the support part itself.

ID 179, a relatively short letter to Bess's daughter Mary, does not reflect the ideational structure of any of the four discourse modes looked for (argument, narrative, description and explanation). However topic relations are prominent in this letter and it is possible to say that it is organized according to topic above the level of the sentence.

Transcript of ID 179

1 my good sweete daughter; I am very
2 desirous to heare how you doe./ I truste

3 your Lord ys well or now [of the goute; **and** I
4 desire to heare how all ours doe at London
5 and the Lettell sweete Lorde Mautrauars;
6 I pray god euer to blesse you deare
7 harte; and them all w[i]th all [his good
8 blessinges; and soe in haste I cease
9 at hardwecke this Laste of novembar

                 your Loueing mother
                 E Shrousbury

As can be seen in the transcript of ID 179 above, the first two topics, Mary's health and her husband Gilbert's health, are both signalled with punctuation. Meanwhile, the third topic, the health of Bess's friends in London and 'Lettell sweete Lorde Mautrauars', is signalled with a discourse connective example of AND (highlighted in bold in the above transcript), which is preceded by a semi-colon.

ID 116, 159 and 179 are not structured in a prescribed, formulaic way above the level of the sentence. However, ID 145 is a letter of petition that is relatively faithful to the conventional petitionary formula. It does not have any notable exordium, or introductory section. Instead, the polite address is immediately followed with a narratio (lines 1-11) which declares the substance of the letter. This is followed by a petitio (lines 11-18) and then a confirmatio, or amplification (lines 18-34). The letter closes with a peroratio, or conclusion (lines 34-38). The beginnings of both the petitio and the peroratio are signalled by sentence-initial discourse connective examples of AND. It can therefore be said that these features are functioning above the level of the sentence in this letter. Six of the seven other discourse connective examples of AND are contained in the confirmatio section. They serve to signal the start of every new point that Bess presents in order to back up her petition in this section. The other discourse connective AND occurs at the start of the section which closes the letter, i.e. the valediction (line 38). It is one half the conventional AND SO that is frequently used in this position in these EModE letters. AND SO is also used in this position in ID 179.

Scribe 4

The prose style of Scribe 4, like the prose style of Scribe 6, is situated in the middle of the spectrum, because it exhibits a mixture of characteristic features of the spoken and written modes. Scribe 4's prose is characterized by noticeable variation in sentence length and a relatively regular and consistent punctuation practice. While discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT are present in all three letters and are often used in sentence-initial position as discourse markers, they are usually directly preceded by punctuation. Furthermore, they are not used to signal any structures above the level of the sentence, or any relations between the different levels of discourse.

There are sentences of various lengths in these letters. The majority of the sentences in ID 001, 129 and 140 resemble those typically found in present day written English. We might note for example the sentence below, which refers to Arbella Stuart:

'So farr as my credit doth extende w[i]th hir, I advis[ed] hir to attempt nothing w[i]thout yo[u]r Ma[ies]ties pleasure first knowne./' (ID 129, lines 21-22).

This sentence is more contained than the incremental sentence constructions characteristic of Bess and Scribe 2's prose. Furthermore, its boundaries are marked with visual marking devices. However, the letters copied by this scribe often have one or two sentences that exhibit a high level of phrasal and clausal coordination. See for example the sentence below, which also regards Arbella Stuart:

'she is borne in hande as I gather, that she shall have your Ma[ies]ties good lyking and allowaunce of any thing she doth, and have libertie to have resorte to hir, and hir self to goe or ride at hir owne pleasure./' (ID 129, lines 16-19)

Furthermore, there is one very long sentence construction in ID 140 that resembles those found in the prose of Bess and Scribe 2:

'but I have ben so hardly and vnnaturally dealt w[i]thall by him and others whoe I take it spetially sought my overthrowe, and having no likelier meanes then to worke some nere me, little or not at all before then suspected by me, to ioyne w[i]th them in theyr bad actions., that I must crave p[ar]don of you, yf I refuse to doe for those whoe not only in this matter but in many others have by all possible meanes they coulde, sought to hurt & hinder me (god I thank him w[i]thout any desert of my p[ar]t./' (ID 140, lines 10-16).

It can be seen that this is an extended unit which contains both coordinate and subordinate clauses. Most of the sentence boundaries in these letters are clearly marked, usually with the punctus plus virgule < ./ > punctuation mark used at the end of the three sentences quoted above. This mark is almost always used in sentence-final position. However there are one or two sentences that have unclear boundaries in these three letters.

Other visual marking devices are less consistently used by Scribe 4. This scribe does not really employ spacing as a marking device, and while the use of sentence-initial capitalization is more apparent than it is in the prose of Scribe 2 for example, it is not a consistent feature of Scribe 4's prose. Furthermore, whilst there are no examples of unmarked sentence boundaries, or any examples of vocatives or adverbs in sentence-initial position, the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in these three letters (and they are present in all three letters) are often used in sentence-initial position. All three letters have examples of these discourse connectives in sentence-initial position. These discourse connective all are accompanied by punctuation, with the exception of one AND on line 5 of ID 001, which could be said to be a discourse marker in its own right. Three of them are also capitalized.

Like the other three writers discussed above, Scribe 4 does not employ paragraphing as a method of discourse organization above the level of the sentence. Furthermore, none of these three letters reflect the ideational structure of conversational narratives, arguments, explanations or descriptions above the level of the sentence. These four discourse modes and the different relations which contribute to their overall configuration were not clearly identifiable in these letters. Like Scribe 3, Scribe 4 endeavours to maximize the potential of the sentence itself as a unit. It therefore be cannot said that any of the discourse connectives are functioning above level of the sentence, or that are any alternation patterns present. One thing that can be noted is the relatively conventional use of discourse connective SO and AND SO to signal the start of the closing valedictions in all three letters.

Scribe 6

Like the prose style of Scribe 4, the prose style of Scribe 4 can be placed in the middle of the spectrum, because it also exhibits a mixture of characteristic features of the spoken and written modes. Scribe 6 composes sentences of various lengths. Rather than being used as discourse markers to signal new sentence constructions, the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in the letters copied by Scribe 6 are mostly being used to signal breaks in long sentence constructions. ID 163 does contain narrative reports, although it cannot be said to be a narrative in and of itself. Finally, there is a discourse connective example of BUT that signals a shift in prescribed structure of letter of petition ID 128.

Scribe 6 writes sentences of various lengths. Some sentences, particularly in ID 160, are relatively short. However this scribe has a characteristic habit of constructing long sentences with medial pauses within them. These pauses are often marked with both punctuation and a discourse connective example of AND or BUT. The example below from ID 128 demonstrates this well.

'his presisenes at his first com[m]ing to kepe the offence from me, till he had priuatly talked w[i]th Arbell did make me dobtfull y^t your Ma[ies]tie had som suspition in me; **but** when I considered your Ma[ies]ties great wisdom in it, I did in my harte most humbly thank your Ma[ies]tie for com[m]aunding yt course to be taken./' (ID 128, lines 6-11).

It can be seen that the above extract is a single long sentence punctuated by a semi-colon and a discourse connective example of BUT. This pause comes almost exactly half way through the sentence. It could be argued that this discourse connective example of BUT actually signals the start of another sentence. However, firstly this example of discourse connective BUT is immediately preceded by a semi colon. Almost all the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in ID 128, 160 and 163 are immediately preceded by either a comma or a semi-colon, whereas sentence boundaries are consistently marked with two different punctuation marks; either a punctus and virgule combination < ./ > or a single punctus < . >. Secondly, capitalisation is usually used in sentence-initial position in all three letters, and none of the discourse connectives present in these three letters are capitalised, with the exception of discourse connective BUT on line 15 of ID 128. The latter is the only example of a capitalised discourse connective in sentence-initial position. Therefore, rather than being used as discourse markers to signal new sentence constructions, the

discourse connectives are mostly being used to signal breaks in long sentence constructions.

The ideational structures found within spoken narratives, arguments, descriptions and explanations and the different relations which contribute to their overall configuration are not really present in ID 128 and 160. ID 163 does contain narrative reports, although it cannot be said to be a narrative in and of itself. ID 163 is a long response to a letter from William, first Lord Burghley informing Bess about 'wicked and mischeuous practices' (line 3) that have been 'deuysed to intrap' (line 4) her granddaughter Arbella Stuart. There are three related narrative reports in this letter, which follow on immediately from one another. Each narrative report is concluded with a sentence which conveys the point of the narrative, or the reason why it was included. For example, the second narrative report concerns 'on harrison a seminary yt lay at his brothers howse' (line 18). At the end of the story about this seminary priest, Bess informs Burghley why she has told him the story: 'I wryte thus much to your Lo[rdship] yt yf any such trayterus and naughty persons (thoroug hir ma[ies]tyes clemency) be suffred to go abroad, yt they may not harbor nere my howses' (lines 24-25). This shift from the narrative to the point of the narrative is a structural feature of conversational storytelling. Furthermore, the fact that there are three consecutive stories which contain this shift means that there is a structural pattern above the level of the sentence in these letters. However, none of these shifts are marked by any of the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present.

Prescribed structures are not in evidence above the level of the sentence in ID 160 and ID 163, but ID 128 does adhere to a prescribed structure to a certain extent. This is because it is a letter of petition. It has an introductory exordium (lines 1-6), which is contained within one sentence. This is followed by a narratio (lines 6-15), which is separated from the petitio that follows it by a virgule, a space and the capitalised discourse connective example of BUT discussed above. It can therefore be said that there is one discourse connective functioning as a discourse marker above the level of the sentence in these three letters.

Scribe 5

The prose style of Scribes 5, like the prose style of Scribe 3, can be placed towards the 'PDE Writing' end of the spectrum. These two scribes place more emphasis on the grammatical sentence as the basic component in writing. Scribe 5's sentences are regular, both in terms of length and marking. They tend to be relatively long. However, although they often contain some subordinate clauses, they do not contain multiple subordinate clauses in immediate succession. Sentence-initial capitalization is arguably the key marking device used by Scribe 5 to signal the start of sentences. Punctuation, another key feature of written communication, is almost always used in sentence-final position. In terms of the function of the discourse connectives, it can be said that this scribe has the least speech-like practice of all the scribes. There is a conventional usage of the discourse connectives AND and SO to signal the start of closing formulae such as valedictions, which cannot be said to be reflective of the way these features are used in speech. Furthermore, the three letters copied by Scribe 5 do not reflect either the ideational structures found in speech or genre-prescribed structures above sentence level.

Like the sentences in the letters copied by Scribe 3, the sentences in ID 127, 139 and 161 are all of approximately the same length. This can be seen in the transcript of ID 161 below.

Transcript of ID 161

1 **W**hereas aboute the xx[th] of Iune last past a petition was preferred to the King[e]s
2 most excellent Ma[ies]tie by Robert Allyn Hugh Needham and Iohn Wright in the
3 behalf of themselves and others Inhabitant[e]s in and nere the forest of the Highe
4 Peake wherein they alledge that they ought to haue Com[m]on of pasture for theire
5 Cattle w[i]thin his Highness seuerall demesnes of the Castle of the High Peake
6 Called the Inner seuerall of the Champion **T**he sayd petition: is altogether vntrue
7 and thereby they Clayme some of his Highness Inheritaunce to be theire owne as
8 by a decree vnder the Duchie Seale and by my answere and my sonne
9 William Cauendishe sent you by this bearer you may perceive. **T**he said petition[er]s
10 were presently after the delyvery of theire petition dispatched to Come to
11 me for Answere thereof but they Came not to me vntill w[i]thin this weeke
12 at w[hi]ch tyme they desired rather some Composition in ground then any thinge
13 Conteyned in theire petition./ **I** hartily pray yo[u]r lawfull fauour for the
14 speedie receivinge of the answere and dispatch of the matter restinge much
15 beholdinge to you and willinge a parte [party] to requite yo[u]r trooble as this bearer

16 vpon the dispatch of the matter will further signifie vnto you to whom
17 I pray you geve Credytt./ **A**nd soe w[i]th my very harty Com[m]endac[i]ons
18 I Ceasse. ffrom Hardwicke this last day of Ianuary .1603./

                  your uery louing frend
                  E Shrouesbury

It can be seen that all of the sentences in this letter are relatively long, and they do contain some subordinate clauses. However they do not contain incremental subordination, i.e. multiple subordinate clauses in immediate succession. The first sentence in the letter (lines 1-6) is a good example. This is a comparatively long sentence construction, which does contain a subordinate clause, starting with 'wherein' on line 4. However the main reason why this sentence is so long is because it is characterized by elaboration at phrase level. See for example 'his Highness seuerall demesnes of the Castle of the High Peake Called the Inner seuerall of the Champion' from lines 5-6. As noted in Case Study 1, this kind of elaboration is a key feature of written as opposed to spoken communication.

Punctuation, another key feature of written communication, is almost always used in sentence-final position.[86] Scribe 5 has a less consistent punctuation practice than Scribe 4, who consistently uses < ./ >. There are a variety of punctuation marks used in sentence-final position in these letters. They include commas < , >, colons < : >, punctus plus virgule < ./ > and solo punctus < . >. However, capitalization is arguably the key marking device used by Scribe 5 to signal the start of sentences to the reader. There is a consistent use of capitalization in sentence-initial position in all three of these letters (see the capitalised sentence-initial letters in bold in the transcript of ID 161 above). Capitalization is another key feature of written as opposed to spoken communication, and one which is typically employed in present day written English.

In terms of the function of the discourse connectives, it can be said that this scribe has the least speech-like practice of all the scribes. There is one sentence-initial discourse connective example of BUT that is directly preceded by punctuation on line 4 of ID 139. The only other examples of sentence-initial discourse connectives in these letters are the three examples of AND SO(E) signaling either the appreciato or the

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[86] The only sentence boundary not marked by some kind of punctuation is the sentence boundary on line 6 of ID 161 above, which is marked with a space and a sentence-initial capital letter.

valediction at the end of the letters (in ID 127 and ID 139 AND SO(E) signals an appreciato, while in ID 161 it signals a valediction). This lexical feature is commonly used in this position in EModE letters. This is a therefore a conventional usage of the discourse connectives AND and SO that cannot be said to be reflective of the way in which they are used in speech.

Furthermore, the four discourse modes and the different relations which contribute to their overall configuration are not present in these letters. All three of these letters relate to particular petitions, but none of them are petitions in themselves. ID 161 is a response to someone else's petition, while ID 139 could be classed as a persuasive defence of Bess's son Henry. However it is made clear in ID 139 that it serves as an accompaniment to the main event, i.e. the oral petition that will be made to the recipient by the bearer. ID 127 is a short letter to Robert Cecil that reinforces a previously made petition. The core of the letter constitutes a statement reminding Cecil of what the petition is (it regards an undisclosed 'Cause' (line 4)). Scribe 5 does same thing as Scribe 3 does in ID 126 in this letter, i.e. he or she ensures that the petitio is contained within a single sentence. Due to the fact that none of these letters are comprehensive petitions in themselves, they do not adhere to the prescribed structure of a petitionary letter above sentence level.

Scribe 3

The prose style of Scribe 3 can be placed at the 'PDE Writing' end of the spectrum, because Scribe 3's prose is structured and marked in a way which is more reflective of PDE written communication than the prose of the other five copyists analysed. For example, the prose structure of ID 121, 124, 125, 126 is noticeably different from the prose structure of the letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2. Scribe 3's sentences do vary in length to a certain extent. However, the majority of Scribe 3's sentences are clear, relatively short, visually marked units which bear more resemblance to the grammatical sentences found in PDE writing than the long sentence constructions found in the prose of Bess and Scribe 2. There is subordination, but it is less incremental in the sense that there are no sentences in which multiple subordinate clauses are piled on top of each other. For example, the following sentence from ID 124 does contain phrasal coordination and two subordinate clauses:

'hir ma[ies]ty in hir great wysdome and for your owne worthynes hath called you to this place, as on metest for hir hyghnes seruice, w[hi]ch all good subiects are to reioyse at./' (ID 124, lines 8-11).

However the sentence is a relatively contained unit; the subordinate clauses are limited in number and remain anchored to the main clause. Both are signalled by a comma, and the sentence itself ends with a definitive < ./ > punctuation mark. It is therefore clear to the reader where the sentence begins and ends. This is in stark comparison to many of the sentences found in Bess's holograph letters, such as the one from ID 110 below, which appears to be a single additive sentence construction that contains a large amount of qualification.

'albeyt one of my greatest com[fortes] ys to here frome your L[ordship]/ and nothynge cane be more acseptabelle vnto me then to here of your wel[l] lykenge the bache, and helthe recouered therby I haue ~~bene~~ ^yet not w[i]t[h]standynge^ forborne wrytynge for that I wolde geue your L[ordship] no ocasyon hereynge yt was wysshede by lerned aduysse you shulde not youse yt/ other wysse I shulde altogeder for gett my selfe/ whych shall neuer apeare towardes so nobell a frende/ as I fynde by good proffe your L[ordship] ys bothe to me and myne but wyll reste euer moust faythefoull as many your moust honorabell fauores may Iustely chalenge.' (ID 110: lines 1 – 13).

This incremental sentence construction contains a number of subordinate clauses that do not appear to be anchored to a main clause. It is also not entirely clear where the sentence construction begins and ends.

The sentence boundaries in the four letters copied by Scribe 3 included in the sample are consistently marked with punctuation marks. < ./ > is typically used in sentence final position, although other punctuation marks are occasionally used in this position. Spacing, another visual marking device, is consistently used to complement the punctuation at sentence boundaries (ID 124 features particularly pronounced spaces at sentence boundaries). This combined use of two visual marking devices ensures that sentence boundaries are clearly signposted to the reader. There are several examples of capitalized sentence-initial words, although sentence-initial capitalization is not consistently used in these four letters.

In contrast to the prose of the other scribes, there are very few lexical features in sentence-initial position in Scribe 3's prose. In all four letters, there are only three discourse connective examples of AND in sentence-initial position, and one discourse connective example of FOR in this position. Furthermore, these examples are all preceded by punctuation. This can be seen in the quotation from ID 121 below, in which discourse connective FOR, used to signal the start of a new sentence, is preceded by a punctus, which signals the end of the previous sentence:

I can not refreyne but signifie unto your L[ordship] the comforte I am in hope shortly to reseue by being in hir ma[ies]ties presence. **for** my Lo[rd] is now determined of my comming uery shortly to court./

Furthermore, two of the three examples of discourse connective AND are part of conventional constructions used to signal the start of the conventional concluding part of EModE letters. This concluding part often included a valediction (such as 'Dutifull commendations') and an appreciato (such as 'God protect you'). So, in ID 121, AND THUS is used to signal the start of the conventional valediction:

'**And thus** w[i]th my uery herty co[m]mendac[i]ones I take my leue of your Lordship' (lines 14-15).

In ID 124, AND SO is used to signal the appreciato:

'**and so** beseching god to bless you w[i]th all honor and happines, I cease./' (lines 13-14).

As well as a lack of lexical features at sentence boundaries, there are also no unmarked sentence boundaries in these four letters, which are very common in Bess's holograph prose (cf. e.g. the quotations from ID 123 and ID 112 on page 237 above).

There are no examples of discourse connective BUT or SO in ID 121, 124, 125 or 126. Furthermore, none of the discourse connective examples of AND and FOR that are present in these four letters are acting as discourse markers at sentence level, with the exception of one sentence-initial AND on line 8 of ID 126, which is directly preceded by a semi colon and a large space. The two other examples of discourse connective AND discussed above could be said to be acting as discourse markers

above sentence-level, although they are both being used to signal relatively conventional, prescribed structures (a valediction and appreciato respectively).

Furthermore, none of the discourse modes and the different relations between sentences which contribute to their overall configuration are present. There are no over-arching speech-like ideational structures above the level of the sentence in these letters. Instead, the sentence itself is robustly and efficiently utilized as an organizational device within the prose. For example, ID 126, a 1600 letter to Sir Robert Cecil, continues Bess's suit for Cecil's favour in relation to a dispute over some land that her son Henry Cavendish owns (ID 125 also regards this dispute). ID 126 is essentially a letter of petition. However, two things should be noted in relation to it. Firstly, although ID 126 can be said to be a letter of petition, it does not strictly adhere to the prescribed structure for a letter of this kind above the level of the sentence. Indeed, it adheres less faithfully to this structure than the petitionary letters copied by Bess and Scribe 2. For example, there are no preliminary exordium or narratio sections. Following a short address the letter launches immediately into the petitio:

'I must continue my ernest suit for your honorable fauor, yt such Lands of my sonn Henry Cauendyshe, as were passed Lately vnder the great seale, by the Erle of Shrouesbury in too of his saruants names, most unconscianably and vnnaturally; might be reassured by them, to the right owners and possessors therof, according to iustice and equitie, and according to hir Ma[ies]ties most gratius intention, signified by proclamation for the quieting of hir subiects possessions;' (ID 126, lines 1-8).

The letter also does not contain clearly defined confirmatio or peroratio sections, although the petition is amplified by a request for Cecil to continue his 'honorabell fauors' towards Henry (ID 126, lines 15-16). The other thing to note in relation to ID 126 relates to prose structure. It can be seen that the sentence quoted above, beginning 'I must continue my ernest suit', is a remarkably long sentence. This is unusual; as previously asserted, this scribe usually writes in relatively concise sentences. However this sentence is arguably this long because it contains the key element of the letter, namely the petitio. This example demonstrates how Scribe 3's letters are organized in a way that is more characteristic of present-day written English than the letters of Bess or Scribe 2. In ID 126, the petitio is contained within one sentence; it is not spread over several sentences. The petitio becomes a statement in itself, rather

than a part in an over-arching structure above the level of the sentence that may be made up of a number of sentences, as is the case in ID 109, a holograph letter. As is demonstrated by the excerpt from ID 109 below, the petitio in ID 109 (in which Bess asks Dudley to help her find a suitable husband for her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish) is signalled by a discourse connective AND (highlighted in bold) and is made up of several separate sentences:

'**and** I hartely desyre your .L[ordship] to conte[n]new that honorabell mynde towardes har ether for the lord sandes or any other thal shalbe thought metyste, and yf yt plese your .L[ordship] to comende eny to Chattysworth as a place for sundery I desyre fowrst to enter ther aquentance, he or whome else your .L[ordship] comendes shalbe as frendly welcome as I am beho[u]ldyng to geue ene sent by your .L[ordship], wereyn as yn althynges elles I do refare her happy mache, her well bestoynge ys my greatys care,' (ID 109, lines 19 – 32)

Structures above the sentence, such as the petitio in the quotation from ID 109 above, are less evident in letters copied by Scribe 3. The reason for this is that Scribe 3 endeavours to maximize the potential of the written sentence as an organizational device. Scribe 3 gives visually-marked sentences of regular length a prominent role in the overall communication process. The prose of Scribe 3 therefore resembles PDE writing, with its tendency towards tightly integrated grammatical structure, more than present-day English speech, with its tendency towards 'simplified, loosely integrated, and disjunctive construction' (Leech 2000: 676).

A comparison of the 17 holograph letters and 17 scribal letters

So far, the discussion has focused upon trends that have emerged when the letter set is broken down into the six individual hands. However it is also instructive to compare the holograph and scribal letter sets as complete bodies of data. The main finding that has emerged from the comparison of the holograph and scribal correspondence from Bess is that viewed as a whole, the prose contained within the scribal letters is less reflective of the spoken mode and more reflective of modern written English than the prose contained within the holograph letters. The sentences used by the scribes are generally less like the units of meaning found in PDE speech than the sentences found in Bess's holograph prose. The scribe's sentences tend to exhibit a greater degree of

syntactic suspension, i.e. the subordination used tends to be more clearly related to the main clause.

Furthermore, the scribe's sentences are consistently marked with visual marking devices. Indeed, visual marking is the norm in all five of the scribal hands. There are fewer examples of unmarked sentence boundaries in the scribal data; sentence boundaries are signalled by punctuation in vast majority of cases. Bess will use a variety of punctuation marks in sentence-medial and sentence-final position, whereas < ./ > is often used in sentence-final position by several of the scribes. A good demonstration of the use of < ./ > in sentence-final position can be seen in the excerpt from ID 124 below. There are three sentences in this excerpt, and the ending of each sentence is signalled by < ./ >.

'hir ma[ies]ty in hir great wysdome and for your owne worthynes hath called you to
this place, as on metest for hir hyghnes seruice, w[hi]ch all good subiects are to
reioyse at./ I pray you remember me in the kindest maner to your nobell and vertuus
Lady, my very good frend./ and so beseching god to bless you w[i]th all honor
and happines, I ceass./' (ID 124, lines 8-14)

Spacing is used by all scribes at sentential boundaries, with the exception of Scribe 5. Furthermore, capitalization is employed by all five scribes in sentence-initial position, although its use is more irregular than the use of punctuation in sentence-final position.

Above sentence level, paragraphing is not employed as an organizational tool in any of the 34 letters analysed for the purposes of this research. The ideational structures commonly found in monologic conversational narratives and arguments, and the different relations which contribute to their overall configuration are generally less present above sentence level in the prose contained within the 17 scribal letters. Indeed, it can be said that the discoursal level above the sentence is less prevalent in this prose than it is in the holograph prose. This is arguably because more use is made of the sentence itself as an organizational device within the scribal letters. In other words, the sentence is more efficiently utilized as a structural unit in the scribal prose. This would also explain why there is less alternation patterning between different marking devices in the scribal prose.

It was highlighted in the 'Results' section of Case Study 1 that there were more discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT in 17 holograph letters than there were in the 17 scribal letters, despite the fact that there are fewer words in the holograph letters overall. The Case Study 1 finding that these lexical features are being used in a more discoursal way in the holograph letters is supported by the results of Case Study 2. This is because these results show that not only do the holograph letters contain more discourse connective examples of these four features, they also contain more examples of these discourse connectives functioning as discourse markers.

Furthermore, there are more examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning as discourse markers *on their own* in the holograph letters, i.e. without any accompanying visual marking devices such as punctuation marks. In these instances, they are being used *instead* of visual marking devices. In the process, they are helping to organize the discourse and define its structure. This is how these lexical features are used as discourse markers in PDE speech. By contrast, if these features are used as discourse markers in the scribal letters, they are almost always accompanied by visual markers such as punctuation or capitalization. For example, in the excerpt from ID 127 below, the sentence-initial discourse connective pairing AND SO is directly preceded by a colon (the colon and the discourse connectives are in bold):

'wherin you shall greatly binde me to you**: And so** praying god to graunt you
long and happie health I take my leave., ffrom Hardwick the xxviij
of Aprill. 1601./' (ID 127, lines 6-7)

 It can therefore be said that these lexical features are being used in a way which is more reflective of how they are used in PDE speech in the holograph letters.

The majority of these discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning as discourse markers occur in sentence-initial position and therefore function to indicate the start of new sentences, in both the holograph and the scribal letters. However, although most of these discourse markers function at sentence level, there are some examples functioning above sentence level, serving to mark transitions between the parts of both ideational structures commonly found in monologic speech

and genre-prescribed structures. There are more examples of these discourse markers functioning above sentence level in the 17 holograph letters than in the scribal letters.

Furthermore, there are more examples working to signal transitions between the parts of structures found in speech. If these features do function as discourse markers above sentence level in the scribal prose, they tend to either signal the start of conventional leave takings (see for example the quotation of lines 6-7 of ID 127 above) or mark shifts between the parts of the prescribed structure for a letter of petition (as in ID 145 and ID 128). For example, ID 128 is a letter of petition addressed to Queen Elizabeth I. As can be seen in the transcript of ID 128 below, the opening exordium takes up the first six lines of ID 128. The shift from the exordium to the narratio section of the petition is signalled by the $< ./ >$ punctuation mark on line 6. The shift from the narratio to the petitio section of the letter occurs on line 15, and is signalled by a capitalized, discourse connective BUT (highlighted in bold in the transcript below).[87]

Transcript of 128

1 Most Gratius Souereigne./ I cannot sufficiently in words
2 expres the infinite and great comforte I haue continvally
3 reseued by your Ma[ies]ties most princely fauors to me, & now
4 by your Ma[ies]ties most gratius letter & message sent by S[i]r
5 Henry Broukhorne,1 who will particulerly informe your
6 Ma[ies]tie of all things here./ his presisenes at his first com[m]ing
7 to kepe the offence from me, till he had priuatly talked w[i]th
8 Arbell did make me dobtfull yt your Ma[ies]tie had som suspition
9 in me; but when I considered your Ma[ies]ties great wisdom in
10 it, I did in my harte most humbly thank your Ma[ies]tie for
11 com[m]aunding yt course to be taken./ These matters were
12 vnexpected of me, being altogether ignorant of hir vayne
13 doings, as on my saluation & allegeance to your Ma[ies]tie I protest.
14 Notw[i]thstanding hir vanitie, I rest most certeyn of hir [symbol]
15 Loyall and dutifull mind to your Ma[ies]tie/ **But** seing she hath
16 bene content to here matters of any moment & not to imparte
17 them to me, I am desirus & most humbly besech your Ma[ies]tie yt
18 she may be placed elswhere, to lerne to be more considerate,
19 & after yt it may pleas your Ma[ies]tie eyther to accept of hir service
20 about your Ma[ies]ties most Royall person, or to bestoe hir in mariag
21 w[hi]ch in all humilitie & dutie, I doe craue of your Ma[ies]tie for I
22 cannot now assure my self of hir, as I haue donn[e]./

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[87] The petitio section ends on line 22 and is directly followed by an appreciato (lines 23-24), an attestation, the date of letter composition, a subscription and a signature.

23 The Almightie god for euer preserue your Ma[ies]tie and co[m]fou[n]de
24 your enemies./ from Hardwyck the ixth of Ianuary.
25 1602.

        your Ma[ies]ties/

           most humble saruant and
               subiect.
               E Shrouesbury

In relation to the use of prescribed letter models and formulaic expressions within the letters, it is possible to say that most of these letters from Bess, whether scribal or holograph, have an opening address, a closing valediction and/or an appreciato, and an attestation. The letters of petition generally adhere to the prescribed petitionary structure, to a greater or lesser extent. However, these 34 letters rarely have the other components of the Chancery and Anglo-Norman letter models outlined by Richardson (1984), who follows Hall (1908) and Davis (1965). Therefore, they do not have the intermediary stages such as notification and exposition that Hall and then Richardson claim were common in 'a significant number of the Paston, Stonor and Cely letters' that followed a format close 'to that of Chancery, Signet, Privy Seal and other royal documents (Richardson 1984: 213). Nor do they have the intermediary sections of the fifteenth century private letters that Davis claims are based on Anglo-Norman models. There are not therefore any inquiries about the recipient's health directly followed by a prayer for said recipient's health, for example. It is therefore possible to say that my findings agree with Nevalainen's finding that there was formulaic breakdown in sixteenth century letters, i.e. that sixteenth century letters adhered less strictly to the formats associated with earlier epistolary models (Nevalainen 2001: 203-224).

Discussion of Results

Case Study 2 found that Bess of Hardwick's holograph prose was structured and marked in a way that was notably similar to present-day spoken English. However, it did still display some characteristic features of present-day written English. Indeed, characteristic features of the spoken and written modes can be said to be co-existing within Bess's mid-late sixteenth-century holograph prose. For example, it was shown that Bess's sentences often resemble the kinds of sentences found in PDE speech, referred to by Schiffrin as 'ideas'. In addition, the boundaries of Bess's sentences are

often marked by discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT functioning as discourse markers. These lexical features also function to mark sentence boundaries in PDE speech. However, it also was shown that Bess's sentences frequently exhibit a high degree of syntactic complexity, in the form of multiple coordinate and subordinate clauses. Furthermore, it was shown that the ideational structures found in oral narratives and arguments are sometimes present above the level of the sentence in her holograph prose, and sometimes not. In relation to marking, it was demonstrated how some examples of the lexical features AND, SO, FOR and BUT function as discourse connectives within Bess's prose, while others function as grammatical connectives, i.e. as connectives that coordinate or subordinate clauses within sentences.

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrated how the prose accommodates the tension between these two methods of discourse organization. For example, by drawing attention to the alternation patterning between the lexical features AND, SO, FOR and BUT and punctuation marks, the analysis showed how oral and visual features are sometimes working together to organize the discourse. Other scholars have acknowledged the co-existence of the visual and the oral within EModE vernacular prose. Robinson describes 'a tension between grammar and rhythm' (1998: 141) and Hope observes how Early Modern textual culture was 'no longer purely oral, but not yet acculturated to the strangeness of writing' (2010: 39). The research presented in this thesis not only demonstrates how Bess's holograph prose exemplifies the transitional nature of EModE prose more generally; it also shows *how* the visual and the oral methods of discourse organization are co-existing.

Although the analysis of the holograph letter material produced some fascinating findings in its own right, the comparison of the holograph and scribal material also produced some illuminating results. Overall, it was found that the prose contained within the holograph letters was more reflective of PDE speech than the prose contained within the scribal letters. This overall result is not that surprising, given that Bess was a woman from a lower gentry background and it is likely that her scribes were male, and that some of them may even have been professional secretaries. The kind of education that women in Early Modern England received was qualitatively different from the kind of education received by men. Female education was broadly

centred around the skills needed to run an effective household. Therefore, although basic literacy skills were often taught to women because these skills would assist them with tasks such as writing household accounts, men were usually possessed of more advanced literacy skills. Given the nature of female education during the Early Modern period, it is not that surprising that the prose contained within women's letters dating from this period often exhibits characteristics more determined by spoken than written example. As Truelove points out, the nature of female education meant that women were often less familiar with written texts than their male counterparts. This relative unfamiliarity with written texts resulted in 'a greater reliance on verbal discourse to formulate written sentences' (2001: 54).

The study of the language used within Bess's scribal letters not only highlighted how the holograph prose differed from the scribal prose. It also demonstrated the different ways in which the five major scribes structure and mark the divisions within their prose. When the sample of 17 holograph and 17 scribal letters was broken down into the six individual scribal hands, it was found that each writer had their own unique prose style. Each of these prose styles were placed on a spectrum, with the spoken mode at one end and the written mode at the other. The spectrum can be visualized as follows:

Figure 18 - Spectrum: PDE Speech/PDE Writing

PDE Speech					PDE Writing
Bess	Scribe 2	Scribe 4	Scribe 6	Scribe 5	Scribe 3
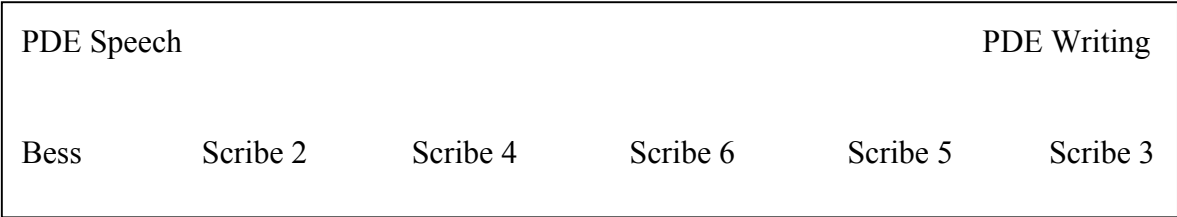
Furthermore, the tension between the spoken and written modes that exists in Bess's prose is also found within the prose of each of these five scribes. However, although this tension is present in the prose of each scribe, it manifests itself differently in each hand. The balance between oral and visual methods of discourse organization is different in each hand. So for example, although Scribe 2's prose is closer to the 'PDE Speech' end of the provisional spectrum visualized above, it did still exhibit some

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characteristic features of PDE writing, whereas the balance is different in Scribe 6's prose, because this latter scribe makes more use of methods of discourse organization that are characteristic of PDE writing.

It is clear, therefore, that linguistic usage varies from scribe to scribe. This is an important finding which lends weight to the suggestion that the linguistic choices in these scribal letters were not necessarily Bess's own. In other words, the precise form of the language contained with Bess's scribal letters may be attributed to Bess's scribes, rather than Bess herself. This suggestion is at odds with the claim made by Wood (2009), who argues that although Margaret Paston's fifteenth-century letters were written by various other people on her behalf, the language they contain can still be considered hers 'in both form and content' (2009: 189). Wood comes to this conclusion because she finds evidence of what she calls 'Margaret's voice' (2009: 211) in the conventional closing sections of her letters. In other words, because Wood 'found little scribal influence in the rhetorical formulae, where it was expected most' (2009: 212), she deduces that the language in these scribal letters is attributable to Margaret Paston herself, rather than her scribes.

However, the observation that the linguistic habits of Bess's five major scribes are quite noticeably distinct from Bess's own, holograph tendencies is supported by a similar observation made by Truelove in relation to Elizabeth Stonor's fifteenth century scribal letters. Truelove focuses more on lexis than the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose. However, she also looks at 'features such as variations in use of present participles in prefatory phrases, or conjunctions such as 'and' and 'wherefore' (2001: 51). She notes that the 'study of the language used within Elizabeth Stonor's letters shows that linguistic usage varies from scribe to scribe, importantly indicating that lexical choices in these writings were not necessarily Elizabeth's own' (2001: 51). As a result of this finding, Truelove suggests that 'Elizabeth's (scribal) letters reflect her own use of language less clearly than might first appear' (2001: 51). It is also supported by an observation made by Doty (2007) in relation to the role of scribes in constructing the discourse of the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692 and 1693. Doty provides a nuanced reading of the examination records through the analysis of scribal commentary and expressive adjectives or adverbs. She concludes that 'the

dramatic reconstructions of the words and deeds of the accused, the magistrates, and other participants' (2007: 39) were created by the practices of four identified scribes.

It is also worth asking whether the detailed analysis of the language contained within Bess's scribal letters, presented in Case Studies 1 and 2, can tell us anything about the actual composition of the scribal letters, i.e. the transmission of the original messages from Bess to her scribes. Despite the arrival of the printing press in England in 1476, oral methods of textual composition and transmission remained commonplace in Early Modern England. It was not unusual for the contents of an EModE manuscript letter to be verbally dictated to a scribe and then verbally transmitted to the letter's recipient by a bearer. Crabb and Couchman note the way in which 'letters patently reflect the conditions under which they were written and dispatched' (2005: 53). They suggest that letters 'usually bear the marks of being composed over several days, or at least the information strung together from notes' (2005: 53).

Unfortunately, the linguistic analysis presented in Case Studies 1 and 2 does not make it possible to say anything definitive about how the content of Bess's scribal letters was actually transmitted, or indeed about how they were received. It is not clear from the content whether they were orally dictated to the scribes and then delivered orally by bearers (although there are some references to bearers orally delivering the message within some of the letter texts). It could be argued that the marked difference between the holograph and the scribal prose, and the linguistic variation among the five different scribal hands, shows that the scribes clearly had a degree of control over the form of the language, if not the content. This makes it more likely that the letters were not dictated verbatim to the scribes. However, it is possible that the individual scribes did have the messages orally dictated to them, and that they amended these verbal communications as they committed them to paper.

Although the linguistic analysis presented Case Studies 1 and 2 did not make it possible to say anything definite about the actual composition of the scribal letters, it did allow for a systematic identification of characteristic features of spoken communication present in both the holograph and the scribal prose. It also made it possible to identify the way in which the oral and written modes co-exist and interact in this Early Modern English prose. The use of the four lexical features AND, SO,

FOR and BUT exemplifies this tension very well. The analysis showed how discourse connective examples of these features exist and function alongside grammatical connective examples of the same features. AND, SO, FOR and BUT can therefore be said to potentially function in either mode in this EModE prose. The finding that these four lexical features can potentially function both discoursally and grammatically in this prose adds weight to existing research which has focused on the function of AND in EModE texts (e.g. Dorgeloh 2004, Culpeper and Kytö 2010).

However, the analysis presented in this thesis does not just add to this research; it also adds new insights. For example, Culpeper and Kytö show that it is important to distinguish between AND as a clause-level coordinator and AND as a phrase-level coordinator in early English. My research suggests that it is important to make a further distinction, i.e. between examples of clause-level AND functioning grammatically, and examples of clause-level AND functioning discoursally. Culpeper and Kytö draw attention to examples which 'show the multifunctionality of AND' (2010: 183) in Early Modern texts. This research adds to this finding, firstly because it provides more evidence of the multifunctionality of AND, and secondly because it also provides evidence of the multifunctionality of three other connective features, namely SO, FOR and BUT.[88]

By drawing attention to the tension between aspects of the spoken and written modes in these EModE prose letters, the discourse-orientated approach to EModE prose structure adopted in the thesis highlights how Bess's EModE prose letters exemplify the transitional nature of EModE prose more generally. The approach highlights how this tension was manifested in both the structure and marking of the prose. These results inform not only how we understand and conceptualize EModE grammar, but also how we approach the analysis of the language contained within EModE texts. The recognition of the fact that there are elements of both spoken and written language in these EModE texts arguably necessitates a reappraisal of the traditional

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[88] Blockley observes that AND, or OND as it is in OE, 'has two lives' in OE poetry – 'as conjunction and as introductory adverb' (2001: 115). The fact that AND served a dual function in OE texts is instructive, and potentially suggestive of a continuity between OE, ME and EModE in terms of the function of AND. However, further work would be needed to investigate this.

reliance on grammatical models orientated towards written language in historical linguistics and literary studies.

Furthermore, because the approach adopted was not only discourse-analytic, but also sensitive to variation at the level of individual language user, the analysis was able to identify linguistic variation according to individual language user. Specifically, by showing how each of the six copyists had unique prose styles, the analysis highlighted the importance of style, which is defined in this thesis as linguistic variation as an individual's linguistic resource.[89] Style is an amorphous entity consisting of multiple linguistic choices, influenced by each individual's linguistic repertoire and necessitated by the numerous practical communications which form an integral part of daily life. In the process, the analysis lends support to Robinson's observation that the way in which language users actually shape sentences is 'a stylistic question' (1998: 12).

The analysis therefore draws attention both to the form of the prose contained with Bess's EModE letters, i.e. how it exhibits characteristics of both spoken and written communication, and to its variable and open-ended nature. It demonstrates that the extent to which EModE prose reflects the structure of spoken language is dependent upon the linguistic choices and repertoires of individual language users. It thereby lends weight to the suggestion that in addition to re-thinking how we conceptualize and approach EModE grammar, we should, when possible, endeavour to take linguistic variation according to individual language user into account when conducting analyses of the language contained within EModE prose texts.

'Discussion of Results' has so far focused on Early Modern English itself within the historical moment. It now turns to the changes that took place within the English language over an extended period of time. What implications do the findings generated from the investigation of prose structure in Bess's EModE manuscript letters have for our understanding of the development of written English?
As pointed out in the 'Research Objectives' section of the Introduction, previous scholarship has shown that ME and EModE prose dating from before the mid-late

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[89] Cf. Palander-Collin (2009: 54), where style is defined in the same way.

seventeenth century displays certain characteristic features of speech. There is a scholarly consensus that around the mid-late seventeenth century, there is what Lennard calls 'a conceptual change' (1995: 67). The sentence begins to be conceived as a unit that is primarily defined 'visually and syntactically' (Lennard 1995: 67); i.e. as a visual, graphological unit that exists on the page. In other words, sentences begin to be primarily identified with written as opposed to spoken communication.

Culpeper and Kytö (2010) concern themselves with this phenomenon. They refer to scholarship which has picked up on the decrease in the frequency of clause-level AND in a range of texts since the Early Modern period, and suggest that the wider change referred to above explains why the decrease in the frequency of this particular lexical feature took place. They put forward the hypothesis that 'in terms of the frequency and function of clause-level AND, historical texts used to have a closer resemblance to modern speech than modern writing, before developments around the mid-late seventeenth century' (2010: 168). Preliminary quantitative analysis conducted by Culpeper and Kytö into words that collocate with clause-level AND in the texts that make up the *Corpus of English Dialogues (1560 -1760)* supports this hypothesis. As a result, Culpeper and Kytö suggest that the implication of their hypothesis is that 'as far as the use of AND is concerned, there has been a move away from oral style to visual or literate style, due to the evolving concept of the sentence and the role played by AND in relation to it' (2010: 167).

What light, if any, do the thesis findings shed on the notion that there was a shift in how users of English conceptualized 'the sentence' around the mid-late seventeenth century? Did such a shift occur? Firstly, it can be said that the collective textual evidence suggests that the prose contained within both manuscript and printed texts from around the late seventeenth century onwards tends to exhibit fewer characteristic features of the spoken mode than earlier texts composed in English. However, we need to be careful about how we conceive of this general change. Specifically, it is arguably problematic to talk about it as a *conceptual* change.

Although the collective textual evidence points to an undeniable overall change in writing practices, it is problematic to conceive of this change as happening within the minds of English speakers. Firstly, conceiving of this change in these terms arguably

implies that there was some kind of collective mind or collective unconscious in which it took place. Not only is the notion of a collective mind rather abstract and vague, there is no way of really knowing how individual language users in the past conceived of the language they were employing. Therefore, rather than extrapolate away from the textual evidence itself and infer that there was a collective conceptual shift, it is advisable to adopt a pragmatic, empirical approach, and focus on what the textual evidence itself suggests.

Furthermore, although language is always changing, any larger language changes that do occur consist of multifarious local contexts, which are in turn characterized by complexities and interdependencies. This view of language and language change problematizes the idea that this is a single history of English, a single linear narrative. As Denison notes, 'the English language at any one epoch is a patchwork of different geographical and social dialects and different registers of use, and sometimes change is surprisingly local. Perhaps always, at first' (2007: 120). Any wider patterns that emerge consist of these local contexts, including any patterns which emerge over the course of several hundred years. If one takes this view and applies it to the hypothesis that historical texts used to have a closer resemblance to modern speech than modern writing before developments around the mid-late seventeenth century, two insights are produced.

The first insight is that although the evidence suggests that a change of this nature did take place, the change itself would not have been as neat and simple as Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis regarding clause-level AND would seem to imply. With reference to this feature, they claim that texts written in English before the mid-late seventeenth century were more reflective of PDE speech than PDE writing, and that after this period texts written in English were more reflective of PDE writing than PDE speech.[90] There is a certain symmetry and simplicity to this idea. However, the reality was undoubtedly much more messy and complicated, and when individual texts are investigated qualitatively rather than quantitatively, and in the historical moment rather than over time, complexities emerge.

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[90] It is assumed here that Culpeper and Kytö are referring to the prose contained within the texts.

An historically sensitive, discourse-orientated approach to orality manifested in the prose structure of Bess's EModE manuscript letters, as adopted in this thesis, demonstrates this characteristic 'messiness', problematizing Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis in the process. As pointed out above, oral and visual methods of discourse organization were found to co-exist and interact in these EModE letters. Just as Culpeper and Kytö use their investigation of clause-level AND to support their argument, the investigation of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT carried out in Case Study 2 supports the argument presented here. As noted above, the use of the clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT across the 34 letters that were analyzed exemplifies how aspects of both the spoken and written modes co-exist in Bess's prose letters. The analysis showed how discourse connective examples of these features exist and function alongside grammatical connective examples of the same features within the prose. By showing how there is overlap between the spoken and written modes in Bess's sixteenth and early seventeenth-century manuscript prose letters, the analysis presented in this thesis therefore highlights how the textual situation was more complex than Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis acknowledges.

Furthermore, Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis does not discriminate between different types of text, or between individual texts. It appears to imply that in relation to the frequency and function of clause-level AND, *all* historical texts written before the mid-/late-seventeenth century had a closer resemblance to PDE speech than PDE writing. However, the analysis presented in Case Studies 1 and 2 highlighted how much variation there is at the level of individual writer in the group of 34 holograph and scribal letters from Bess. The prose styles of the six individual copyists were found to have a considerable impact on the extent to which the prose contained within these letters reflected the structure of spoken language. Therefore, another way in which the analysis presented in Case Studies 1 and 2 problematizes Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis is by showing how much local variation there is between texts. The extent to which the prose within various letters reflects speech depends upon the prose style of individual letter copyists. As a result, some of these manuscript texts have a closer resemblance to modern speech, some have a closer resemblance to modern writing and some resemble both in equal measure.

Rather than suggest that all historical texts composed before the mid-/late-seventeenth-century are more like modern speech, this finding suggests that whether or not an historical text written before the mid-late seventeenth century is more reflective of modern speech than modern writing depends on the circumstances of that text's production, and is particularly dependent on the prose style of the person who copied it. Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis does not discriminate between manuscript and printed texts. However, this finding shows how, if the text is manuscript rather than print, manuscript complexity and particularly the potential use of scribes must be accounted for when manuscript texts are used as data sources for answering research questions about wider language changes.

The second insight that is produced when one takes the view that any language changes that do occur consist of multifarious local contexts, which are in turn characterized by complexities and interdependencies, is that Early Modern textual culture's move away from orality was likely to have happened gradually. There is unlikely to have been a point in the mid-late seventeenth century after which textual culture in England was changed irrevocably. The process would have been much more dynamic than this. Robinson recognizes that there was a tension in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century prose 'between grammar and rhythm' (1998: 141), but suggests that this tension was resolved by the second half of the seventeenth century. He refers specifically to the writing of the poet Dryden (c. 1631-1700), suggesting that Dryden 'mastered a way of acclimatizing complex syntactic structures in English, without any tension between grammar and rhythm' (1998: 141).

Both this view, and Culpeper and Kytö's related view that the mid-late seventeenth century marks a kind of cut-off point, are arguably slightly simplistic. For example, it could be suggested that Robinson places too much emphasis upon the evidence presented by the literary writings of the canonical author Dryden. It is unlikely that Dryden single-handedly 'resolved' the tension that Robinson identifies in English prose. It is important to acknowledge that Early Modern textual culture's move away from orality was the consequence of a number of inter-related factors, such as technological advances associated with the arrival of the printing press. It would have been characterized by complexities and interdependencies, and it would have happened gradually.

Finally, it is worth engaging with the stated implication of Culpeper and Kytö's hypothesis. To remind the reader, Culpeper and Kytö suggest that 'as far as the use of AND is concerned, there has been a move away from oral style to visual or literate style, due to the evolving concept of the sentence and the role played by AND in relation to it' (2010: 167). They go on to suggest this trend is a development in the opposite direction of the general pattern of drift towards more oral styles in fiction, essays and letters described by Biber and Finegan in their 1989 and 1992 publications.

The research undertaken by Biber and Finegan that Culpeper and Kytö refer to is best described as 'genre and register analysis'. Biber and Finegan are interested in the development of different genres, and the comparison of texts that they have categorized as belonging to these different genres. They use a multidimensional model of stylistic variation in order 'to trace the historical evolution of written genres of English' (1989: 487). Biber and Finegan's model focuses on three empirically-defined dimensions of linguistic variation, which they say 'are associated with differences among 'literate' and 'oral' varieties: 'Informational versus Involved Production'; 'Elaborated versus Situation-Dependent reference'; and 'Abstract versus Non-Abstract Style'' (1989: 487). Their 1989 analysis shows how the genres of fiction, essays and letters have evolved over the last four centuries with respect to these dimensions. It is suggested that it is these three genres in particular that have moved towards a more oral style over time.

Biber and Finegan define 'oral style' as being relatively involved, heavy on situation-dependent reference and non-abstract. This means that if a text is written in an oral style it will typically (but not necessarily) contain certain features of involved production, such as first and second person pronouns, questions and reductions. It is also more likely to contain certain features of situation-dependent reference, namely time adverbials and place adverbials. It will also typically contain a relatively small amount of phrasal coordination, and fewer nominalizations, pied piping constructions, and occurrences of past participial features, because these are all features of the opposite of situation-dependent reference, namely elaborated reference.

Finally, it is likely to exhibit 'non-abstract' style. Although Biber and Finegan note that 'abstract' style has certain positive features, including conjuncts, agentless

passives and past participal adverbial clauses (cf. 1989: 491), they do not find any characteristic morphological features of its opposite, namely 'non-abstract' style. However, in Biber and Finegan (1994) they rename the 'Abstract versus Nonabstract Style' dimension the 'Impersonal versus Non-Impersonal Style' dimension, with 'Abstract' being the equivalent of 'Impersonal' (cf. 1994: 211). In this 1994 paper, they note that non-abstract (or non-impersonal) style is more likely to be found in certain registers, namely conversations, fiction, personal letters, public conversations and broadcasts, and is less likely to be found in technical prose, other academic prose and official documents.

The collective evidence, including that provided by Bess's letters, suggests that Culpeper and Kytö's claim that was a general move towards more visual style is arguably more credible than Biber and Finegan's claim about a trend in the opposite direction. However, as stated in the paragraphs above, it is advisable to be wary of progressive narratives of this nature, which are often imposed onto historical material and historical phenomena after the event. It is advisable to foster an historically sensitive approach to both language and language change, and to explore the inevitable complexities and interdependencies that exist within the historical moment whenever possible.

3.3 Case Study 3

Methodology

Case study 3 seeks to establish whether the contextual aspect of letter recipient has an impact upon the usage of the discourse connectives AND, SO, FOR and BUT. In other words, it asks whether the usage of these features within individual letters varies according to whom those individual letters were addressed. Implicit within this question is a concern with the relationships that Bess maintained with the various recipients of her letters, both holograph and scribal. Furthermore, a study concerned with whether or not a particular letter writer modifies his or her language use according to who they are writing to is also implicitly concerned with the social attitudes towards language use within written communications.

Each of these relationships is conceived of as having both a social and a personal dimension. Social relationship is related to a particular individual's role in society. As women were by and large excluded from the professional sphere at this time, women could not be said to have professional relationships with other people. Instead, their social relationships with others were more often related to their role in the household and their social rank, or lineage. For example, while the personal relationship of Bess and Arbella Stuart was that of grandmother and granddaughter, the social relationship between these two women centred around the fact that Arbella was a noblewoman and royal kinswoman, while Bess was of lower gentry stock. However, although women could not be said to have professional relationships with other people, they could and frequently did enlist the help of professional men in their capacity of heads of their own households. For example, Bess enlisted the help of MP and personal friend Sir John Thynne when she was having financial and political difficulties following the death of her second husband Sir William Cavendish (cf. ID 111, ID 112).

The social relationship between two correspondents is usually relatively easy to establish, because it can usually be inferred from straightforward biographical information (although biographical information is not always available, particularly for individuals lower down the social scale, such as servants). Personal relationship

between any two correspondents is usually harder to establish than social relationship. This is because it is difficult to gauge the nature of the personal relationship between any two correspondents. The available evidence is rarely comprehensive. For example, although correspondence is potentially a good source of information about personal relationships, it is unlikely to tell us what two people really thought and felt about one another, or what the fluctuations in their relationship might have been. Therefore, unless the correspondence between two people is frequent and in-depth, it is unlikely to be a totally comprehensive guide to their personal relationship. Furthermore, it is difficult to gauge the overlaps between social and personal relationships which may or may not exist.

The same sample of 17 holograph and 17 scribal letters that is used for the purposes of Case Studies 1 and 2 is used for the purposes of Case Study 3. In order to complete Case Study 3, biographies were prepared for all the recipients of the various holograph and scribal letters. These biographies were prepared with the aim of collecting in one place as much biographical information as possible about each of the correspondents. Biographies were used as a tool for this particular study so that the nature of the relationships between Bess and her correspondents could be established. Furthermore, it was thought that if any interesting findings or patterns did emerge from the study, it would be useful to have as much biographical background information as possible, for the purposes of interpretation.

The template biography employed for this case study includes several categories: full name and any titles of correspondent, dates of birth and death, family relations, education, professional history (related to social relationship), geographical and social mobility, amount and source of personal wealth (e.g. property), network connectedness (related to who that person knows), how the person knows Bess (connected to personal relationship) and the time of life when the person was writing to and/or receiving letters from Bess.

Biographies were completed for twelve individuals in total. The recipients of holograph letters are Queen Elizabeth I, Robert Leicester Earl of Dudley, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil first Baron Burghley, Sir John Thynne, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury and Francis Whitfield. Several of these recipients are also

recipients of the scribal letters included in the sample, namely Queen Elizabeth I, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil first Baron Burghley and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. There are also scribal letters addressed to Robert Cecil first earl of Salisbury, Julius Caesar, Richard Bagot, William Lacy and Mary Talbot.

Building on the biographical information gleaned from the biographies, each of these twelve individuals was then placed into one of three broad categories. Each person was either classed as Bess's social superior, Bess's social equal or Bess's social inferior. Queen Elizabeth I, Robert Leicester, Earl of Dudley, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil first Baron Burghley, and Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury were classed as Bess's social superiors. It was decided that Bess's family members would be classed as her social equals. Therefore, Bess's fourth husband Shrewsbury and her daughter Mary Talbot were classed as Bess's social equals, in addition to her friend Sir John Thynne and the civil lawyer Julius Caesar. Three recipients were classed as Bess's social inferiors, namely William Lacy, Richard Bagot and her servant Francis Whitfield.

Although it is acknowledged here that this schematizing of social relations does not fully acknowledge the nuanced nature of human relationships and EModE social structures, it was carried out because it suited the purposes of this kind of linguistic analysis, and this particular linguistic case study. The schema of social superior, social equal and social inferior was adopted in an attempt to represent complex social relations in a simple, easily comprehensible way. Furthermore, the decisions about how each person should be classified were based on careful considerations of their biographies, and what was known about their relationship to Bess. It can therefore be argued that the case study approaches the social relations between the correspondents in a sensitive way, and in a way that bears the highly hierarchical nature of EModE society in mind.[91]

After the biographies had been completed and the recipients had been placed within one of the three broad categories outlined above, the 17 holograph and 17 scribal

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[91] Other historical linguistic studies and corpora, such as CEEC, have schematized social relations in a similar way.

letters were grouped according to recipient. Sometimes there was only one letter to a particular recipient; sometimes there was a small group of letters. It was then ascertained whether any patterns relating to the use of the discourse connectives AND, SO, FOR and BUT could be discerned when the letters were grouped in this way. Any noticeable patterns according to letter recipient are noted in the following 'Results' section of Case Study 3. After the 'Results' section outlines any kind of variation in the use of the features according to letter recipient, the overall importance of letter recipient as a contextual factor influencing usage is assessed in the 'Discussion of Results' section.

Results

Case Study 3 investigated whether the contextual aspect of letter recipient affected the extent to which the prose contained therein reflected the structure and cohesion of speech. It was found that there were no strong patterns or trends in relation to this variable. The structure, cohesion and marking of the prose in a particular letter were not notably affected by the letter's addressee. The study also showed that there are few differences between the holograph and scribal letters in relation to this overall finding. This overall finding will be expanded upon below, in relation to the recipients of the holograph and scribal letters.

Recipients of holograph letters

Bess uses her holograph hand to write to a variety of recipients. As Bess's holograph prose consistently exhibits certain speech-like characteristics, the prose in all of her holograph letters displays these characteristics, including ID 120, a letter addressed to social superior Queen Elizabeth I. As reigning monarch, Elizabeth I (1533–1603), queen of England and Ireland[92] is by far the highest-ranking individual that Bess writes to in her holograph hand. Due to the fact that ID 120 is written in Bess's own hand, the prose therein displays certain characteristics that are reflective of speech. Although ID 120 is a petitionary letter that is relatively faithful to the conventional structure of a petition, the transitions from the exordium to the narratio,

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[92] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8636?docPos=2>.

from the propositio to the petitio and from the petitio to the peroratio are all marked by the discourse connective examples of AND functioning as a discourse marker.

Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (1532/3–1588), courtier and magnate[93], a high-ranking aristocrat and favourite of Queen Elizabeth I, was also classed as Bess's social superior. However, no detectable trend is discernable when ID 107, 109 and 110, the three holograph letters addressed to him, are viewed collectively. The ideational structures characteristic of spoken monologic narratives, arguments, descriptions and explanations are not present in any of these letters. There are discourse connectives functioning as discourse markers at sentence level in ID 107. ID 109 and 110 are both letters of petition that adhere relatively faithfully to the conventional structure of a petition. However, while in ID 109 there are discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT marking functional shifts in the conventional structure of the petition, in ID 110, the discourse connectives are working at the level of the sentence. Meanwhile, transitions between different parts of the petition are signalled with punctuation marks.

William Cecil, first Baron Burghley (1520/21 – 1598), royal minister[94], was a high-ranking official at the Elizabethan Court and an important, powerful player in Early Modern English society. He was therefore classed as Bess's social superior, despite the fact that he may not have been superior to Bess in terms of lineage or social connections. ID 122 is the only holograph letter addressed to William Cecil in the data sample of 34 letters used for the purposes of the four case studies. In ID 122, punctuation plays a greater role in signalling the structure of the letter than the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT, none of which are functioning as discourse markers at or above sentence level.

Sir Francis Walsingham (c. 1532 – 1590), principal secretary[95], was also classed as Bess's social superior because like William Cecil, Walsingham was a high-ranking and powerful figure in the Elizabethan Court. ID 123, the one holograph letter addressed to him in the data sample of 34 letters, is a relatively speech-like letter. It

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[93] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8160>.
[94] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4983?docPos=1>.
[95] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624?docPos=2>.

reflects the structure of a monologic conversational narrative and also contains the alternation-patterning between different marking devices that is sometimes found in PDE speech.

Topic relations are a particularly salient method of discourse organization above the level of the sentence in ID 178, 182, 183, 184 and 186, the five holograph letters addressed to Bess's fourth husband and social equal George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury (c.1522–1590), nobleman[96]. these five letters. Furthermore, alternation patterning between different kinds of marking device is present in ID 182, 184 and 186. However, there are no discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in ID 178, 183 and 186. Therefore, whilst the prose in all five letters displays certain speech-like characteristics, the lexical features investigated are being used in way that is more reflective of the written medium in three of the five letters.

Sir John Thynne (1512/13–1580), estate manager and builder of Longleat[97], was Bess's friend. Thynne was classed as Bess's social equal for the purposes of this case study. There are four holograph letters addressed to Thynne in the data sample of 34 letters: ID 111, ID 112, ID 198 and ID 200. All of these letters display characteristic features of spoken communication. For example, there is alternation patterning between different marking devices in ID 200 and discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT mark functional shifts in the conventional structure of the petition in ID 111. Furthermore, there is sequential patterning involving the individual connectives AND, BUT and FOR in ID 112.

Francis Whitfield (birth and death dates unknown), was Bess's servant and can therefore be classed as Bess's social inferior, i.e. someone who belonged to a lower social rank than Bess herself. ID 099 and 101, the two holograph letters addressed to Whitfield, both contain discourse connectives functioning as discourse markers above the level of the sentence. Furthermore, in ID 101, a short letter which reflects the structure of a monologic conversational argument, these discourse connectives are not accompanied by any other marking devices. They can therefore be said to be very much discourse markers in their own right.

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[96] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26928?docPos=2>.
[97] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27421?docPos=1>.

Recipients of scribal letters

Case Study 3 also showed that there are few differences between the holograph and scribal letters in relation to the overall finding that the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose in a particular letter were not notably affected by the letter's addressee. There are scribal letters addressed to four of Bess's recipients classed as social superiors for the purposes of Case Study 3: Queen Elizabeth I, William Cecil, William Cecil's son Robert Cecil, and Francis Walsingham. ID 128 and 129, the two scribal letters addressed to Queen Elizabeth I, are copied by Scribe 6 and Scribe 4 respectively. ID 128 does adhere to the prescribed structure of a petitionary letter to a certain extent. Although most of the discourse connectives are mostly being used to signal breaks in long sentence constructions, there is one discourse connective example of BUT functioning as a discourse marker above sentence level in this letter. ID 129 cannot be said to be particularly reflective of the spoken medium. It does not reflect the ideational structure of conversational narratives, arguments, explanations or descriptions above sentence level. The majority of the sentences within it resemble those typically found in present day written English, and although there are examples of discourse connective AND, SO, FOR and BUT in sentence-initial position, they are all directly preceded by punctuation. Furthermore, there is the relatively conventional use of discourse connective SO and AND SO to signal the start of the closing valediction.

The three scribal letters addressed to William Cecil are each copied by a different scribe. This means that there are more differences than similarities between them and no noticeable trends apparent. Due to the fact that ID 159 is copied by Scribe 2, its prose is cohered and structured in a way that is relatively reflective of speech. For example, sentence constructions tend to be very long, with boundaries that are often unclear, and the letter could be said to loosely reflect the ideational structure of a conversational story. Furthermore, there is at least one example of discourse connective BUT functioning above the level of the sentence in this letter.

However, due to the fact that ID 121 is copied by Scribe 3, the prose within it is less reflective of speech. For example, the only discourse connective example of AND in this letter is one half of the conventional AND THUS formulation, used to signal the

start of a conventional valediction at the end of the letter. Finally, although ID 163 (copied by Scribe 6) does contain narrative reports, it cannot be said to be a narrative in and of itself. Furthermore, none of the shifts within and between these reports are marked by any of the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in ID 163.

There are six scribal letters addressed to Robert Cecil, first earl of Salisbury (1563 – 1612), politician and courtier[98], a powerful player in the Elizabethan court like his father William. They are copied by three different scribes. However due to the fact that five out of the six are copied by Scribes 3 and 5 (ID 124, 125, 126, 127 and 139), it can be said that the majority of the letters addressed to Robert Cecil exhibit prose that is more reflective of PDE writing than PDE speech. The only other letter in the group is ID 140, a letter copied by Scribe 4. Although there are examples of these discourse connectives in sentence-initial position in this letter, it does not reflect the ideational structure of conversational narratives, arguments, explanations or descriptions above sentence level.

The only scribal letter to Walsingham is ID 145, a letter of petition copied by Scribe 2. Due to the fact that it is copied by Scribe 2, its prose is relatively reflective of speech. For example, the petitio and the peroratio sections within the letter are both signalled by sentence-initial discourse connective examples of AND. It can therefore be said that these features are functioning above the level of the sentence in this letter.

There are scribal letters addressed to three of Bess's recipients classed as social equals for the purposes of Case Study 3: Bess's fourth husband Shrewsbury, Bess's daughter Mary Talbot, *née* Cavendish (1557 – 1632), and Sir Julius Caesar (formerly Adelmare) (bap. 1558, d. 1636), civil lawyer[99]. Scribe 2 copies ID 116, the single scribal letter addressed to Shrewsbury in the sample. The prose therein is therefore relatively reflective of the spoken medium. Despite this letter's complexity, it can be said to adhere to the relatively simple position, support for position ideational structure found in monologic spoken arguments. Furthermore, there is a discourse connective example of AND used to signal the start of the support part of the

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[98] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4980?docPos=1>.
[99] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4328?docPos=2>.

argument on line 3. Scribe 2 also copies ID 179, the only letter addressed to Mary Talbot included in the data sample of 34 letters used for the purposes of the case studies. ID 179 is a short news-based letter in which topic relations are fairly prominent. The third topic covered in the letter is signalled with a discourse connective example of AND preceded by a semi-colon. ID 161, copied by Scribe 5, is the only letter addressed to Julius Caesar, a wealthy and well-connected civil lawyer who was classed as Bess's social equal for the purposes of Case Study 3. Due to the fact that ID 161 is copied by Scribe 5, the prose within does not exhibit any remarkable speech-like characteristics.

Finally, there were also scribal letters addressed to two of Bess's recipients classed as social inferiors for the purposes of Case Study 3: William Lacy (birth and death dates unknown), occupation unknown and Richard Bagot (c. 1530 – 1597), sheriff (1569–70 and 1577–8), a JP and deputy lieutenant[100]. It is worth pointing out here that Bess's relationship with Lacy is unclear from the scant biographical information about Lacy that is available. However, from the contents of ID 160, the letter addressed to Lacy, it is possible to glean that he may have been one of Bess's tenants. He was therefore classed as her social inferior for the purposes of this case study. ID 160, the sole letter addressed to Lacy, is copied by Scribe 6. Its prose does not exhibit any salient speech-like characteristics; the sentences are relatively short and the ideational structures found within speech are not present above sentence level.

ID 001 is the sole letter written to Richard Bagot in the sample of 34 letters. It was composed in 1594, by which time Bess held an elevated position in EModE society as the Countess of Shrewsbury. It is therefore possible to argue that Bess is Bagot's social superior at the time of writing. Copied by Scribe 4, ID 001 contains one sentence-initial discourse connective AND on line 5, which could be said to be a discourse marker in its own right. All the other sentence-initial discourse connectives in ID 001 are accompanied by punctuation.

Discussion of Results

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[100] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71871/76478?docPos=1>.

The overall finding of Case Study 3 was that the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose in a particular letter was not notably affected by the contextual aspect of the letter's recipient. Although there were some findings which hinted at possible variation, there were not enough other findings to back these findings up. Cumulative findings would be needed in order to make a credible assertion that there is variation present. Furthermore, the study showed that there were few differences between the holograph and scribal letters in relation to the overall finding.

A related observation is that Bess does not appear to be employing particular scribes to copy letters to particular individuals, despite the fact that the various scribes each have their own unique prose style. So for example, Scribe 2, a scribe whose prose is more reflective of speech than the prose of the other four scribes identified, is employed by Bess to copy ID 159, a letter to the powerful and influential courtier William Cecil. The fact that letters to powerful men such as William Cecil are copied in prose that reflects the structure and cohesion of spoken language suggests that Bess considered this kind of prose to be socially acceptable.

What the findings of Case Study 3 do suggest is that while the contextual aspect of letter recipient does not have much impact on the extent to which the prose within each letter reflects the structure and cohesion of speech, it does affect the length and elaborateness of the conventional opening and closing formulas that are consistently used to frame the core content of each letter. This can be said of both the holograph and the scribal letters. This is not a surprising finding. It was essential to maintain decorous and socially appropriate relations with others in EModE society. Framing written communications with the correct kind and amount of formulaic expressions was how EModE letters writers maintained decorous relations with their correspondents. How decorous you needed to be depended upon your social and personal relationship with the correspondent. This is why the length and elaborateness of these conventional framing sections varies according to letter recipient in this group of holograph and scribal letters from Bess.

The more powerful or socially superior the particular recipient is in relation to Bess, the longer and more elaborate the opening address and closing valediction and/or appreciato. For example, the opening and closing sections of Bess's letters to Dudley,

Walsingham and William Cecil are longer and contain more deferential sentiments than the same sections within her letters to husband Shrewsbury, friend Thynne and servant Whitfield. Collectively therefore, the findings suggest that although the contextual aspect of letter recipient does not have a notable impact upon the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose itself, it does affect the use of formulaic framing expressions in letters from Bess. The implications of these findings will be elaborated upon in the 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 4, when the results of Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4 can be viewed collectively and interpreted.

3.4 Case Study 4

Methodology

Case Study 4 seeks to establish whether the contextual aspect of the primary communicative function of each letter has an impact upon the use of the discourse connectives AND, SO, FOR and BUT within each letter. The term 'primary communicative function' refers to the primary, or main purpose an EModE letter is aiming to achieve within a social context. It is necessary to adopt the term *primary* communicative function (as opposed to simply communicative function) because EModE letters often have more than one communicative function within a social context. They often have what Palander-Collin calls 'mixed purposes' (2010: 652).[101] As a result of this, it is often difficult to identify the clear, singular purpose or function of an EModE letter. The term 'primary communicative function' accounts for the fact that although an EModE letter may have more than one communicative function within a social context, it is usually possible to identify a primary function that a letter is aiming to fulfil within a social context. Some examples of primary communicative functions include: petition, instruction, reportage, request, complaint, thanks and congratulation.

It is important to distinguish an EModE letter's primary communicative function from its content. For example, the primary communicative function of letter ID 101, a letter to Bess's servant Francis Whitfield, is instruction. The transcript of ID 101 is provided below.

Transcript of ID 101

1 francy[s] I wyll nott now haue the
2 pourche boched seynge I haue bene
3 att so greatt charges I thynke yet
4 nott materyall yf the batelmente
5 for the sydes be made thys
6 yere or no for I am sure the
7 batelmente mouste be sett oupe after

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[101] Cf. also Görlach (cf. 1999: 141), Palander-Collin and Nevala (2006) and Sairio (2009).

8 the porche be couered and yf yet
9 be so then wyll yett be dreye and
10 the battylmente ~~In~~ may be sett
11 oup att any tyme. the batylment
12 for the teryte wolde deface the
13 wolle poureche for yett ^ys^ nether of
14 stone. yett of bothe do I lyke
15 batter the creste beynge of the
16 same stone. I am contented you
17 shall haue the nage comende
18 me to my aunte lynycar fare
19 well francys yn haste as a
20 peryrs the xx of october

<div style="text-align:center">

your mystrys
E[lizabeth] Seyntlo

</div>

21 tyll besse knolles and franke thatt
22 I saye yf they pley ther uergenalles
23 that the are good gerles

ID 101 is a letter of instruction. The main instruction that the letter contains is: do not undertake any building work on the porch at the present time. Although the letter contains instructions that refer to various things: the 'pourche' (line 2), the 'batelmente' (line 4), the 'nage' (line 17), and although it might be said that these things constitute what this particular letter is 'about', they do not represent what its purpose is in a wider social context, which is to instruct a servant about domestic matters.

Primary communicative function also needs to be distinguished from discourse mode. EModE letters contain a wide range of discourse modes, including narratives, descriptions, arguments and explanations. As pointed out in 3.2, one EModE letter can sometimes include more than one of these discourse modes. However, discourse mode is different from primary communicative function. Various different kinds of discourse modes exist *within* particular letters, whereas the primary communicative function of a particular letter refers to the letter as a whole piece of discourse, and the function that it serves in the wider social context within which it exists. So for example, although ID 101 has the primary communicative function of instruction within a wider social context, it actually reflects the form of a monologic spoken argument above the level of the sentence.

However, although it is important to distinguish the primary communicative function of a letter from its content and any discourse modes that it may contain, it is worth noting that as a contextual aspect, it is very much inter-connected with the contextual aspect of letter recipient, which was focused on in Case Study 3. This is because who one writes a particular letter to is likely to affect why one is writing that particular letter. For example, Bess is much more likely to write a letter of instruction such as ID 101 to her servant Whitfield than to Queen Elizabeth I.

The same sample of 17 holograph and 17 scribal letters that is used in Case Studies 1, 2 and 3 is also used for the purposes of Case Study 4. In order to complete Case Study 4, each of the holograph and scribal letters were classified according to what was considered to be their primary communicative function. The primary communicative functions of the holograph letters were: petition/suit, instruction, reportage, request, miscellaneous. The primary communicative functions of the scribal letters were: petition/suit, request, defence, complaint, thanks, congratulation and miscellaneous. The holograph and scribal letters were grouped according to these functions. It was then ascertained whether any patterns relating to the use of the discourse connectives AND, SO, FOR and BUT could be discerned when the letters were grouped in this way. Any noticeable patterns are noted in the 'Results' section below. The overall importance of the contextual aspect of primary communicative function as a factor influencing usage is assessed in the 'Discussion of Results' section.

Results

Case Study 4 investigated whether the contextual aspect of the primary communicative function of each letter affected the extent to which the prose therein reflected the structure and cohesion of PDE speech. The study did produce one or two suggestive findings. For example, there was a similar usage of discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT as discourse markers above sentence level in

three of the four holograph letters of petition. However these findings were not conclusive enough to point to any real patterns or trends in the data.[102]

Overall therefore, the study found that the contextual aspect of primary communicative function did not have a notable impact upon the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose in particular letters. This was the case for both the holograph and the scribal data. The main finding of this study was therefore very similar to the main finding of Case Study 3. In neither study was the contextual aspect under investigation found to have a particularly strong impact upon the extent to which the prose within particular letters reflected PDE speech. This overall finding will be expanded upon below, in relation to the primary communicative functions of the holograph and scribal letters.

Primary communicative functions of the holograph letters

There are four holograph letters of petition in the data sample of 34 letters used for the purposes of the four case studies: ID 109, 110, 111 and ID 120. There was a similar usage of discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT as discourse markers above sentence level in ID 109, 111 and 120. In each of these three letters, they are used to mark functional shifts in the conventional structure of the petition. In most of these instances they are directly preceded by punctuation. In ID 110, the discourse connectives are working at sentence level, while transitions between different parts of the petition are signalled with punctuation marks. In addition, the discourse connectives tended to be in close proximity to a number of characteristic grammatical features of speech in these letters, although this was not so much the case in ID 109.

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[102] The sggestive findings emerged can be accounted for as follows. Firstly, they could be related to the limits of the data set of 34 letters used for the purposes of the four case studies. This data set is relatively small in size. Therefore, it could be that Bess did write holograph letters of thanks and congratulation to powerful courtiers, but these letters either do not survive or are as yet undiscovered. Secondly, these findings could be related to Bess's letter composition habits throughout her life. In later life, Bess does not appear to write letters in her own hand; there are no surviving holograph letters dating from after 1578. Therefore, if a letter in this data set is written after 1578 it will be scribal, no matter what it concerns, and the question of whether or not there was a conscious choice made to use a scribe is rendered irrelevant.

ID 099 and 101, the two holograph letters of instruction addressed to Whitfield, both contain discourse connectives functioning as discourse markers above the level of the sentence. Furthermore, in ID 101, a short letter which reflects the structure of a monologic spoken argument, these discourse connectives are not accompanied by any other marking devices. They can therefore be said to be very much discourse markers in their own right.

There are five letters that have the primary communicative function of reportage in the data sample of 34 letters: ID 107, 112, 122, 123 and ID 200. However there are no salient patterns when this group of letters is viewed collectively. Whereas the prose contained within ID 112, 123 and 200 is relatively reflective of speech (there is alternation patterning present in all three letters and ID 123 reflects the structure of a monologic conversational narrative), the prose of ID 107 and ID 122 is less so. For example, there are no discourse connectives functioning as discourse markers above sentence level in ID 107, and neither of the discourse connective examples of AND and FOR are functioning as discourse markers either at or above sentence level in ID 122.

The primary purpose of ID 178, 182, 183 and ID 184, which are all addressed to Bess's fourth husband Shrewsbury, is to request various things from him. The primary communicative function of these four letters can therefore be said to be request. These letters are all relatively similar in terms of prose structure. Topic relations are a particularly salient method of discourse organization above the level of the sentence in all of them. Alternation patterning between different kinds of marking device is present in both ID 182 and 184. Furthermore, there are flashes of characteristic grammatical features of PDE speech present in all of them, such as the contrastive perspectives employed on lines 7-10 of ID 184. However ID 178 and ID 183 are distinct from the other letters in this group because neither of them contain any discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR or BUT.

Two holograph letters which could not be assigned a primary communicative function and were therefore classed as miscellaneous were ID 198 and ID 186. ID 198 is addressed to Sir John Thynne. It is a polite missive sent to accompany a bearer who,

we are told in the letter, will relay the main body of the message. ID 186 is an affectionate letter sent to Shrewsbury.

Primary communicative functions of the scribal letters

When the 17 scribal letters were grouped according to primary communicative function, it was found that there were often a number of different scribal hands represented in each group. For example, four different scribes copy the five letters of petition. Given the wide range of prose styles employed by these five different scribes, it is not surprising that when the scribal letters were grouped according to primary communicative function, patterns relating to prose structure failed to emerge. Each of these scribes has their own unique prose style. Therefore, if a variety of these scribes are used to copy individual examples of a particular kind of letter, it is more likely that there will be differences rather than similarities between the individual examples of that particular kind of letter. The key point to draw from this observation is that the copyist of a particular letter, and the prose style of that copyist, has much more influence on the prose structure of that letter than its recipient, or its primary communicative function. The finding that there were often a number of different scribal hands represented in each group of letters will be expanded upon below.

There are five scribal petitions or suits in the sample of scribal letters used for the purposes of this analysis: ID 145, 125, 126, 127 and 128. None of these scribal petitions adhere as faithfully to the prescribed structure of a petitionary letter as the holograph petitions tend to. Four different scribes copy these five letters. The fact that there is such a broad range of scribes used shows that Bess did not reserve a particular scribe for the job of copying petitions. There are no noticeable patterns relating to prose structure among this group of scribal petitions; the prose contained within some is more reflective of speech than the prose within others. However, this is to be expected given the wide range of prose styles employed by the four scribes represented in this small sample.

Three of the five letters (ID 125 and ID 126, both copied by Scribe 3, and ID 127, copied by Scribe 5) exhibit prose that is more reflective of Present Day written English than Present Day spoken English. For example, none of the discourse

connective examples of AND and FOR present in ID 125 and 126 are acting as discourse markers, with the exception of one sentence-initial AND on line 8 of ID 126. Due to the fact that ID 128 is copied by Scribe 6, the prose within it is slightly more reflective of speech. For example, although most of the discourse connectives in this letter are used to signal breaks in long sentence constructions, there is one discourse connective example of BUT functioning as a discourse marker above sentence level to signal a shift between two separate parts of the petition. Finally, because ID 145 is copied by Scribe 2, its prose is relatively reflective of speech. For example, the petitio and the peroratio sections of the petition are both signalled by sentence-initial discourse connective examples of AND.

ID 129 and ID 163 both serve the primary communicative function of request. ID 129 is copied by Scribe 4 and addressed to Queen Elizabeth I and ID 163 is copied by Scribe 6 and is addressed to William Cecil. No notable patterns emerge when these two letters are viewed together. As asserted in Case Study 3, ID 129 does not reflect the ideational structure of conversational narratives, arguments, explanations or descriptions above sentence level. The majority of the sentences within it resemble those typically found in present day written English. There are examples of discourse connective AND, SO, FOR and BUT in sentence-initial position, although they are all directly preceded by punctuation. In relation to ID 163, it was pointed out that this letter does contain narrative reports. However, it cannot be said that it is a narrative in and of itself. Furthermore, none of the shifts within and between these reports are marked by any of the discourse connective examples of AND, SO, FOR and BUT present in the letter.

There are four scribal letters which serve the primary communicative function of defence in the sample of 34 letters: ID 116, copied by Scribe 2, ID 160, copied by Scribe 6, and ID 161 and ID 139, which are both copied by Scribe 5. Again, it can be seen that a range of scribes is used for this group of letters, just as a range of scribes were employed to copy the five scribal petitions discussed above. The same issue therefore arises, namely that due to the fact that each scribe has their own unique way of structuring and marking their prose, there are no noticeable patterns relating to prose structure when these four letters are viewed as a group. For example, due to the fact that ID 116 is copied by Scribe 2, the prose within it is relatively reflective of the

spoken medium. Whereas because ID 161 and ID 139 are copied by Scribe 5, the prose within them does not exhibit any pronounced speech-like characteristics.

There are six scribal letters in total in the miscellaneous category. The first three (ID 179, 001 and 140), are in this category because they could not be assigned a primary communicative function. ID 179 is a letter to Mary Talbot copied by Scribe 2. As pointed out in Case Study 3, it is a relatively short, news-based letter. ID 001 is a letter to Richard Bagot, copied by Scribe 4. It concerns an undisclosed 'matter touching that lewde workman Tuft' (lines 1-2). ID 140, a letter addressed to Robert Cecil, is also copied by Scribe 4. It regards some faults committed by Bess's son Henry Cavendish. ID 159, 121 and 124 are also classed as miscellaneous scribal letters. This is because although it is possible to assign them each of them a primary communicative function, there are no other examples of letters which share their particular functions. For example, ID 159 is primarily a letter of complaint, directed at William Cecil. However, there are not other scribal letters in the sample that can be classified as letters of complaint. It is not possible to identify any trends relating to prose structure if there is only one letter in the 'letter of complaint' category, because more than one letter is needed for any trends to be apparent. ID 159, copied by Scribe 2, and 121, copied by Scribe 3, are both addressed to William Cecil. ID 159 is primarily a letter of complaint, whereas ID 121 is a letter of polite thanks. ID 124 is copied by Scribe 3 and addressed to William's son Robert Cecil. Like ID 121, ID 124 is an extremely polite letter, although it serves the primary communicative function of congratulation rather than thanks.

The 'Primary communicative functions of the scribal letters' sub-section of the 'Results' section of Case Study 4 has so far expanded upon the linguistic implications of using a scribe, and has demonstrated how substantial these implications are. However, what about the social implications of using a scribe? Is Bess using particular scribes to copy particular kinds of letter? Again, there are some suggestive findings. For example, the letters that perform the arguably more directive, assertive functions of instruction and reportage are copied in Bess's own hand. Whereas ID 121 and 124, both polite letters to two powerful men at Court, William and Robert Cecil, are copied in Scribe 3's hand. ID 121 is a letter of thanks and ID 124 is a letter of congratulation, so neither contains an urgent message, or concerns a topic of serious

concern to Bess. Rather, both letters serve to maintain positive social relationships with both of these powerful, influential men. It was worth having William and Robert Cecil on your side in the event of some kind of problem or crisis, so Bess is making sure that she remains both in their thoughts and their favour. Could it be that Bess is employing a scribe to copy these letters because it was more polite to use a scribe than to write in your own hand?

The collective evidence suggests not. When the findings of Case Studies 3 and 4 are viewed collectively, they suggest that it was not necessarily more polite to use a scribe. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that it might have been, on occasion, more polite to write to a correspondent in one's own hand. For example, ID 120 is a holograph letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth I. Furthermore, towards the end of ID 163, Bess states that she has been 'inforced to vse the hand of my sonn W[illia]m Cavendysshe, not beinge able to wryte so much my self for feare of bringing great payne to my hed' (lines 38-39). The implication of this statement is that it would have been more polite to write the letter in her own hand. There also appears to be an apology for the use of a scribe in ID 162, a scribal letter addressed to William Cecil that was not analysed for the purposes of this research. Towards the end of this letter, Bess asks Cecil to pardon her 'for that I am not able nowe to wryte to yo[u]r Lo[rdship] w[i]t[h] my owne hande' (lines 24-25). The evidence also suggests that it was not necessarily less polite or proper to write in prose that was reflective of the spoken medium. The fact that Bess employs Scribe 2 to copy a variety of letters to a variety of correspondents, despite the fact that Scribe 2's prose exhibits a number of speech-like characteristics, demonstrates this point nicely. This finding will be interpreted in the 'Discussion of Results' section below.

Discussion of Results

As with Case Study 3, the overall finding of Case Study 4 was that the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose in a particular letter was not notably affected by the contextual aspect under investigation. In Case Study 4, the contextual aspect under investigation was the primary communicative function of each letter in the 34 letter data sample. Again as with Case Study 3, there were some findings which hinted at

possible variation. However, there were not enough other findings to back these findings up.

When the results of Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4 are viewed collectively, it can be seen that the copyist of a particular letter from Bess, and the prose style of that copyist, has much more influence on the prose structure of that particular letter than to whom it is addressed, or what its primary communicative function is. The contextual aspects of letter recipient and primary communicative function do not have a notable effect on the structure, cohesion and marking of the prose contained within individual letters. However, the contextual aspect of letter-recipient has been found to affect the use of formulaic framing expressions. This has been found to be the case in both the holograph and scribal letters.

The issue of interpretation remains. It should firstly be reiterated that the 34 letters from Bess analysed in the four case studies are not copied by a single individual. Rather, there are six different hands represented in this group of letters. 17 of them are copied by Bess herself, four of them are copied by Scribe 2, four by Scribe 3, three by Scribe 4, three by Scribe 5 and three by Scribe 6. Each of these six individual copyists has been found to have a distinct prose style. This means that there is a range of prose styles represented in this group of 34 letters from Bess. As noted in Case Studies 1 and 2, these prose styles reflect the PDE spoken medium to varying degrees. Furthermore, Case Studies 3 and 4 established that a range of copyists, including Bess, are used to write a range of letters to a range of different recipients.

These findings suggest two things about Bess's attitudes towards the language used in her EModE letters. Firstly, they suggest that she considered it perfectly acceptable to employ a number of different scribes to copy her prose letters for her, even though their idiosyncratic writing practices mean that there is notable variation at the structural level of the prose across the group of 34 letters investigated. The lack of stylistic uniformity does not appear to have been a problem for Bess. Secondly, there does not appear to have been any discrimination against prose styles that are more reflective of the PDE spoken medium, such as those of Bess and Scribe 2. Indeed, the 21 letters copied by these two individuals were found to perform a variety of communicative functions and were addressed to a variety of people, from across the

Early Modern social spectrum, including senior figures such as Queen Elizabeth I. The findings therefore suggest that Bess considered it socially acceptable to copy letters in prose that reflected the structure and cohesion of spoken language, despite the fact that prose of this kind was more likely to be loosely integrated and structurally fluid.[103]

Bess was a special kind of linguistic individual, and is an especially valuable subject for the investigation of attitudes towards language use, because she was a socially aspirant individual. We know from sociolinguistic studies that such individuals are especially sensitive to perceived norms and social conventions related to language use (cf e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). They can therefore be said to act as barometers for social attitudes towards language use. Furthermore, Bess was not only socially aspirant; she was socially mobile. She fulfilled her social aspirations and rose up through Tudor society to become a Countess. As a socially aspirant, socially mobile individual, it is likely that Bess would have been very aware of what was considered to be appropriate language use by her contemporaries. By extension, she would have been careful to avoid any kind of language use that was considered inappropriate. Therefore, the fact that an astute social operator such as Bess considered the use of speech-like prose in a range of letters to a range of correspondents to be acceptable linguistic practice suggests that the use of this kind of prose in these contexts was seen as acceptable both by Bess's correspondents, and by Early Modern English society at large.

The tentative suggestion, based on the evidence drawn from this relatively small set of letters from Bess, that it was not only socially acceptable to use a variety of scribes with a variety of prose styles to write to correspondents, but that it was also acceptable to copy letters in prose that reflected the structure of spoken communication, fits with what we know about the tolerant attitudes towards linguistic variation within EModE society. It is well known that vernacular English during the Early Modern period (1500-1700) was yet to undergo all the phases of

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[103] It is worth pointing out at this juncture that although the findings suggest that it was socially acceptable to copy letters in prose that reflected the structure and cohesion of spoken language, even when writing to a social superior, the linguistic choices made by the individual copyists were likely to have been affected by the social status, gender or education of the copyist in question.

standardization.[104] Indeed, as Nevalainen points out, it was 'grammatically to a large extent unregulated by prescriptive forces' (2006: 42). English was thus characterized by linguistic variation at this time, a variation that manifested itself at all levels of the language. For example, it was manifested at a morphological level by regional variants of the same linguistic features. Variation was also manifested in regional spellings and, as the analysis carried out for in this thesis has demonstrated, at the structural level of prose. Indeed, the qualitative analysis of Bess's letters undertaken for the purposes of this thesis drew attention to the variable, open-ended nature of the prose contained with them. It showed not only how the prose exhibits aspects of both the spoken and written modes, but also how the extent to which the prose reflects the structure of spoken language is dependent upon the linguistic choices and repertoires of individual copyists.

However, Early Modern English society did not *stigmatize* the linguistic variation characteristic of the English language at this time. Linguistic variation was accepted because it was the norm. EModE consisted of a number of diffuse varieties. There was therefore no alternative to variation; it was the only thing there was. It is not possible to judge something until you know what you are judging. If there is no alternative, there is no judgment. As Hope points out, '*lack* of variation is what would have been remarkable' (2010: 122) to the English speakers and writers of Early Modern England.

In relation to writing and written prose texts specifically, it can be said that in addition to an acceptance of the variation inherent in English and a lack of an ideological emphasis on purity and uniformity of linguistic form, there was also a lack of set, prescriptive rules about English grammar, syntax and punctuation. This becomes apparent when contemporary writing about grammar, syntax and punctuation is consulted. Alexander Gil and Ben Jonson are unusual in their inclusion of chapters on what is now known as syntax in their work on the English language. Most grammarians from the 1500-1750 period did not include a chapter on syntax. Furthermore, Treip notes how grammatically vague Mulcaster's description of punctuation is in *Elementarie*, his 1582 Elizabethan grammar (cf. Treip 1970: 26).

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[104] Cf. Haugen (1972).

There are now a huge number of grammars available to the learner of English, setting out how to write English in a correct way. Present Day written English has become codified. It is characterized by visual marking such as capitalization and regularized punctuation. It has a tendency towards tightly integrated construction, as opposed to simplified, loosely integrated construction. There is therefore an emphasis on the sentence as a key organizational device. As pointed out in the 'Research Objectives' section of the Introduction, there are three recognized types of grammatical sentence in Present Day written English; simple, compound and complex. Paragraphing is conventionally used as an organizational tool above sentence level in present-day written English.

However, in the Early Modern period, the tolerance of linguistic diversity and the lack of prescriptive rules meant that writing that reflected the often variable structure of spoken language was not regarded as somehow incorrect or ungrammatical. Indeed, my analysis suggests that it was perfectly acceptable to use sequences which some grammarians might deem ungrammatical and 'ill-formed' in what might be considered to be relatively formal contexts, such as important written communications to the reigning monarch and powerful men at Court.

An important point that needs to be made here is that although there was a tolerance of linguistic diversity and a lack of prescriptive grammatical rules, Early Modern England was not a totally permissive society. There were rules that needed to be adhered to in both written and spoken communication, and there were certain things that were stigmatized. Firstly, communicative inefficacy was seen as undesirable and something to avoid. Hope suggests that this is because there was a view at this time, originally derived from Aristotle, that good language use is common language use. This view led language commentators such as Gil, Cawdrey, Bullokar and Coote to seek 'a common standard (ideally made up of the best elements of the various dialects) rather than a prestige one' (Hope 2010: 110). It was hoped that this common standard would facilitate better general communication among the populace. Secondly, linguistic affectation, i.e. extreme or specialized language, especially Latinate scholarly jargon, was stigmatized. Indeed, linguistic affectation was arguably far more stigmatized than regional variation.

Thirdly, it was essential to maintain decorous relations with those you were communicating with, by showing them an appropriate amount of deference and respect. In both spoken and written communication, respect was demonstrated via the content rather than the form of the message. As Hope points out, it is 'content, not phonetic form' that 'is used to judge the social status of a speaker' (2010: 110) in Early Modern England. The same can arguably be said in relation to the structural or syntactic form of EModE prose letters, i.e. that appropriately decorous relations with correspondents were established via the content rather than the syntactic form of the prose.

This interpretation of Early Modern attitudes towards language use would explain why the contextual aspect of letter recipient was found to affect the content of Bess's holograph and scribal letters, specifically the preliminary and concluding expressions of good will, rather than the form of the prose contained therein, i.e. the extent to which the prose reflected the structure of speech. It is via these preliminary and concluding expressions of good will that deference can be expressed and decorous relations can be maintained. The amount of deference that needed to be expressed depended on your social and personal relationship with your correspondent. Therefore, it is not surprising that the amount and elaborateness of these expressions varied according to letter recipient in the analyzed letters.

The evidence presented by Bess's EModE letters fits with and adds to what we already know about attitudes towards language use in Early Modern England. It supports Hope's argument that there was a tolerance of linguistic variation within early modern English society. It also supports Hope's suggestion that if there were prescriptive attitudes within this society, they related to communicative effectiveness and decorum, rather than linguistic form. Linguistic variation was accepted because it was the norm, and also because decorum was upheld within the content of communications.

The differences between my own research and that of Hope are acknowledged here. Firstly, different kinds of source text are used. Hope refers to Shakespeare's plays, which are composed in verse, whereas this research is focused on Bess of Hardwick's letters, which are composed in prose. Each of these genres has specific conventions.

Secondly, Hope's research has a slightly different focus, because it is concerned with regional variation, whereas the research presented in this thesis has focused on how orality is manifested at the structural level of Bess's prose letters. Thirdly, Hope has investigated the issue of Early Modern attitudes towards linguistic variation in relation to morphological, orthographic and lexical features, such as inflectional verb endings, dialectal spellings or vocabulary, i.e. individual linguistic features. By contrast, this research has focused upon the structure and cohesion of individual letter texts.

Despite these differences, it is asserted here that this analysis of Bess's prose letters supports and indeed strengthens Hope's argument about Early Modern ideas about and attitudes towards the use of English. It is asserted here that the point about the Early Modern tolerance of linguistic variation is relevant to different genres, different levels of language and different kinds of linguistic feature. Overall, it can be said that the analysis has demonstrated the way in which Bess's letters were very much of their time. Furthermore, by focusing on prose letters rather than verse plays, syntax rather than morphology, and oral rather than regional features, this research has contributed new insights to our understanding of Early Modern attitudes towards language use.

In addition to contributing new insights to our understanding of contemporary attitudes towards the use of EModE, the findings of Case Studies 1-4 add to our understanding of the process of standardization in English. As pointed out in the Introduction, the present account adopts a process-based view of language standardization based on Haugen (1972). According to this view, standardization is a process that involves four phases - selection, acceptance, elaboration and codification (cf. Haugen 1972, Milroy and Milroy 1999). It is not necessary to view these phases as being chronological. Indeed, the process of standardization is an on-going one, and there are a whole range of forces at work. It is held here that although English did go through the process of standardization, there was no definite beginning to this process and indeed, it is in a sense still ongoing. It is held that the reason certain features are chosen over their variants during the standardization process is because these features are more likely to be widely accepted or understood in writing.

Furthermore, it is held that although languages do go through the process of standardization, standard languages themselves, or standard varieties of languages, do not exist. Rather, as Milroy asserts, standard languages are 'high-level idealizations, in which uniformity or invariance is valued above all things' (2000: 13). Milroy goes on to assert that the implication of this fact is that 'no one actually speaks a standard language. People speak vernaculars which in some cases may approximate quite closely to the idealized standard; in other cases the vernacular may be quite distant' (2000: 13).

However, the view of how standardization works adopted here has not always been adhered to in English historical linguistics. Indeed, an ideology of standardization that emphasizes uniformity, purity, self-containment, and importantly the concept of social prestige, has had a strong influence on traditional descriptive accounts of the history of English (cf. e.g. the writings of Henry Sweet, collected in Henderson (1971) and Wyld (1936)). Milroy suggests that this ideology is often adopted because as well as conferring legitimacy, it confers 'historical depth on a language, or – more precisely, on what is held at some particular time to be the most important variety of a language' (2000: 11). However, the problem is that this ideology produces an ideological bias in those who subscribe to it. In relation to the history of English, this bias has arguably produced an historical account of earlier states of the English language that is more focused on the development of the idealized variety of 'Standard English' than the various vernacular varieties of English spoken across the collection of islands now known as the British Isles.

In Case Studies 1 and 2, characteristic features of spoken communication were identified in both the holograph and the scribal prose. It was shown how these features co-exist with features that are more characteristic of written communication. It was also shown (in Case Study 2) how the balance between oral and visual methods of discourse organization shifts according to the prose styles of individual copyists. By highlighting how variable and open-ended the writing contained with the 34 letters was, the analysis demonstrates that imposing a narrative that emphasizes uniformity and self-containment is an inadequate way of describing the particular state that the English language was in between 1500 and 1700.

Furthermore, prestige has traditionally been emphasized as a factor in standardization. However, by asserting that linguistic variation was not stigmatized in EModE society and that writing that reflected the structure of spoken language was not necessarily regarded as 'ungrammatical', this thesis demonstrates that the traditional emphasis on social prestige as a factor in standardization is also problematic. As has been pointed out throughout this thesis, there was an acceptance of dialectal features at the morphological and phonological levels, in addition to an acceptance of oral features at the structural level of English during the Early Modern period.

If linguistic variation was not stigmatized, the idea that certain variants, accents and methods of structuring written prose conferred more social prestige and exclusiveness on the writer or speaker in question does not seem credible. The concept of a society in which 'an elite class sets the standard (the word 'standard' here being used in the sense of a desirable level of usage that all should aspire to achieve)' (Milroy 2000: 18), and those below them in the hierarchal social structure constantly strive to imitate the speech of their superiors is not applicable to EModE society. This is because in EModE society, one particular variety of English was not held to be more important than the rest.

Therefore, whilst it was asserted in the 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 2 that the analytical findings of Case Studies 1 and 2 necessitate a reassessment of the traditional reliance on grammatical models orientated towards written language in historical linguistics and literary studies, this section asserts that the analytical findings of Case Studies 3 and 4 necessitate a reassessment of how we understand the nature of the English language at this time and by extension, the process of standardization that it was beginning to undergo. We need to reappraise how we understand and approach the process of standardization in English. Specifically, we need to historicize our approach to previous states of the English language, rather than impose a pre-conceived distinction between standard and non-standard language upon them.[105] We also need to be sensitive to the often subtle effects that the ideology of standardization outlined above continues to have on the descriptive tradition within historical linguistics.

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[105] Cf. e.g. *Writing in Nonstandard English* (Taavitsainen, Melchers, Pahta 1999).

4. Conclusion to Part 2

The four case studies presented in Part 2 produced the following key findings:

1. Characteristic features of the spoken and written modes were found to co-exist within the prose found within Bess's letters.

2. The tension between these two modes was found to vary according to the differing prose styles of the six individual letter copyists identified.

3. These prose styles had more of an influence on the prose structure of particular letters than the contextual aspects of letter recipient and primary communicative function.

These key findings led to a number of interpretative conclusions. They suggested that a reappraisal of the traditional reliance on grammatical models orientated towards written language was needed within historical linguistics and literary studies. They suggested that it is advisable to take linguistic variation according to individual language user into account when conducting analyses of the language contained within EModE prose texts. They also lent support to the argument that linguistic variation was accepted rather than stigmatized within EModE society, and that decorum was upheld within the content rather than the linguistic form of communications.

Furthermore, the exploration of the complexities and interdependencies that exist within the historical moment carried out within the thesis led to a problematization of narratives of language change that do not take these complexities into account. The thesis not only calls for a historicization of the approach to previous states of the English language, but also for a sensitivity to the often subtle effects of an ideology of standardization that emphasizes uniformity, purity, self-containment and social prestige on descriptive accounts within historical linguistics.

Thesis Conclusion

Overall, this thesis has been interdisciplinary, bringing together palaeographic and linguistic analysis. The foundational stage of analysis, carried out in order to identify Bess's holograph hand in a corpus of letters containing a variety of hands, fused palaeographic and linguistic (specifically spelling) analysis in order to produce a set of comprehensive scribal profiles. These profiles went on to inform and provide the basis for the data-driven, discourse-analytic, qualitative analysis of prose structure in Bess of Hardwick's EModE letters. During the course of this research, it has become clear that a qualitative approach to the structure of the prose contained within one individual's EModE letters can produce valuable results, allowing for a nuanced understanding of EModE prose within its social and manuscript context.

1. Key contributions to scholarship

The thesis makes seven key contributions to scholarship:

1. The thesis addresses the 'bad data' problem that is often cited in historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The 'bad data' problem is that scholars working within these fields would prefer to have access to records of spontaneous speech from earlier periods. However, these records do not exist, so these scholars have to rely instead on written data. This written data is the 'bad data' referred to in this context. This thesis demonstrates that written language has a communicative purpose and deserves to be studied from a pragmatic perspective. Furthermore, it shows that if the researcher starts with the written data and adopts a data-driven approach, data problems such as the use of scribes can be addressed and dealt with. The thesis therefore shows how it is possible to re-think how we approach data, reclassifying all 'bad data' as potentially 'good data'.

2. Part 1 of the thesis showcases an innovative scribal profiling method that enables the researcher to identify holograph writing and track regularly used scribes in a corpus of EModE letters. Scribal profiles have been shown to be empirical tools that enable the researcher to scrutinize hypotheses made in

relation to holograph and scribal handwriting. By profiling a hypothetical group of letters and comparing the features of each letter within that group, it was easy to see if any of the letters went against the norm. Furthermore, looking at seven different aspects of each hand meant that letters could be eliminated from groups on the basis of several aspects, rather than just atypical allographs, for instance. The profiling analysis also addressed the difficulty of distinguishing between individual hands in a corpus of this kind, which often look very similar to each other. Furthermore, it was particularly effective in relation to letters that are hard to categorize at the hypothetical stage. It is hoped that this method will be of use to other researchers in future studies.

3. The thesis has special implications for the study of EModE women's letters. Truelove has written that 'Despite the probability that scribes were widely used by women, whether for prestige, convenience or out of necessity, it is possible only rarely to evaluate whether letters were written by the female author or a scribe. It is therefore unwise to draw conclusions as to the writing abilities of the women concerned' (2001: 45). The innovative scribal profiling technique devised for the purposes of this thesis shows that, even when one is faced with a corpus of letters from a particular woman in which a variety of scribal hands are present, it *is* possible to evaluate whether letters were copied by the female signer or a scribe, and therefore to potentially draw conclusions about the writing abilities of the woman or women concerned.

4. The scribal profiling analysis undertaken in Part 1 of the thesis showed that Bess's scribal letters are characterized by the language of her scribes rather than her own. The implication of this finding is that there is an inherent methodological flaw in correspondence corpora such as CEEC that do not take scribal influence over the language contained within particular letters into account. Furthermore, this finding suggests that studies that have utilized these correspondence corpora may also be methodologically flawed.

5. The linguistic analysis presented in Part 2 of the thesis tackles the structure and cohesion of the prose contained within Bess's EModE letters, despite the fact that tackling the structure of prose texts is arguably a more complex,

challenging task than focusing on individual lexical, morphological or phonological features within them. Furthermore, it maintains an open and responsive attitude towards the orality manifested at this level of the texts. It is hoped that the valuable results produced by the data-driven, discourse-analytic approach to discourse-marking lexical features at the structural level of Bess's EModE prose letters will inspire other researchers investigating orality within historical texts to adopt a similar discourse-analytic approach, and a more open attitude to texts.

6. The thesis promotes the use of correspondence as a data source for the study of orality within historical texts. The genre-prescribed formulaic conventions that many EModE letters adhere to have led many researchers working within historical pragmatics to eschew EModE correspondence as a data source, in favour other genres such as play texts and trial proceedings.[106] These conventions have been viewed as an obstacle to the more 'expressive' language that these researchers are interested in. By acknowledging that EModE letters are a complex data source to work due to the existence of formulaic genre-prescribed conventions, and building an awareness of these conventions into the analytical method adopted, this thesis demonstrates that EModE letters are just as valid as other kinds of text for the study of orality, and that they can and should be used for this purpose.

7. The findings presented in Part 2 of the thesis have implications for the editing of EModE manuscript letters. Some editors of these texts continue to change how the original prose contained within them is structured and marked. There is still a tendency among some editors to normalize lineation, spacing, punctuation and fuzzy sentence boundaries. This editorial normalization makes it hard for historical linguists and other scholars to access and hence understand the nature of the original prose. Indeed, Robinson argues that 'the well-formed-sentencing of more than three quarters of the texts the EETS (*Early English Text Society*) has published makes their re-editing an urgent necessity' (1998: 31). The only way to eliminate this problem is to re-edit the

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[106] Cf. for example the exclusion of correspondence from the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560 -1760* and consequently from Culpeper and Kytö (2010), a book which utilizes this corpus.

letter texts available to scholars. The first step in this re-editing process is to recognize and understand the differences between how writers structured and marked the divisions within their prose. The second step is to apply this knowledge during the editorial process. By demonstrating the different ways in which Bess and Scribes 2 - 6 structure and mark the divisions within their prose, this thesis can potentially be of use to editors who wish to better understand the idiosyncratic nature of EModE manuscript letters, and incorporate this understanding into their editorial practice.

Beyond these seven key contributions, the thesis aims to point the way towards a more empirically-focused, philologically-orientated historical pragmatics.

2. Directions for future research

1. The scribal profiling methodology devised for the purposes of this thesis potentially allows the researcher to attribute particular scribal hands to particular individuals. Future research could therefore involve the possible identification of Bess's scribes. Were Bess's sons and/or her servants copying letters for her? Was Bess using professional scribes, and is it possible to assign personal identities to these professional scribes? The profiling analysis and the results it produced would be used as a basis for this scribal identification work.

2. In light of the potential methodological flaw in corpora that do not take scribal influence on the language contained within historical texts into account, a direction for future research could be to develop techniques for taking this factor into account when designing future corpora. Adapting the scribal profiling methodology devised in this thesis to suit bigger data sets is one technique that could potentially be employed. The scribal profiling method developed in this thesis is a solid method that can be applied to other manuscript correspondence corpora, particularly where there is both holograph and scribal writing present. It could also potentially be adapted for other kinds of manuscript corpora written in a number of different hands, and is potentially relevant to a range of disciplines, including historical pragmatics, historical sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, social history, manuscript studies

and the history of the book. This research would be informed by similar research currently being done in this area. For example, Kytö, Grund and Walker's *Testifying to Language and Life in Early Modern England* (2011) examines various aspects of the witness depositions comprising ETED (*An Electronic Text Edition of Depositions 1560–1760*). ETED combines modern corpus linguistic methodology and editorial theory, making available faithful transcriptions of 905 depositions drawn from manuscripts from different areas of Early Modern England.

3. This thesis promotes the development of sound editorial policies that take account of issues surrounding EModE letter production, such as the use of scribes, as well as the lack of standard orthographic and linguistic practice in English between 1500 and 1700. For example, an edition of Bess's correspondence would ideally deal with fact that there are a remarkably large number of different scribal hands found across Bess's correspondence by using the scribal profiling methodology devised for the purposes of this thesis to carefully decipher each individual hand. It would also ideally preserve the abbreviations, deletions, word spacing, layout and spellings of the original manuscripts, and faithfully represent the different ways in which the individual copyists structure and mark the divisions within their prose. This means that in addition to the original punctuation and capitalization, the edition would preserve any unmarked or unclear sentence boundaries. No attempt would be made to normalize or modernize the prose at the structural level.

4. In relation to the linguistic analysis presented in Part 2, a direction for future research could be to consider what the findings regarding the discourse function of clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT might be able to bring to the theorization of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is the process by which lexical items acquire grammatical function, grammatical items acquire additional functions, and grammars are created. The development of discourse markers is a controversial issue in grammaticalization theory. Researchers within the field are to explore the specific properties that distinguish discourse markers from grammatical elements such as prepositions or modal auxiliaries.

Since this thesis showed how the grammatical elements referred to as conjunctions in PDE were used as discourse markers in the EModE texts under consideration, the arguments presented here raise the question of whether discourse markers always need to be distinguished from grammatical elements such as prepositions, modal auxiliaries, or indeed, conjunctions in grammaticalization theory.

5. The linguistic analysis presented in Part 2 of the thesis points the way to future studies into the oral nature of EModE correspondence. The four case studies presented in Part 2 focused on a relatively small number of linguistic features; namely clause-level AND, SO, FOR and BUT. Future research into the oral nature of EModE correspondence might investigate the frequency and function of wider range of linguistic features.

6. Since only 34 letters out of 88 from Bess were analyzed for the purposes of the four linguistic case studies presented in Part 2, it can be said that the data-set used for the purposes of this research was relatively small. The qualitative methods developed here could be adapted and applied to a larger data-set, to see if the findings they produced are replicated when a larger data-set is used.

7. Case Study 2 found that the 34 letters analyzed for the purposes of the case studies did not tend to follow the Chancery or Anglo-Norman letter models outlined by Richardson (1984). A future study could assess the implications of Bess's choice not to follow such models. It could also look at letters both to and from Bess in order to explore how extensively these letter models were followed, from when to when, by whom and under what circumstances.

8. As pointed out in the 'Discussion of Results' section of Case Study 2, the overall finding that the prose contained within Bess's holograph letters was more reflective of PDE speech than the prose contained within the scribal letters is not that surprising, given that Bess was a woman from a lower gentry background, whilst her scribes were likely to have been male. A direction for future research could be to further explore the class and gender issues raised by the findings of the four case studies. For example, although this thesis is

focused on Bess's letters and the written language contained within them, and is therefore not explicitly concerned with female literacy per se, a future study could assess the implications of this thesis for what we know about female education and levels of literacy in the Early Modern period.

9. There is the potential for future research into what the findings presented in Part 2 might be able to tell us about changes in reading practices since the Early Modern period, especially the growth of silent reading (cf. e.g. Jajdelska 2007).

10. There is also the potential for future research into what the findings presented in Part 2 might be able to tell us about textual composition practices, such as dictation, during the Early Modern period.

3. Envoi

It is sincerely hoped that the contributions outlined in this present work will form part of a chain of work which, in the best traditions of historical pragmatics, aims to understand more about the ways in which language was used in the past. Therefore, whilst forming a complete work in itself, this thesis aims to be part of such a chain – leading, where possible, to future work and methodologies which would accommodate large bodies of data and investigate a variety of linguistic features and aspects of language, whilst also managing to maintain analytical integrity by taking the nature of the data sources being used into account.

Manuscript Sources

Arundel Castle: Miscellaneous Papers.

British Library: Additional Manuscripts, Landsdowne Manuscripts.

Chatsworth House: Devonshire Manuscripts.

Folger Library: Cavendish-Talbot Manuscripts, Bagot Papers.

Hatfield House: Cecil Papers.

Lambeth Palace Library: Talbot Papers.

Longleat House: Dudley Papers, Thynne Papers, Talbot Manuscripts.

Magdalene College, Cambridge: Pepys.

The National Archives: State Papers Domestic.

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