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Positioning and functioning of vocatives: A case study in historical pragmatics (2)

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Abstract

This paper follows 'Positioning and functioning of vocatives: A case study in historical pragmatics (1)' and concludes my research project investigating the pragmatic functions of vocatives in relation to their positioning in historical data. I have recognised four types of pragmatic functions of vocatives: (1) interpersonal management functions; (2) conversational management functions; (3) information management functions; and (4) illocutionary force management functions. Following the previous paper in which I examined the first two functions, I will discuss the latter two functions in this paper. In some examples, vocatives are used in highly dramatic scenes, and in other examples they are used to reinforce or mitigate the illocutionary force of the utterance. Those examples illustrate how the playwrights chose appropriate vocative forms to construct the identities of the characters and manipulate the relationships between them. It seems that the pragmatic meaning of a vocative in interaction depends not only on the lexical meaning of the word but also on the individual context. I conclude by observing that the pragmatic implications of each vocative are the end-results of the collaboration of the choice of the form, positioning, attributes and roles of the interlocutors, plot, and characterisation, not to say of the intonation and tone of voice which are not indicated in the written text.

Keywords: historical pragmatics, vocatives, a corpus-based approach, pragmatic functions

1 Introduction

I have classified pragmatic functions of vocatives into four categories: (1) interpersonal management functions; (2) conversational management functions; (3) information management functions; and (4) illocutionary force management functions. In the previous paper, I examined interpersonal management functions and conversational management functions by looking at some examples from my historical data consisting of 12 drama extracts. Here I will discuss information management functions and illocutionary force management functions.

2 Information management functions

There are three components in discourse structure: preface(s), body and tag(s). Vocatives are used in these three components, to help construct the utterance, and to add pragmatic meaning to the utterance. Prefaces belong to 'utterance launchers', which refer to 'expressions which have a special function of beginning a turn or an utterance' (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1073). Their functions are to propel the conversa-

tion in a new direction and to ‘provide the speaker with a planning respite, during which the rest of the utterance can be prepared for execution’ (*Ibid.*: 1073). Utterance launchers can be classified into four categories: (1) fronting; (2) noun phrase; (3) discourse markers; and (4) overtures. Medial and final positioned vocatives often follow and collocate with these launchers to start utterances and to draw attention to the speaker or the coming utterance.

Vocatives are also used in the body of an utterance to adjust the flow of information. Other than signalling the end of the utterance, vocatives in the tag are used mainly for interpersonal management, and thus will not be dealt with in this section.

2.1 Vocatives used with prefaces

The notion of theme-rheme construction is useful in explaining information management functions of vocatives. According to Halliday (1994: 39), the theme can be a nominal group, adverbial group or a prepositional phrase, and ‘the theme of a clause is frequently marked off in speech by intonation, being spoken on a separate tone group’. Vocatives are sometimes used between theme and rheme to organise information in the utterance. Let us look at some examples.

2.1.1 Following initial adverbials

In English, the preferred grammatical sequences would be SV, SVA, SVP, SVO, SVOO, SVOP, and SVOA¹ (Biber *et al.* 1999: 899). The variant word order X + SV is known as fronting. Here are some examples in which an adverbial phrase is fronted with a vocative before SV:

Example (21) [Sir George Daffodil is talking to Sophia disguised as Lord Marquis]
[Daffodil] In the Name of Politeness, **my Lord Marquis**,
don’t mention your Letters again; none but a Justice
of Peace, or a Constable, would ever ask for a
Certificate of a Man’s Birth, Parentage, and Education,
Ha, ha, ha! (Garrick: p. 25)

Example (22) [Tukely is talking to Sir George Daffodil]
[Tukely] But among your Conquests, **Mr. Daffodil**, you
forget Miss Sophy Sprightly. (Garrick: p. 46)

Fronting is an information management device, by which one element is given thematic prominence in the immediate context (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1974). In these examples, adverbial phrases are emphasised even further by being fronted and followed by vocatives. After a vocative there is a pause for the speaker to attract the addressee’s attention to what follows.

2.1.2 Following noun phrases

Vocatives also follow noun phrase prefaces as follows:

¹ Abbreviations: S=Subject; V=Verb; O=Object; P=Predicative; A=Adverbial

Example (23) [The maid, Pert, is talking to the guest, Mr. Dorimant.]

[Pert] The business, **Sir**, is the business that has taken you

Up these two days; how have I seen you

Laugh at men of business, and now to become a man

Of business your self! (Etherege: p. 27)

Example (24) [Clarinda talks to her lover, Fankly.]

[Clarinda] Any Beauties, **Sir**, I find will serve your Turn.

Did I not hear you talk to her at the Window? (Hoadly: p. 33)

In (23) and (24), noun phrases such as *The business* and *Any Beauties*, which grammatically function as subject or object in the clause structure, are separated from their predicates by vocatives. This is also a fronting device to divide the clause structure into two chunks to make a contrast and to put an emphasis onto the fronted element.

2.1.3 Following short prefatory expressions

Vocatives are often used with discourse markers and other prefatory expressions. Here I will look at short prefatory expressions used with vocatives. With final vocatives, 50% of the phrases before the vocatives consist of 1-3 words in the corpus. With medial vocatives, the percentage goes up to 70%. Within 1-3 word phrases, there are 457 1-word phrases, 324 2-word phrases and 252 3-word phrases. Many of them seem to perform pragmatic functions in utterances. I classify those phrases which collocate with vocatives to perform pragmatic functions into eight groups according to their forms or functions: (1) discourse marker and response signal; (2) interjection; (3) attention getter; (4) conjunction/adverbial; (5) imperative; (6) interrogation; (7) greeting; and (8) others.

As the definition of discourse marker is ambiguous (cf. Brinton 1996; Schiffrin 1987), I deal with discourse markers and response signals in one group. Table 3 gives a list of discourse markers and response signals used before vocatives in the corpus:

Table 3: Inventory of response signals and discourse markers used with vocatives

1 word	Yes (34), No (21), Nay (13), Well (24), Indeed (10), Right (2), True (2), Truly (1), Exactly (1), Really (1), Excellent (1)
2 words	No, no (6), Yes, yes (2), Nay, nay (1), Mighty well (1), Yes indeed (3), No indeed (1), Nay, be-gad (1), Well, and (1), Well, but (1), Well, then (1), Nay, but (1), Nay, why (1), Nay now (1), Nay prethee/prithee (3)
3 words	It is indeed (1), Most extremely well (1), To be sure (1), Upon /O' my Word (3), Nay look you (1), Well, but pray (1),

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate tokens.

Response signals and discourse markers tend to occur at the beginning of an utterance. Response signals are short routinised response forms given by the second interlocutor, which include present-day

responses such as *yes* and *no*, responses to directives such as *okay* and backchannels such as *uh huh*. They can be regarded as the second part of adjacency pairs as follows (response signals and discourse markers are also in bold):

Example (25): [Lady Thrivewell, the customer, and Alicia, the tradesperson, are talking.]

[Lady Thrivewell] What a bold slut it is, well then the rest of the particulars here of Laces, and Frienges, Loopes, and Buttons, makes the sum of all an hundred pound eight shillings foure pence, halfe-penny. I am no good Arithmetician, but if any be overcast, and overpaid, you must allow restitution.

[Alicia] **Yes, good Madam.** (Brome: p. C2V)

Example (26): [Mr. Pinchwife is talking with his wife.]

[Pinchwife] So you shall I warrant; but were you not talking of Plays, and Players, when I came in? you are her encourager in such discourses.

[Mrs. Pinchwife] **No indeed, Dear,** she chid me just now for liking the Player Men. (Wycherley: p. 274-5)

In (25), Alicia says ‘Yes, **good Madam**’ to respond to the lady’s order, ‘you must allow restitution’, and in (26) Mrs. Pinchwife answers the question. The response signal thus orientates to the addressee, reinforcing the linkage between the parts of the adjacency pair.

According to Biber *et al.* (1999: 1086), discourse markers tend ‘to combine two roles: (a) to signal a transition in the evolving progress of the conversation, and (b) to signal an interactive relationship between speaker, hearer, and message’. Some lexical items are uttered to indicate that the addressee is listening to the speaker. Vocatives follow discourse markers and intensify the interlocutor’s attentiveness, which is a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987), as some of the following examples illustrate:

Example (27): [Dr. Mummy and the maid, Primrose, are talking.]

[Mummy] Such a Crime against the Profession as can never be enough punished.

[Primrose] **Right, Doctor.** (Miller: p. 59)

Example (28): [Heartly and his brother, Sir Credulous Hippish, are talking.]

[Sir Credulous] Ho! good Assa-foetida is a good thing.

[Heartly] **Well, Brother,** since this Match is now at an End, and you and your Doctor are at Variance with one another, I hope I may have the Liberty to propose the Person I was speaking of for my Niece.

[Sir Credulous] **No, Brother,** I’m resolv’d to send her into the Country, and there confine her, for offering

to oppose my Will and Pleasure. I find there's a Love-Affair under the Rose, and have discovered a certain private Interview, which they don't think I have.

[Heartly] **Very good, Brother**; and suppose there should be some little Inclination in the Case, where would be the Harm of it? You have no reason to be displeas'd, since nothing's intended but what's honourable. (Miller: p. 78)

In (27), Primrose responds to Dr. Mummy's utterance to show her attentiveness. (28) is a good example in which both characters use discourse markers (i.e. *Well*), response signals (i.e. *No*, *Very good*), and vocatives as a turn-taking device. These vocatives are used to mark the beginning of the speaker's utterance. The characters first respond to show that they are attentive to the speakers, then use vocatives to attract attention of the addressees, and then finally start their own statements. In (28), *Well Brother* and *No Brother* are negative responses and reinforce disagreement. They are not used exactly for positive politeness, but amplify the positive politeness strategy used in Heartly's last utterance, in which a vocative is used to reinforce agreement (i.e. *Very good, Brother*).

The second group consists of interjections, as shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Inventory of interjections used with vocatives

1 word	O/Oh (39), Ay (13), Lord/Lard (11), Ah (5), Begat/Be-gad (7), Fie/Fy/Fye (4), Bravo (1), Hey (1), Ha (1), Pox (1), Uuch (1), Pooh (1)
2 words	O fie/foy/fye (6), A/Ah ha (2), Fie, fie (1), O dear (1), By Heaven (1), O Jesu (1), O Lord (1)
3 words	For Heaven's/Heav'ns sake (4), For God's sake (1)

According to Taavitsainen (1995: 439), '[i]nterjections have been defined as linguistic gestures which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude, or reaction to a situation'². Some are expressions of surprise (e.g. *Oh* and *For Heaven's sake*) and excitement (e.g. *Bravo*), and others are expressions of negative feelings (e.g. *Pox* and *Pooh*). Here are some examples:

Example (29): [Sir Jasper and his wife, Lady Fidget, are talking.]
 [Sir Jasper] Stay, stay, faith to tell you the naked truth.
 [Lady Fidget] **Fye, Sir Jasper**, do not use that word naked. (Wicherley: p. 285)

Example (30): [Jack Meggot, Frankly and Bellamy are good friends. They are talking about Bellamy's lover, Jacintha.]

² Taavitsainen claims that 'if the pragmatic use of interjections is taken into account, they can be considered a subgroup of pragmatic markers' (1995: 439).

[Frankly] All I know of her is, that she is a charming
 Woman, and has given me liberty to visit her again — **Bellamy**, 'tis she, the lovely she. [Aside]
 ...
 [Bellamy] So I did suppose. [To Frankly.]
 [Jack Meggot] **Poor Charles! For Heaven's sake, Mr.
 Bellamy**, persuade him home to his Chamber — Whilst I
 prepare every thing for you at home. (Hoadly: p. 26)

In (29), Lady Fidget expresses her embarrassment with her husband's use of the word, 'naked'. In (30), Jack Meggot is surprised at Bellamy's comment, i.e. the use of the past tense which suggests that Bellamy is in doubt with his lover's fidelity and that their relationship is in a critical state. The meaning of an interjection depends on the context, but they not only express the speaker's 'emotions, attitudes and mental processes' but also are directed at the addressee 'to acquire a desired reaction, for example to stop an action, or they may serve communicative intentions more broadly' (Taavitsainen 1995: 439). In (29) and (30) the speakers use a combination of an interjection and a vocative to express an emotion provoked by their partners' utterance before giving an objection or opinion.

The third group consists of attention getters, as shown in Table 5:

Table 5: Inventory of attention-getters used with vocatives

1 word	Come (24), Pray (22), Now (13), Here (7)
2 words	Hark/Heark ye/you (5), Look ye/you (3), Come pray (2), Come, come (29), Come then (1), Now come (1), Now, now (1)
3 words	Look you there (2), Harke there againe (1)

Note: Some of these might be interpreted as having literal meanings, e.g. Come.

Here are some examples:

Example (31): [Lady Touchwood is talking to her husband.]
 [Lady Touchwood] Lord, I don't know: I wish my Lips had grown
 together when I told you - almost a Twelvemonth -
 nay, I won't tell you any more, till you are your self. **Pray,
 my Lord**, don't let the Company see you in this disorder -
 Yet, I confess, I can't blame you; for I think I was never so
 surpriz'd in my Life - Who would have thought my
 Nephew could have so misconstrued my Kindness - but will
 you go into your Closet, and recover your Temper. I'
 make an excuse of sudden Business to the Company, and
 come to you. **Pray, good dear my Lord**, let me beg you
 do now : I'll come immediately, and tell you all; will you
my Lord ? (Congreve: p. 28-9)

Example (32): [Sir Robert is talking to Margaret, whom he wants to seduce.]

[Robert] This is not that I look for: **heark you Margaret**;

Your Father is my Tennant.

[Margaret] **Sir**, he is. (TB: p. D2R)

In these examples, an attention getter attracts the addressee's attention to the speaker or the utterance. In (31), the speaker is beseeching the addressee to do or not to do something. Vocatives collaborate with attention getters to draw further attention to the following utterance and strengthen the illocutionary force, i.e. suggestion or directive.

2.1.4 Following overtures

Overtures are a set of ready-made expressions which are longer than discourse markers³. They are used with vocatives to open utterances and to explicitly signal a new direction in the conversation (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1075). Compared with discourse markers, the list of overtures is more open-ended. Table7 shows some phrases found in the corpus:

Table 6: Inventory of overtures used with vocatives

2 words	I hope; Trust me; I confess; I fancy; I swear; I think; I wonder; I mean; I presume
3 words	I understand you; I must tell you; But understand me; I protest you; No I protest; You are saying; Say'st thou so; I must confess; besides, I find; I'll tell you; And I swear; I more wonder; Then I suppose; I am afraid; I can see
4 words	Let me tell you; I can assure you; As I take it; I must tell you; But do you know; What do you say
5 words	And, let me tell you; But I must tell you; O between you and I; I must confess to you

Note: Tokens are not shown, because they are low.

These overtures signal to which direction the speaker wants to lead his/her utterance. In the following examples, overtures are also in bold:

Example (33): [Lady Mosely talks to Sir Oliver.]

[Lady Mosely] When life

Would willingly exchange it selfe with Death,

What Musick sweeter?

[Sir Oliver] **I must tell you Lady**,

I thought the Musick of your Husbands end,

Those heavenly Notes he entertain'd it with,

Taught him by Angels, had instructed you,

To looke upon that Being that he has,

³ Here I look at 4-6 word as well as 1-3 word phrases.

As hee's a glorious Chorister with them!

[...] (TB: p. D4R)

Example (34) [Harriet talks to her fiancé, Young Bellair.]

[Harriet] There are some it may be have an Eye like Bart'lomew,

Big enough for the whole Fair, but I am not of the

Number, and you may keep your Ginger-bread.

'Twill be more acceptable to the Lady,

Whose dear Image it wears **Sir**.

[Young Bellair] **I must confess Madam**, you came a day after the Fair. (Etherege: p. 34)

In (33) Sir Oliver is telling Lady Mosely that she has to accept her husband's death and that she should live her own life. *I must tell you* has an indication that the speaker is going to present a hard fact for the addressee to accept. It is a kind of negative politeness strategy. *Must* suggests that the speaker is under some obligation to do a face-threatening act. In (34) Young Bellair also has to tell Harriet that she came to the fair too late, which is hard for the speaker to say and for the addressee to accept. In both cases, the overtures function as introduction or buffer to make the addressee ready for the coming statement so that the addressee would not be embarrassed to hear the severe fact. In other words, these phrases imply the speaker's consideration for the addressee.

Biber *et al.* (1999) suggest that expressions such as *I mean* and *you see* also function as interactive pragmatic markers, i.e. to clarify what is going to follow. Here are some examples to prove that this is also true of my data:

Example (35) [Sir Robert is talking to Margaret, a beautiful daughter of his tenant.]

[Sir Robert] Still, still this cloud upon thy brow **sweet Peg?**

You know my minde.

[Margaret] And you know mine **Sir Robert**.

[Sir Robert] **I meane**, I love thee, **my sweet Peggy**. (Brewer: DIV)

In (35) Sir Robert, who is trying to seduce Margaret, uses *I mean* in the initial position with a vocative in the final position to declare his love to her.

2.2 Vocatives used in the body of the utterance

Vocatives used in the body of discourse structure are medially positioned vocatives. Where exactly is the medial position? As Table 3 shows, a medially positioned vocative is normally placed near the beginning of an utterance, i.e. it is preceded by a relatively short phrase (1-3 words) and followed by a relatively longer phrase (4-6 words or even longer phrases consisting of 13 words or more).

Vocatives are inserted between two chunks, i.e. between subordinate clause and main clause or between main clause and relative clause in a complex sentence, and between main clauses in a compound sentence. Vocatives also follow conjunctions such as *and* and *but* which are used to elaborate the utterance through the 'add-on' strategy (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1068, 1978-79).

Here are some examples of vocatives used between two clauses.

Example (36) [Ranger is talking to a young apprentice who is visiting his house on an errand.]

[Ranger] Was you so? Well, and what does your

Mistress say? - The Devil fetch me, **Child**, you look'd so

prettily, that I could not mind one Word you said. (Hoadly: p. 3)

Example (37) [Sparkish is talking to his friend, Heartcourt.]

[Sparkish] And thou shalt enjoy me a dayes, **dear, dear**

Friend, never stir; and I'll be divorced from her, sooner

than from thee; come along - (Wycherley: p. 299)

In (36), an oath before the vocative and an assertion after the vocative support each other, i.e. what comes before the vocative is a conclusive remark, whilst what follows gives an explanation or details of the situation. In (37), a vocative is sandwiched between an assertion and an imperative, or two imperatives, i.e. 'thou shalt enjoy me a dayes' is an assertion in the form, but an imperative in terms of speech act. The vocative seems to keep the addressee's attention and hold the speaker's turn. In other words, vocatives are used as turn-holders for the speaker in a lengthy structure.

The medial vocative is also inserted between main and subordinate clauses:

Example (38) [Mrs. Sealand talks to Tom, a servant, disguised as Mr. Serjeant.]

[Mrs. Sealand] I saw that, for he durst not so much as

hear you - I shall send to you, **Mr. Serjeant**, as soon

as Sir Geoffry comes to Town, and then I hope all may

be adjusted. (Steel: p. 55)

Example (39) [Frankly talks to his acquaintance, Clarinda.]

[Frankly] You cannot but remember me at Bath, **Madam**,

where I so lately had the Favour of your Hand -

[Clarinda] I do remember, **Sir**; but ... (Hoadly: p. 20)

In (38) a vocative is preceded by a conclusive main clause and followed by a long subordinate clause. In (39) an explanatory remark follows the vocative. In these examples, vocatives follow important remarks and reinforce the illocutionary force of the preceding statements, and hold the addressee's attention to the following secondary information.

2.3 Vocatives used in tags

According to Biber *et al.* (1999: 1081), 'a final vocative can be regarded as an additional tag type: it is a restrospective qualification of a message in the sense that it often signals an attitude to the addressee'. In other words, vocatives used in tags tend to function more as an interpersonal management device and an illocutionary force management device than as an information management device. In the dramatic texts, I believe that vocatives are overwhelmingly a device of interpersonal management, i.e. it is the

pragmatic meaning, in terms of deference, familiarity, etc., that is the main importance of vocatives as shown in the fourth section above.

3 Illocutionary force management functions

As Biber *et al.* (1999: 144) point out, vocatives after imperatives are important because ‘vocatives are used to single out the addressee of a message’. Imperatives do not normally include the second person pronoun, but they implicitly refer to the addressee. Vocatives before or after imperatives specify to whom the imperative is directed. By doing so, vocatives reinforce the illocutionary force of the imperative. Here are some examples from the corpus (imperatives are also in bold).

Example (40) [Careless is seducing his aunt, Lady Thrivewell, who is trying to reject him.]
 [Lady] Was ever such a Reprobate?
 [Careless] And you can doe him [his uncle] no wrong (though you had not a Ladies priviledge) to Cuckold him, for assure your selfe hee Cuckqueanes you, **now come Madam.** (Brome: p. E1V)

Example (41) [Alicia is tempting Bellamy to seduce her. But Bellamy is hard to convince.]
 [Alicia] Nay thinke not of your Lord, but aske me, something.
 [Bellamy] I would but dare not hope for such a favour, you'l never grant it, my unworthinesse.
 [Alicia] How can you tell?
 [Bellamy] You will not wrong my Lord, so as to doe it.
 [Alicia] Not in his sight perhaps. What is it? come.
 [Bellamy] It is -
 [Alicia] It is then, let it be so. **Go to Schoole child.**
 [Bellamy] It is - That you would, let me - give you this ring, And grace it with your Finger. (Brome: p. C5V-C6R)

In these examples, the force of the command seems strengthened because the addressee is identified and s/he cannot miss it. Vocatives with commands urge the addressees to respond or react. The speakers here all have power over the addressee in terms of dramatic and social roles and try to exert it, i.e. the male seducer over the female in (40), and the mature woman over the young man in (41). Especially in the latter, Alicia ridicules young Bellamy by calling him *child*. Vocatives seem to be reminders of the roles of the interlocutors and the power relationship between them. ‘Pray’ and ‘come’ are typically used to introduce a directive (cf. Table 6), i.e. a request, demand, etc.

Each speech act by definition has an illocutionary force of its own. However, whether the force of the speech act is mitigated or strengthened depends on, amongst other things, the vocative form, as well as the kind of speech act the utterance constitutes. Here I will look at how different vocative forms affect the illocutionary force of the utterance. First, let us look at some examples of familiar vocatives used with different kinds of face-threatening acts.

Example (42) [Sir Rustick is talking to his friend, Lady Young Love.]

[Sir Rustick] **Give me thy Hand sweet heart, thou'rt welcome to Town**, be Dad with all my heart.

[Lady Young Love] What think you of a Walk in the Garden; ... (Manley: p. 6)

Example (43) [In the first half, Sir Credulous Hippish and his daughter Belina are talking, and in the latter half, Sir Credulous and his wife are talking.]

[Sir Credulous] [Looking for some time scornfully on his Wife, and then running to Belina.] Ah! **my dear Girl, come to my Arms, let me embrace thee, my Child. Thou art my own Daughter, my own Flesh and Blood, and I'm overjoy'd to discover so much Good-nature in thee.**

[Belina] How welcome and agreeable is this Surprize!

...

[Sir Credulous] Was there ever such Impudence! I shall go mad indeed! I -- I -- I'm all on Fire!

[Lady Hippish] **Then set open the Windows, and cool your self, my Love**, whilst I go abroad in pursuit of Pleasure. I have been coop'd in an Hospital long enough; 'tis but just I should now enjoy the Fruit of my Labour. -- Oh! **I shall so harass you, my Dear**, that you shall wish your self as dead as you pretended to be. [Exit Lady Hippish.] (Miller: p. 84-5)

Example (44) [Mrs. Trifle and her customer, Alamode, are talking in the shop.]

[Trifle] If I would I'm sure, **Sir**, you would not have the Conscience to ask 'em cheaper.

[Alamode] **Lay by a Dozen, with some Essence, sweet Mrs. Trifle, and I'll send for 'em to Morrow.** [Exit laughing.] (Killigrew: p. 29)

In (42), the bold on-record usage without hedge, i.e. the imperative form, is not impolite as the content is favourable to the interlocutors as they are lovers. This can be explained in terms of the tact maxim (Leech 1983). On a cost-benefit scale, 'Give me thy Hand' and 'thou'rt welcome to Town' can be interpreted as a polite utterance because it is to the benefit rather than to the cost of the hearer. To borrow Brown and Levinson's (1987) terms, the speaker's utterance fulfills the interlocutors' positive face want (102), i.e. 'Give me thy hand' is an order which fulfills the speaker's positive face want, whereas 'thou'rt welcome to Town' is a statement which satisfies the hearer's positive face want. An endearment vocative, *sweet heart*, strengthens the expression of polite belief (cf. Leech 1983: 169-171), and at the same time reinforces the illocutionary force of the following assertion. On the whole, the endearment vocative moves the vector of politeness of the imperative and statement before and after a vocative further to the

positive end.

It is worth noting that here as well as in (42) *thou* is used as the intimate address term. Not unlike (42), in (43) the father uses generic terms (i.e. *Girl* and *Child*) with the in-group marker *my* and a premodifier of endearment with two imperatives. 'Come to my arm' and 'let me embrace thee' are syntactically non-redressed bold on-record imperatives, but semantically they are both very warm offerings of love oriented to positive politeness, i.e. a positive politeness strategy to show sympathy, which is supposed to fulfill the hearer's positive face want. In short, these two familiar vocatives seem to strengthen both the illocutionary force of the utterance and the expression of polite belief, i.e. to show affection to his daughter. In the latter half of (43), when the wife uses endearment forms, the illocutionary force of the utterances seems mitigated. But the spouses are, in fact, exchanging very ironic statements with each other because of the underlying betrayal and treachery behind the falsehood of their relationship. These vocatives of endearment used by the wife seem to reinforce this ironic or sarcastic meaning.

In (44), the customer gives an order to the shopkeeper. As giving an order is a face-threatening act, the speaker has to mitigate the illocutionary force of the utterance. As the social roles of the interlocutors (i.e. customer- tradesperson) require the speaker to keep a distance, the speaker uses the conventional deferential form oriented to negative face but adds to it an adjective of endearment to make the vocative oriented towards positive face. By using this complicated vocative form oriented both to negative and positive face, the speaker satisfies both face wants. In short, familiar vocatives reinforce the illocutionary force of the utterance when the utterance is directed to satisfy the interlocutors' positive face want, whilst they mitigate the illocutionary force of the utterance when the utterance is face-threatening.

Now let us look at how abusive vocatives are used to change the illocutionary force of the utterance.

Example (45) [Sullen meets a stranger, Count Bellair.]

[Enter Sullen with his Sword drawn.]

[Sullen] **hold, Villain, hold.** (Farquhar: p. 37)

Example (46) [Mr. Strictland suspects his wife of being unfaithful. Now he is accusing her of betrayal. Jacintha is Mrs. Strictland's ward.]

[Mr. Strictland] **Speak, Wretch, Speak.**-

[Jacintha] I could not have suspected this. [Aside.]

[Mr. Strictland] Why dost thou not speak?

[Mrs. Strictland] **Sir** - (Hoadly: p. 38)

In (45) and (46), the speakers, who have negative feelings towards the addressees, give commands, which are face-threatening acts here. In (45), the speaker is trying to stop what the addressee is doing, whilst in (46) the speaker is trying to force the addressee to do something. In both cases, abusive vocatives are sandwiched by imperatives and reinforce the illocutionary force of the orders.

Here are two more examples of abusive vocatives used with imperatives.

Example (47) [Ranger is talking to his servant.]

[Ranger] [Pulling off his Wig.] Well, give me my Cap -
 Why, how like a raking Dog do you look, compar'd to that
 spruce, sober Gentleman - **Go, you batter'd Devil, and be
 made fit to be seen.** (Hoadly: p. 2)

Example (48) [Tom, a servant, is talking to his lover, Phillis.]
 [Tom] Pox of all this State.
 [Offers to kiss her more closely.]
 [Phillis] **No, pr'ythee, Tom, mind your Business.** We
 must follow that Interest which will take; but endeavour
 at that which will be most for us, and we like most -
 O here is my young Mistress! [Tom taps her Neck
 behind, and kisses his Fingers.] **Go, ye liquorish Fool.** [Exit Tom.] (Steel: p. 47)

Although these two examples are syntactically similar to the previous examples, they have different functions. In (47) Ranger is making fun of the servant's appearance but it is Ranger himself who is drunk and looks horrible. As Ranger is a comic character, it is possible to interpret this whole event as banter between intimate interlocutors or towards the addressee of lower rank. The abusive vocative is used as a joke, which is a positive politeness strategy. In (48), as the interlocutors are lovers, the abusive vocative does not carry literal meaning but it is used to hide the speaker's embarrassment. If so, these abusive vocatives are used to mitigate the illocutionary force of the order and to reinforce the intimate relationship between interlocutors as a positive politeness strategy.

Here are a few more examples of vocatives used with questions, which are used for illocutionary force management functions (the questions are also in bold).

Example (49) [Mellefont sneaks out of the party with his friend. When they are chatting, his father-in-law-to-be, Sir Paul, comes to find him.]
 [Mellefont] [...] We were just returning.
 Sir Paul: **Were you, Son?** Gadsbud much better as it
 is - good, strange! I swear I'm almost Topsy -
 t'other Bottle would have been too powerful for me, -
 as sure as can be it would. - we wanted your
 Company, but Mr. Brisk - where is he? I swear and
 vow, he's a most facetious Person - and the best
 Company. (Congreve: p. 6)

Example (50) [Cynthia is getting married to her fiancé Mellefont. Cynthia's parents' guest, Lady Froth, is a very vain person, who believes that she is a lady of wit, wisdom and manners.]
 [Lady Froth] I Vow Mellefont's a pretty Gentleman, but
 methinks he wants a Manner.
 [Cynthia] A Manner! **what's that, Madam?** (Congreve: p. 15)

In (49) and (50), vocatives identify the addressees. In (49) the speaker asks a question, but keeps on

talking without giving the speaker a chance to answer his question. In (50), the vocative signals the end of the speaker's turn, and prompts the addressee to answer, which reinforces the illocutionary force of the question. At the same time, vocatives help to manipulate the turn-taking pattern. In (49), the speaker seeks confirmation, whilst in (50) clarification is wanted. These two examples consist of different speech acts, which give different tones to the preceding utterances. In (49) the kinship term, *Son*, adds an affective tone to the confirmational question, whereas in (50) the honorific, *Madam*, seems to add a reproachful nuance to the confrontational question. Or at least it certainly does so if it is said like that today, though it is not certain whether it did so in the period in question.

Not unlike these two examples, vocatives sometimes follow answers and reinforce the illocutionary force of the utterance (answers are also in bold).

Example (51) [Belina's father is ill and she asks Primrose, a maid, about his condition.]

[Primrose] Ah! Madam.

[Belina] What's the matter?

[Primrose] Alas! **he's dead, Madam.** (Miller: p. 82)

Example (52) [Millener is an apprentice visiting her customer Ranger to deliver goods. Ranger is a nasty young lawyer who is trying to seduce her.]

[Millener] Lard, **Sir, you are such another Gentleman!**

Why, she says she is sorry she could not send them sooner.

Shall I lay them down?

[Ranger] **No, Child.** Give 'em me! **Dear little smiling**

Angel - [Catches, and kisses her.] (Hoadly: p. 3)

Vocatives following answers also reinforce the illocutionary force of the accompanying utterances by drawing the addressee's attention to the utterances. In (51), the preceding utterance has very important information and the vocative reinforces the assertion. In (52), there are two things worth noting. First, vocatives are used in a cluster to strengthen the illocutionary force of the utterance, which reaches its culmination point when Ranger kisses the apprentice. Especially, *Child* immediately after a negative answer reflects that the speaker's dominant attitude towards the addressee. Second, the choice of vocatives such as *Child* and *Dear little smiling Angel* rather than a neutral vocative such as *Miss* for a young female also indicates the speaker's playful character.

Vocatives are sometimes used with semi-fixed formulae (formulaic expressions are also in bold).

Example (53) [Bellamy, Frankly, and Ranger are close friends.]

[Bellamy] **Frankly**, I am now going to -

[Frankly] Why that Face now? **Your humble Servant,**

Sir. My Flood of Joy shall not be stopt by your melancholy Fists, I assure you.

...

[Bellamy] Oh! **your Servant, good Sir**; you should not abuse me now, **Ranger**, but do all you can to assist me. (Hoadly: p. 26-9)

Example (54) [Lady Thrivewell has finished shopping in Alicia's drapery shop and is now leaving the shop.]

[Lady Thrivewell] Ever upon the like occasion, **Mistris Saleware, so**

most kindly farwell sweet Mistris Saleware.

[Alicia] **The humblest of your servants Madam.** (Brome: p. C2R)

Semi-fixed phrases such as *your servant*, *your humble servant*, and *the humblest of your servants* are seen most frequently in Hoadly's text when gentlemen friends are talking with each other as in (53). These phrases are often used with vocatives when the speaker is responding to other interlocutors, or when the speaker wants to start talking as in the examples. In (54) the tradesperson responds to the customer's greeting. Vocatives are used with these phrases to reinforce deference to a respected person, that is, by putting oneself down to create a vertical relationship and to maintain social distance. Therefore negative politeness underlies these phrases and consequently the vocative form accompanying it is honorific. Leech's (1983) modesty maxim can explain how these fixed phrases exert politeness. The speaker minimises praise of himself/herself and takes a position one step lower to pay respect to the addressee.

To borrow Haverkate's (1988) terms, they are 'ritual forms of address':

Focalizing hearer-oriented politeness is generally expressed by vocative constituents, which, within the context of certain socially or culturally determined institutions, may function as ritual forms of address. The interactional patterns involved are based on such asymmetrical relations as hold, e.g. between parents and their children, teachers and pupils, or, in general between speakers endowed with power and speakers not endowed with power. Vocatives used in this kind of social context are indicative of the convention that inferior speakers addressing their interlocutors display a special form of positive politeness. According to the degree of specificity of the institution, these speakers are either obliged or expected to make use of honorific vocative expressions. The obligatory use of vocatives is inherent in the performance of ceremonial speech acts. (Haverkate 1988: 404)

Haverkate's explanation can also be applied to servant's obligatory vocative. Where there is an extreme inferiority of status between the speaker and the addressee, vocatives are often obligatory, e.g. servant to master, soldier to officer, child to father, etc. In the seventeenth century, this tendency was more marked than it is today.

Vocatives are also used with greetings when characters meet and part as follows (greetings are also in bold):

Example (55) [Jacinta is staying in Mrs. Strickland's house as a warden.]

[Mrs. Strickland] **Good-morrow, my dear Jacinta.**

[Jacinta] **Good-morrow to you, Madam.** I have brought

my Work, and intend to sit with you this Morning. I

hope you have got the better of your Fatigue. Where

is Clarinda? I should be glad if she wou'd come, and

work with us. (Hoadly: p. 7)

Example (56) [Lady is leaving Alicia Saleware's drapery shop.]

[Lady] I thought I had known him, hee is a handsome youth. I cannot blame you now with him: but beware of old Knights that have young Ladies of their owne.

Once more adieu sweet Mistris Saleware. [Exit.]

[Alicia] **Most courteous Madam** - ...and once more to the Devill. But on my life her chast Ladiship is taken with this beard-lesse Bellamie. How shee shot eyes at him! (Brome: p. C3V-4CR)

Greetings and farewells have their own illocutionary force. They are used normally to show solidarity between interlocutors, though it is not really so in (56) due to the adultery behind. Vocatives are often added to these greeting words for a number of functions, i.e. to add positive politeness, to indicate the target of the greeting, to reinforce the adjacency pair, to name a few. When they are used with greetings, they are placed in final position rather than initial. In (55), Mrs. Strickland adds the in-group marker, *my*, and the endearment premodifier, *dear*, to the first name to make the vocative oriented further to positive politeness, whilst Jacintha uses the bare form of the honorific. In (56), the customer adds *sweet*, the endearment premodifier, whereas the tradesperson adds *Most courteous*, the premodifier of honour. In other words, though the greetings are reciprocal, the hierarchical relationship is shown in the vocative forms in that the character of higher position uses vocatives which are more familiar than the other way around. Vocatives and formulaic expressions collaborate to create this asymmetrical hierarchical relationship.

Other greeting words or formulaic expressions used with vocatives include *Farewell*, *B'ye*, *good a mercy*, *Good by t'ye*, *Good Fortune to thee*, *Good night*, *How do you do*, *I beg (your) pardon*, *Morrow*, *Thanke you*, *pardon me*, and *Y're welcome*. Vocatives are used with them to adjust their illocutionary force.

Vocatives used in dialogues between servant/maid and his/her master/mistresse indicate their power relationship as shown in the following examples:

Example (57) [Mr. Strickland is the master of the house, Lucetta is a maid and Tester is a servant.]

[Mr. Strickland] [Aside] Tester, ay, Tester is the proper Person - **Lucetta**, tell Tester I want him.

[Lucetta] **Yes, Sir.** -

...

[Mr. Strickland] I have a Secret, **Tester**, to impart to you - A thing of the greatest Importance. Look upon me, and Don't stand picking your Fingers.

[Tester] **Yes, Sir. - No, Sir.**

...

[Mr. Strickland] **Tester**, go, send Lucetta hither.

[Tester] **Yes, Sir.** - Here she is. (Hoadly: p. 23-4)

Example (58) [A dialogue between Ranger, a lawyer and his servant.]

[Ranger] None of your Jokes, I pray; but to Business -

Go to the Coffee-house, and enquire if there has been

Any Letter or Message left for me.

[Servant] **I shall, Sir.** (Hoadly: p. 2)

Example (59) [Mr. Strickland has found out that Jacintha has run away with his lover.]

[Enter Mr. Strickland, Tester, and Servants.]

[Mr. Strickland] She's gone! She's lost! I am cheated!

Pursuer! Seek her!

[Tester] **Sir**, all her Cloaths are in her Chamber.

[Servant] **Sir**, Mrs. Clarinda said she was in Boys Cloaths. (Hoadly: p. 34)

In (57), the master uses vocatives to hail or summon his servant or maid, who responds to him with *Yes*, *Sir* or *No, Sir*. In (58), Ranger does not use a vocative, but his servant uses a vocative to respond to his master. In (59), the servants use vocatives before starting their utterances. In general, to start talking to someone abruptly is a rude face-threatening act, especially from servant/maid to master/mistress. The honorific vocatives seem obligatory for a person of lower rank to start a conversation. From master/mistress to servant/maid, the use of vocative is not obligatory as in (55). It may be because the master/mistress does not have to pay attention to his/her servant/maid, whilst a servant/maid always has to be attentive to his/her master/mistress as it is part of their job. This asymmetrical use of vocative between master/mistress and servant/maid indicates their hierarchical power relationship, which is reinforced by the non-reciprocal vocative forms, i.e. first name from the master/mistress and the honorific form from the servant/master. The obligatory use of vocative by the servant/maid to his/her master/mistress could be compared to certain types of formal interaction in the army in present-day English (cf. Haverkate 1988).

4 Pragmatic functions of stand-alone vocatives

Stand-alone vocatives are not used very often in my corpus (147 cases out of 2160 vocatives, 6.8%), but they are used in highly dramatic scenes. It seems that stand-alone vocatives are, in my data at least, accompanied by an exclamation mark and some modifiers of endearment, evaluation or abuse, which show the emotions of the speaker. Here are two examples in which vocatives are used repeatedly.

Example (60) [Mr. Strickland finds a hat for male in his wife's room, and becomes suspicious of his wife's fidelity.]

[Mr. Strickland] **Mrs. Strickland! Mrs. Strickland!** How came this Hat into your Chamber! (Hoadly: p. 38)

Example (61) [Lady Thrivewell is calling her nurse.]

[Lady within] **Nurse Closet. - Closet.** (Brome: p. D3R)

This repetition of vocatives constructs an image of an addressee who is not near the speaker. In this respect, the repetitive use of vocative creates a situational meaning in a dramatic text. In (60) the exclamation marks follow the vocatives, which indicates that the husband is shouting in a loud voice to summon his wife rather than calling her softly. In (61) the mistress summons her nurse. She shifts the vocative from the neutral type of occupational term to the familiar type of surname for the second time. This shift indicates that the speaker is in urgent need or irritated. From these examples, it can be assumed that these repeated vocatives sound rather rude and may be used downwards to summon characters. In other words, the relationship between the interlocutors is rather strained by the repetitive use of vocatives, though it is not always the case.

The following examples seem to express strong emotions of the speaker.

Example (62) [Maskwell, who has been Lady Touchwood's toy boy, is now going to end their relationship. This infuriates her.]

[Lady Touchwood] Have you not wrong'd my Lord, who has been a Father to you in your wants, and given you being? have you not wrong'd him in the highest manner, in his Bed?

[Maskwell] With your Ladyships help, and for your Service, as I told you before. I can't deny that neither. - Any thing more, **Madam?**

[Lady Touchwood] More! **Audacious Villain.** O what's more, is most my shame, - have you not Dishonoured me? (Congreve: p. 10)

Example (63) [Lady Plyant is talking to her husband, Sir Paul, who is very old and feeble.]

[Lady Plyant] He's [Sir Paul] hot-headed still! 'Tis in vain to talk to you; but remember I have a Curtain-Lecture for you, **you disobedient, headstrong Brute.**

[Sir Paul] No, 'tis because I won't be headstrong, because I won't be a Brute, and have my Head fortifi'd, that I am thus exasperated, - but I will protect my Honour, and yonder is the Violater of my Fame.

[Lady Plyant] 'Tis my Honour that is concern'd, and the violation was intended to me. **Your Honour!** ... (Congreve: p. 19-20)

Example (64) [Clarinda, Mrs. Strictland, and Jacintha are all friends. They are talking about the man called Charles in whom Clarinda has an interest.]

[Clarinda] Ay! But - then - He [Charles] won't know where I live, without my telling him.

[Mrs. Strictland] Come, then. Ha! ha! ha!

[Jacintha] Ah! **Poor Clarinda!** - Allons donc.

[Exeunt.] (Hoadly: p. 19)

In (62) Lady Touchwood is furious and uses an abusive vocative, which seems to strain and finally destroy the relationship between them. In (63), the wife uses an abusive vocative to her husband, which conveys her contempt to him. Although she shifts the vocative to the conventional honorific form in the last line, it is accompanied by an exclamation mark, which probably indicates the strong negative emotion of the wife. Here again, the strain in the interpersonal relationship becomes apparent by the use of vocatives. This particular example, however, can also be interpreted as an exclamation rather than a vocative. In (64), on the other hand, Jacintha's use of the endearment premodifier with first name indicates her sympathy to Clarinda, and the interpersonal relationship seems to become closer.

So far, I have seen some examples of vocatives, which convey the strong feelings of the speaker towards the addressee. There are several stand-alone vocatives preceded by interjections such as *Ah*, *Lord/Lard* and *O/Oh*. In (63) and (64), the speakers use abusive vocatives to the addressees, because the speakers are furious or annoyed with the addressees. Abusive vocatives are, in fact, difficult to distinguish from expletives. According to Biber *et al.* (1999), expletives are 'taboo expressions (swear-words) or semi-taboo expressions used as exclamations' (1999: 1094).

Particularly characteristic are disparaging or abusive exclamations, often containing expletives and used with varying degrees of playfulness. One type (referring to the addressee) contains *you* either at the beginning or the end or both:

How did you get two of those phones, **you little devil?**

Come on **you silly cow**

Oh come on, **lazy lot of buggers you**, come on

These exclamatory noun phrases superficially resemble vocatives, and can combine, like vocatives, with an imperative or other clausal unit, as the examples show. (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1102)

In their definition, expletives have a superficial resemblance to abusive vocatives, but it is not clearly stated what differentiates the two. I would like to call these types of vocative 'the expletive vocatives'⁴, because they can be interpreted both as expletives and vocatives. Abusive vocatives and expletive vocatives are rich in connotations, and seem to play an important role in creating humour in comedies.

5 Conclusion

I have observed some examples taken from historical data according to the four pragmatic functions. The examples have illustrated that the positions and function of vocatives are closely related. I have also observed some examples in which stand-alone vocatives are used in highly dramatic scenes. The relationship between the position and function, however, is not clear but rather complicated as a vocative sometimes has more than one function.

There are some patterns between vocative forms and pragmatic functions. Some examples have illustrated how vocative forms reinforce or mitigate the illocutionary force of the utterance. The play-

⁴ This new label is suggested by Geoffrey Leech (2000, p.c.).

wrights chose appropriate vocative forms to construct the identities of the characters and the relationships between them. They also shift the vocative form, position and frequency to manipulate the relationship between characters as the plot unfolds. I have also dealt with some examples, in which abusive vocatives are used as banter to show intimacy, a friendly vocative is used to keep distance, or a deferential vocative is used impolitely. I have investigated some vocatives used by comic characters to which normal rules of vocatives cannot be applied. This means that the pragmatic meaning of a vocative in interaction depends not only on the lexical meaning of the word but also on the individual context. In other words, the pragmatic implications of each vocative are the end-results of the collaboration of the choice of the form, positioning, attributes and roles of the interlocutors, plot, and characterisation, not to say of the intonation and tone of voice which are not indicated in the written text. In order to find this, further investigation is needed.

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