

Positive Response Particles in Early Modern Language Teaching Manuals: 1573-1625

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1. Introduction

An iconic scene from Louis de Funès' 1971 film *Jo*¹ is the one where the inspector (Bernard Blier) repeatedly reveals new information about Monsieur Jo to Antoine Brisebard (Louis de Funès), each time followed by the turns "non!" – "si" – "oh!", as in (1a).

(1) a. Inspector: Figurez-vous que Monsieur Jo était un maître chanteur.

Brisebard: Non!

Inspector: Si.

Brisebard: Oh!

b. Inspector: Stellen Sie sich vor: Monsieur Jo war ein Erpresser.
 Brisebard: Nein!
 Inspector: Doch.
 Brisebard: Oh!

The function of French si here is to confirm the information ('Monsieur Jo was a blackmailer') that has been questioned in the preceding turn (non!) – just like German doch in the dubbed version (1b). The respective other positive response particles, French oui and German ja, would be unexpected in this sequence $(non - {}^{?}oui - oh!; nein - {}^{?}ja - oh!)$ because they usually do not occur after negative antecedents $(Grand\ Robert\ s.v.\ oui,\ adv.,\ si,\ adv.;\ Duden\ s.v.\ doch^3,\ sense\ 5)$. For English, this is different, since the particle yes used in the dubbed version of the same scene (2) can occur both after negative and after positive antecedents $(OED\ s.v.\ yes,\ adv.)$.

(2) Inspector: You were aware this fellow Jo was a blackmailer?
Brisebard: No!
Inspector: Yes.
Brisebard: Oh!

In Old English, by contrast, we find the same situation as in Present-Day French and German: The particle used in a hypothetical Old English translation of the film would be OE gyse (> PDE yes), which, similar to French si and German doch, is restricted to negative antecedents. In other contexts, the functional and etymological equivalent of German ja would be used: OE gea (cf. Wallage and Van der Wurff 2013).

The film was released in English under the title Joe: The Busy Body.

The difference between Old and Present-Day English positive response particles is illustrated in the constructed Old English examples (3-4) below: the antecedent (question in (a), assertion in (b)) is positive in (3) and negative in (4), and thus, gea is used in (3a-b), gyse in (4a-b).²

- (3) Positive polarity response after positive antecedent:
 - a. Cunnon 3e þisne monn? **Gea!** ['Do you know this man? Yes!']
 - b. 3e cunnon þisne monn. Gea!['You know this man. Yes!']
- (4) Positive polarity response after negative antecedent:
 - Ne cunnon 3e bisne monn? Gyse!
 ['Don't you know this man? Yes we do!']
 - Je ne cunnon bisne monn. Gyse!
 ['You don't you know this man. Yes we do!']

Like French and German, English thus used to have two positive response particles. It lost this functional differentiation during the Early Modern English period, when, in the early seventeenth century, YEA (OE gea, EModE yea) was lost from the standard language, and YES (OE gyse, EModE yes) remained (cf. the PDE translations of (3a-b)).³ In this paper, I present a pilot study that explores the contexts in which this loss of YEA as a response particle took place, i.e., the contexts in which speakers started to extend YES to positive antecedents.

The structure of the article is as follows: Section 2 and 3 sketch the distribution of YEA and YES in Old English and its development in the Middle and Early Modern English period. On this basis, I will turn to Early Modern English dialogues as represented in four language teaching handbooks written between 1573 and 1625 (taken from the Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760 (CED)): Since the loss of YEA as a response particle took place in the early seventeenth century (see Section 3 and Figure 1), a fifty-year window around the year 1600 can be expected to provide some insights into the details of the loss. After looking at the general frequencies of YEA and YES in the material (4.1), I will explore the spread of YES to positive antecedents. I first analyse the attestations as to whether the antecedent of the response particles is formally negative or not (4.2) and then, in a more qualitative approach, discuss selected examples of the innovative uses of YES (i.e., after positive antecedents) pragmatically (4.3). This pilot

The example is modelled on *ac we ne cunnon bisne mon* 'but we don't know this man' (ÆHomM 2 [0036 (78)], *DOEC*).

I use YEA and YES in small capital letters to refer to the two forms irrespective of their different spellings in the various periods. study on a small dataset of 111 attestations suggests that YES was initially extended to those formally positive antecedents that carried negative implicatures, and that it spread from there to formally positive antecedents in general. Section 5 concludes and points out directions for research.

2. YEA and YES in Old English

The Old English attestations of YEA and YES – only 25 and 10 respectively, not counting glosses⁴ – have been studied in detail by Wallage and Van der Wurff (2013), according to whom the distribution sketched in (3) and (4) above is robust. To illustrate the uses, examples with positive antecedents are given in (5), examples with negative antecedents in (6) (cf. *ne* 'not' in (6a) and *næfre* 'never' and *nyste* 'knew not' in (6b)) (Wallage and Van der Wurff 2013: 186–188).

- (5) Positive polarity response after positive antecedent:
 - a. Pilatus hym to cwæð: hwæt wyllað hig hyne for godum weorcum ofslean? Hig andswaredon and cwædon: gea, leof. (Nic (A) B8.5.2.1 [0047 (2.6.6)])

 ['Pilatus said to them: "What, do they want to kill him for his good deeds?" They answered and said: "Yes, sir"']⁵
 - Đa cwæð heo: me ðincð þæt <ðu><wille> gyt witan þæt ylce þæt þu ær woldest be gode and be þinre sawle. Đa cwæð ic: gea, þæs annes me lyst. (Solil 1 B9.4.2 [0450 (51.3)])

['Then she said: "I think that you still want to know what you wished for before about Gold and your soul". Then I said: "Yes, only this I desire."]

Translations of examples (5) and (6) are from Wallage and Van der Wurff (2013). Other translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

Glosses are problematic for studying the distribution of OE gyse and gea, since the language that is glossed is Latin, which, as is well known, does not have any dedicated response particles (e.g., Meillet 1936: 36). Instead, it employs a whole range of strategies (cf. Thesleff 1960 on Plautus and Terence), including echo-type responses (e.g., reddidisti? – reddidi 'Have you given back? – I have given back.', Thesleff 1960: 13), ita 'so', etiam 'also, even', and many others, and this can be expected to influence the Old English gloss. The central meaning of etiam 'also, even' (i.e., not the response use), for instance, is often glossed by OE gea (cf. DOE s.v. gea, sense B; OED s.v. yea, sense 3.b, cf. also example (9b) from Early Modern English below). This glossing practice, equaling L etiam with OE gea is likely to 'spill over' to uses of L etiam as a response, according to Wallage and Van der Wurff. They note with respect to this: "since it appears that gea in glosses is used rather mechanically to correspond to Latin etiam, even where the meaning of the latter is evidently different, none of these cases provides helpful evidence for determining what the usage of gea was like in ordinary Old English" (2013: 187). Consequently, they don't consider glosses for their study.

- (6) Positive polarity response after negative antecedent:
 - a. eower lareow **ne** gylt he gafol? þa cwæð he, **gyse** he deð (Mt (WSCp) B8.4.3.1 [0592 (17.25)])

["Your teacher, doesn't he pay tribute?" Then he said, "Yes, he does."]

b. Petrus cwæð: [...] ic næfre ær þis nyste, þæt ungeleaffull man hæfde geleafan [...] Gregorius him andswarode: gyse, þa ungeleaffullan habbað geleafan (GDPref and 4 (C) B9.5.6 [0024 (2.262.23)])

['Peter said, "I confess that I never knew this before, that an unbelieving man had faith." Gregory answered him, "Yes, non-believers do have faith."']

Why these two different particles in the first place? *Gyse* is younger than *gea*; it has no cognates in other Germanic languages and must have emerged in Old English sometime before the earliest texts. The communicative reason for its emergence as what Siemund (2018: 183) calls a "special particle [...] expressing non-confirmation in negative polarity contexts" is with all likelihood that *gea* would be ambiguous as a reply to negative polarity utterances (Wallage and Van der Wurff 2013: 211). This is illustrated in example (4a) above, repeated here as (7), together with a German version with equally ambiguous *ja*.

- (7) OE Ne cunnon 3e bisne monn? / G Kennt ihr diesen Mann nicht?
 - a. OE gea / G ja 'yes, we don't know him'
 - b. OE gea / G ja 'yes, we know him'

If the reply is OE gea / G ja, it is not clear whether it reacts to the negative polarity of the proposition (p = you don't know this man), as in reading (7a), or to the positive polarity of the implicature ('you know this man, don't you', or 'I think you know this man'), as in reading (7b). This is because, in general, a negative question "can be understood as a question about p or as a question about p" (Romero and Han 2004: 603, cf. also Ladd 1981). Of course, this ambiguity is communicatively undesired. Consequently, speakers have used disambiguation strategies, which will have led to the variety of polarity-reversing affirmative particles we find in the Germanic languages. Also the auxiliary-echo strategy that is characteristic of PDE, such as (yes / of course / ...)

Other authors use the terms "polarity-reversing affirmative particle" (Holmberg 2015: 6), cf. also Roelofsen and Farkas' (2015) "[reverse, +]", or "contradictory yes" (Howe 2018: 164).

we do, avoids ambiguity. In the case of yes, Wallage and Van der Wurff argue for an etymology in *gea (hit) is swa 'yea, (it) is so' (> *geaisswa > *giesa > OE giese), i.e., yes would have its origin in a disambiguation strategy. 10

3. YEA and YES after Old English

According to Pope (1972: 195–196) and Culpeper (2018), the rather neat functional distribution of OE *gea* and *gyse* sketched above continues into Middle English and up until the sixteenth century. Two typical examples from Chaucer are given in (8).

8) a. "Lo, yond he rit!" ... "**Ye**, so he doth!" (a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* 2.1284, *MED* s.v. ye, interj.)

['Look, there he rides!' ... 'Yea, so he does!']

b. "She ys ded!" "Nay!" "Yis, be my trouthe!" (c1450(1369) Chaucer *BD* 1309, *MED* s.v. *yis*, interj.)

['She is dead!' 'Nay!' 'Yes, by my truth!']

In the beginning Early Modern English period, however, the use of YES increasingly spread to those contexts in which YEA had been used before, and around 1600, YES has become the "ordinary affirmative reply to any question positive or negative" (*OED* s.v. yea; cf. also Pope 1972: 195–196) – at least in the standard; according to the Survey of English Dialects (SED), numerous traditional dialects in fact preserve the distinction (Howe 2018).¹¹

Culpeper (2018) has studied the Early Modern development of the positive response particles on the basis of the *Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760 (CED)*. The *CED* consists of speech-related material, both of constructed dialogues (from drama comedy, didactic works, and prose fiction), and of written records of actual speech events (from trial proceedings and witness depositions; Kytö and Walker 2006). This makes it ideal for studying questions and answers, which are most likely to occur in dialogic texts. Culpeper (2018: 250) finds that while YEA – disregarding its functions –

Romero and Han (2004: 603) specify that this is true for questions with preposed negation (such as PDE Don't you know this man?), but not necessarily for questions with non-preposed negation (such as PDE Do you not know this man?).

Some examples are German doch, Dutch ja wel, toch wel, Scandinavian jo/jú, Eastern English jearse (Howe 2018), Bavarian jo (Schmeller s.v. jo) etc.

The rise of the echo-strategy takes place in Early Modern English. It has been attributed to contact with Celtic (Filppula 1999; Vennemann 2009) and, additionally, French (Ingham 2014). Ingham (2014) argues that it may have started as a low socially marked Celtic substrate feature, which later, because of the French parallel, lost its lower-class connotations.

The OED (s.v. yea) is less decided on the second element in the etymology of yes: "Apparently < yea adv. (or its Germanic base) + a second element of uncertain and disputed origin, probably adding emphasis to the affirmation and apparently causing i-mutation." The etymology section of the entry discusses the three proposals a) *gea si 'yea, be-3sg.pres.subj' (problematic because of the subjunctive), b) *gea swa (problematic because it does not explain the i-mutation), c) *gea is swa (cf. Wallage and Van der Wurff 2013).

To capture this, the SED questionnaire included two questions aiming at the difference between "neutral yes" and "contradictory yes", i.e., at positive polar answers after positive vs negative antecedents (Howe 2018: 166): "If I asked you: Have you met that man, you could say: ..." and "If I said to you: You haven't met that man, have you? and you had, you'd answer: ... I have".

is still considerably more frequent than YES (194 vs 53 tokens) in the earliest subperiod (1560–1599) of the *CED*, it is overtaken by YES in the period 1600–1639. Figure 1 shows the frequencies per million words.

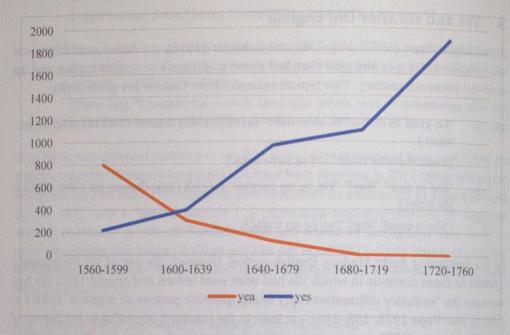


Figure 1: yea and yes in the CED, 1560–1760: frequency pmw (Culpeper 2018: 250)

Culpeper also analyses the use of the particles in the "comedies" subcorpus of the CED as to whether they follow positive or negative questions. The results suggest that YEA never extends into the former realm of YES, i.e., to negative antecedents, but stays restricted to positive antecedents, until it disappears in the course of the seventeenth century. YES, by contrast, has come to be frequently used in the former YEA-contexts of positive questions.

This raises the question in which contexts precisely – not only formal, but also pragmatic and collocational contexts (cf. Hansen 2020 on response particles in medieval French) – speakers started to extend YES. The present paper will be a first attempt to shed light on this development.

4. YEA and YES in Early Modern English Model Dialogues

Culpeper's quantitative analysis has shown that among the genres included in the *CED*, it is the didactic works that display by far the highest density of YEA (ca. 487 per million words, n=138). In the comedies, YEA is not even half as frequent (203 per million words, n=65), and in the "trial proceedings", "witness depositions" and "fiction" subcorpora it occurs even less frequently (between 47 and 107 pmw; Culpeper 2018: 252).

The subcorpus "didactic works", which features YEA most often, consists of two groups of text: the first group consists of typical didactic dialogues, such as the *Little Catechism* (1579, Theodorus Beza) or *A looking glass for married folks* [...] set forth dialogue-wise for the more tastable and plainnesse sake (1610, Robert Snawsel), the second one of model dialogues from language teaching handbooks. These are mostly handbooks for learning French (for speakers of English), such as Claude De Sainliens' The French Schoolemaister (1573), or for learning English (for speakers of French), such as Jacques Bellot's Familiar Dialogues (1586). It is in these model dialogues from language teaching handbooks that the frequency of YEA is particularly high, with c. 773 instances per million words (Culpeper 2018: 254). I therefore examine these model dialogues, because the window of variation between YES and YEA is expected to be larger here than in texts that have an overwhelming majority of YES.¹²

Model dialogues in Early Modern language teaching manuals have proved a rich source for historical pragmatics (e.g., Bös 2007; Hübner and Simon 2021; McLelland 2018), even though they also come with some problems (cf. Hübner and Gennies 2021). These include the fact that the "material was endlessly recycled" (McLelland 2018: 31; for "textbook families", see Hüllen 2003), so it might be possible that dialogues contain traces of the translation process or represent a stage of the language earlier than their publication date (cf., e.g., Hübner and Gennies 2021: 231 for a German language teaching manual from 1677, reproducing a dialogue from 1576 without any changes). In other cases, however, the language was updated, or the dialogues adapted or written afresh (cf. Watts 1999 on Bellot, whose model dialogues address the contemporary expulsion of Protestants from France).

4.1 Frequency

In the *CED* subcorpus "language teaching handbooks", there are model dialogues from nine different handbooks. Yet only four of them actually show variation between YES and YEA, namely the four texts from the earliest two subperiods (see Table 1 with the absolute numbers).

Date	Short text title	Author	yea	yes
1573	The French Schoolemaister	Claude De Sainliens	36	6
1586	Familiar Dialogues	Jacques Bellot	7	7
1605	The French Garden	Peter Erondell	9	9
1625	The Marrow of the French Tongue	John Wodroephe	19	18
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Table 1: Absolute numbers of YEA and YES in language teaching handbooks from CED (1573–1625) (irrespective of the particles' function)

In the trial proceedings, for instance, the frequency of *yes* is more than 2,200 pmw while that of *yea* is as low as 46 pmw.

Figure 2 shows the relative frequency of *yea* vs. *yes* in the four texts. In the five younger texts, dating from between 1653 and 1731, YEA has disappeared entirely. ¹³

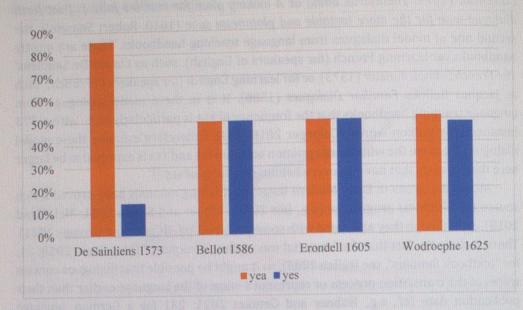


Figure 2: Relative frequencies of *yea* and *yes* in language teaching handbooks from *CED* (1573–1625) (irrespective of the particles' function)

Comparing the four handbooks, we can observe a considerable drop in the use of *yea* from the earliest handbook to the next three: In De Sainliens, *yea* is still six times more frequent than *yes*, while in Bellot, Erondell and Wodroephe, the frequency of *yes* has risen to equal that of *yea*. Whether this reflects a diachronic development or rather represents individual preferences of the texts will have to be checked in a study following this pilot.

4.2 Formal Contexts

Since yes had originally been restricted to negative antecedents, the next question must be whether its rise in frequency compared to yea (Table 1 and Figure 2) is due to speakers extending it to positive antecedents, or whether other contexts are responsible for the increase. To examine this, I categorised the attestations of yea and yes first according to whether they functioned as response particles at all (as in (9a)) or have some other function. This latter category – labelled "other" in Table 2 and

Figure 3 – predominantly contains instances where the particle is used as what could be called scalar or mirative adverbial, as in (9b) (cf. *OED* s.v. *yea*, sense 3.b).¹⁴

(9) Haue you any karsies of Flaunders diyng?
['Do you have any kersey with colour of Flanders?']

Yea (a) sir: I haue very fayre and good: the best of the towne, yea (b) in England: of what coulour do you lacke? (1573 De Sainliens)

In this function, *yea* implies a scale on which the element denoted by the constituent over which it has scope is marked as higher, or more noteworthy than another element. In this use it is similar to PDE *even* (cf. Simonin 2018). In (9b), for instance, *yea* opens up a scale of 'quality of Kersey with colour of Flanders', on which 'best in England' is presented as higher than 'best of the town'. Next to these scalar uses of *yea* in the category "other", there was one instance (10) in which it can be described as emphasizer, a function found for ME *yea* by Sauer (2012: 167).

(10) I am glad to see you merie.
What? an once of mirth is better, then a pounde of sorow, **yea**, and make good weight. (1573 De Sainliens)

After thus establishing in which of the attestations the particles were used as a response and in which as scalar or emphatic adverbial, in a second step, I categorised those attestations in which the particle functioned as a response according to whether the antecedent was formally negative or positive, i.e., whether a negative element was present (such as *not* in (11a–b), or *never* in (11c)).

- (11) a. Haue you **not** better?

 Yes forsooth, but it is of a greater price. (1573 De Sainliens)
 - b. Androw. But I pray Syr. Could you **not** match this collour? The Drap. **yes** forsoth, I can. (1586 Bellot)
 - The gentle. Is there **neuer** a house here by, wherein we may lodge.
 The plow. **Yes** forsoth: you haue two milles hence, a very good Inne. (1586 Bellot)

I also checked various attested spelling variants (see OED s.vv.), but none of them seem to occur in the corpus other than as false hits (e.g., ye(e) as pronoun).

The *OED*'s definition of *yea* in this sense is: "Used to emphasize the extreme or surprising nature of the case mentioned in comparison with a weaker or more general one implied or expressed: even. *Obsolete*" (*OED* s.v. *yea*, sense 3.b), which captures the scalar ("extreme [...] in comparison") and mirative ("surprising") meaning of *yea* in this use. On mirativity, see, e.g., DeLancey (2012).

Table 2 shows the results in absolute numbers, Figure 3 in frequency per 1,000 words. 15

		De Sainliens (1573)	Bellot (1586)	Erondell (1605)	Wodroephe (1625)	total
Response	yes	1	5	9	10	25
after pos	yea	28	7	4	11	53
Response	yes	5	2	0	3	10
after neg	yea	5	0	0	3	5
	ves	0	0	0	0	0
other	yea	3	0	5	2	10

Table 2: Formal contexts of *yea* and *yes* in language teaching handbooks from *CED* (1573–1625); absolute numbers

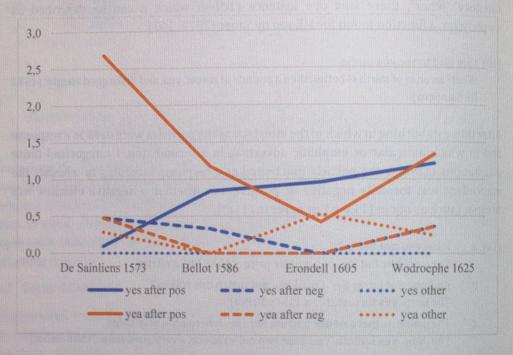


Figure 3: Formal contexts of *yea* and *yes* in language teaching handbooks from *CED* (1573–1625); per thousand words

Even though the overall number of attestations is rather low, with only 68 and 35 respectively, the results still suggest a diachronic development: The solid lines in Figure 3, indicating use as response particle after positive antecedents (the former domain of yea) are very far apart in the earliest handbook, i.e., De Sainliens in 1573 still largely follows the original distribution, with 28 yea vs 1 yes after positive antecedents. A typical example is given in (12), with a positive haue you been sicke? answered by yea.

(12) Gossyp, you are welcome: and you also, my shee gossyp: how doo you? So, so.
Wherefore? haue you been sicke?

Yea, and of an euill sicknesse. (1573 De Sainliens)

Bellot in 1586 already uses *yes* almost as often as *yea* after positives (5 vs 7; cf. the two solid lines getting closer in Figure 2), and two decades later, Erondell has more *yes* than *yea* in this context (9 vs 4). Wodroephe has slightly more *yea* again (11 vs 10) but does not get anywhere near the original distribution.

Interestingly, there are also eight instances (five in De Sainliens, three in Wodroephe) of *yea* after negative antecedents (the broken orange line in Figure 3), i.e., in a context in which *yes* is expected. This seems to run counter to Culpeper's finding that, in the comedies at least, "we never get *yea* after a negative question" (2018: 260). A closer look at these attestations (Section 4.3.1), however, will show that at least in De Sainliens, the earliest handbook, all of them can be fully explained by taking into account pragmatics.

Finally, "other" uses of the particles – not in responses, but as scalar or emphatic adverbial, as in (9b) and (10) – could not be found for *yes*, but seem to be stable for *yea* (cf. the dotted line in Figure 3). Erondell even has more instances of *yea* in "other" uses than of *yea* as response particle. This might indicate that its use as a scalar or emphatic adverbial is robust even though it is falling out of use as a response particle. Again, however, this needs to be checked on a larger dataset.

The analysis of the formal contexts of *yes* and *yea* in the four language teaching handbooks supports the diagnosis that *yes* is increasingly used in the former *yea*-contexts in replies to positive antecedents. In the next section, I will analyse selected examples qualitatively from a pragmatic point of view. I will first look at atypical uses of *yea* – those after formally negative antecedents –, and then at the innovative uses of *yes* – those after formally positive antecedents.

4.3 Pragmatic Contexts

4.3.1 Yea after Negative Antecedents

In the preceding section, we saw that De Sainliens has five 'surprising' attestations where *yea* is used after formally negative antecedents. At first glance, this runs counter to the expectation that *yea* would be increasingly pushed out of its use as a response particle, because it suggests that it even spreads to former *yes*-contexts. It would also

In attestations with repeated response particles (e.g., is hee verie neare? – yes yes), I only counted the first particle. This is why in this sections' analysis of the formal contexts, the total number for yea and yes is slightly smaller (Table 2) than their total number given in Table 1 (69 and 35 vs. 71 and 40).

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contradict Culpeper's finding that *yea* stays restricted to positive antecedents until it is lost (2018: 260). However, a look at the attestations in De Sainliens shows that despite their formal negativity, the antecedents of *yea* here all carry positive implicatures. These positive implicatures will be the reason for the occurrence of *yea* rather than *yes*.

(13) Doo you know those gentleweme~, which be behinde?

Yea (a), as mee thinketh: is it not maystris N and maistris of N: with their two nices and coosins?

Yea (b). (1573 De Sainliens)

In (13), for instance, we have two people gossiping during a wedding ceremony in St Paul's cathedral. After discussing the music, they try to identify some members of the attending crowd. The first yea (13a) does not need further analysis, as it replies to a positive question without any particular implicature. The question to which the second yea (13b) replies, by contrast, is formally negative (is it not [...]?), but its implicature is clearly 'I'm rather sure it is them' (cf. the preceding yea, as mee thinketh 'yea, methinks I know them'). Therefore, the implicature of the antecedent is positive, and this will be the trigger for the use of yea here.

The same interpretation can be rather straightforwardly applied to the other attestations of *yea* after formally negative antecedents in De Sainliens, such as (14), where the implicature of *is not that enough?* is obviously positive: 'that is enough'.

(14) What hath shee for her mariage?
Shee hath vertue and honestie: is not that enough?
Yea. (1573 De Sainliens)

Finally, in one of the attestations of *yea* after negative antecedent in De Sainliens, the negative element occurs in a question tag: (15) is from a dinner table conversation, where the first speaker uses the negative tag *was it not?* to prompt his interlocutor to confirm what he says.

(15) open that Pastie of Veneson: this Doe was very fat, **was it not? Yea** verely: it is the fattest that I haue yet seen this yeere. (1573 De Sainliens)

Despite the *not* in its syntax, pragmatically, again, the antecedent of *yea* in (15) is not negative: it is a positive statement 'this doe was very fat', together with a question tag functioning as a turn-allocation component (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). ¹⁶ In the classification of question-tag functions (Tottie and Hoffmann 2006), this would be

an instance of the 'confirmatory' function of tags, which is also the most frequent one in the sixteenth century data in Tottie and Hoffmann (2009: 146). The question in (15) therefore clearly has a positive orientation; the speaker expects that p (= this doe was very fat) is true.

To conclude, in De Sainliens all the 'atypical' uses of *yea* after formal negatives can be explained by the positive pragmatics of the antecedent. So these seemingly atypical uses of *yea* turn out to be quite typical if we define the feature 'negativity of the antecedent' not purely by the formal presence of negative elements, but also take pragmatics into account – which is also more likely to be the relevant criterion for the speakers. For comparison, consider (16), where the antecedent is not only negative in terms of form, but also in terms of pragmatics – a negative statement that is contradicted by the interlocutor by using *yes*.

(16) you doo not make good cheere: you are not merie: this musick doth not make you merie.
Yes forsoth: truelie I take a great delight in it. (1573 De Sainliens)

In Wodroephe, by contrast, the youngest of the four handbooks, only two of the three attestations of 'atypical' yea after negative antecedents can be explained from a pragmatic perspective. One of them is (17), where the antecedent is uttered by a pupil to the schoolmaster. It is obviously a rhetorical question with the pragmatic function of a tentative statement ('you told me that...') with a request for confirmation. Pragmatically, therefore, once again, the antecedent is not negative.

(17) E. Sir, doe not you tell mee also that those cursed vices, those cursed lusts: our wicked flesh: the fragile, fraile, and soft worldly things: all sorts of cupidities doe hinder vs to know the Word of God [...]

M. Yea, I tell you the pure truth thereof: for every man that loseth the time after his lusts, doth lose his courage [...] (1625 Wodroephe)

In (18), however, this is different. The attestation is from a conversation between a burgher and a peasant; the burgher inquires after the well-being of his pigs, which are kept in the forest.

- (18) B. Are there any of them eaten with the wolfe, with the she-wolfe, with the foxe, with the she-foxe, with the beare, with the she-beare, or with the badger?
 - P. O no! for they can defend themselues well with their clawes, with their pawes, and with their great pointed and sharpe teeth.
 - B. What say you? is it possible? truly I beleeue it not.
 - P. Yea truly it is true: I assure you that it is very true. (1625 Wodroephe)

The peasant claims that the pigs can defend themselves against predators, and the burgher does not believe this: What say you? is it possible? truly I believe it not. This utterance not only has a formal negative element (not), but also pragmatically it is

As shown by Tottie and Hoffmann (2009), tag questions in English are a development of the sixteenth century, and formally, (14) fully corresponds to the most frequent type of tag question they find in their sixteenth century drama data: the anchor (this Doe was very fat) is positive, the tag (was it not) is negative, the operator is be (2009: 136, 138).

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clearly negative; the burgher's expectation is $\neg p$. Hence, we would expect yes in the reply, not yea. Note however that yea does not occur alone here but is followed by truly it is true: I assure you that it is very true, which supports the contradictory affirmation. Still, that this attestation, the only one where yea occurs after negative antecedents, is from the youngest handbook might perhaps indicate that the differentiation between the two particles was already weakened in the 1620s.

We have now seen that a pragmatic perspective can explain uses of *yea* that formally seem to be exceptions to the rule: apart from one attestation in the youngest handbook, *yea* does not seem to extend to negative antecedents after all. What about the pragmatics of the early extended uses of *yes* after positive antecedents, then?

4.3.2 Yes after Positive Antecedents

The earliest attestation of *yes* after a positive in my dataset is given in (19b); it is the only such instance from De Sainliens. The context here is a group of ten travellers on the road to London, hoping to make it to the next town before night falls. Individual speakers are not indicated in De Sainliens, so we don't know precisely who says what. But clearly most utterances are very pessimistic and mention the travellers' fear that they will not arrive in time before the town gates are closed (note that the negatively oriented *I doubt that we may not enter in* is replied to with a contradicting *yes* (19a) as well). The travellers and their horses are worn out and tired, it is getting late, and morale seems low. Finally, they get to the town, and upon arrival at the inn, a traveller asks *Shall we lodge within for this night?*, to which the innkeeper replies using *yes*.

(19) I am afraied that wee come not by day light to the towne. [...] Truely it wilbe late afore wee come thither: I doubt that wee may not enter in.

Yes (a) for sooth: they doo not shut the gates before neene.

It is the better, for I would not gladly lie in the subburbes.

Nor I too.

[...]

Let vs make hast I pray you, for they draw the drawyng bridge.

I am so weary, that I cannot go further: furthermore, my horse halteth, I doo thinke that a nayle doth pricke him, or hee is hurted vpon the backe: besides, this pauement is so hard, that it bruseth mee altogether.

[...]

God geeue you good euenyng, Sir. Sall wee lodge within for this night?

Yes (b) for sooth, Sir: how many bee you? (1573 De Sainliens)

Is there anything here that would motivate the use of *yes*? Positive questions, unlike negative ones, have no inherent positive or negative bias (e.g., Romero and Han 2004: 624), i.e., they do not per se carry an epistemic implicature that the speaker expects p or $\neg p$. But a bias may, of course, be produced by various factors in the context. On the basis of the extended context in (19b) sketched above (late hour, large group of ten people, weariness and general pessimism), we might argue that the traveller's

expectation is that they will *not* be able to 'lodge within for this night', i.e., he expects that $\neg p$. More precisely, we might argue that the innkeeper assumes the traveller to expect $\neg p$, and that the innkeeper's *yes* therefore responds to a negative epistemic implicature. Thus, the situational circumstances might be the trigger for this one-off occurrence of *yes* in this type of formal context (without negative elements) in De Sainliens.

The next handbook, Bellot, already has five attestations in which yes occurs after formally positive antecedents. Let's look at the first two of them. In (20), Ayles is pointing out to Ralf that it is high time for him to go to the market.

(20) Ayles. Is it not tyme to goe to the market? It is almost ten a clocke: Goe I pray, and make hast to come agayne.

Ralf. I goe by and by: **But is it so late as you say?**Ayles. **Yes** truely, Goe quikely. (1586 Bellot)

Ralf's skeptical question But is it so late as you say? arguably carries an implicature of 'I did not expect it to be so late' or 'it cannot really be that late'. It is therefore pragmatically negative, or in other words, Ralf's previous expectation was that it was not this late yet $(\neg p)$, and this justifies the use of yes in Ayles' reply.

In (21), then, Ralf has arrived at the market and is bargaining with the poulterer. Again, we need an extended context to capture the pragmatics of the situation.

(21) Ralf. Showe me a coupell of good, and fatte Rabettes, [...]

The Poult. Here be them, that be very good and fat.

Ralf. They be very stale.

The Poul. Truely, they be very new.

Ralf. How sell you them? How much?

The Poul. Ten pence the couple.

Ralf. It is to much, you are to, deare, They be not worth so much. They be worth but a grote. The Poul. They be not mine for that price. They coast me more. Ralf. Tell me your lowest word.

The Poul. Are you willing to buye?

Ralf. Yes, if you will, be reasonable. (1586 Bellot)

As can be seen in the exchange preceding the *yes*, Ralf is rather tenacious in his haggling, so that the poulterer at a given point asks whether he is actually willing to buy at all. Once more, this question is formally positive, but Ralf's haggling behaviour may have suggested to the poulterer that he is not interested in buying after all. The poulterer's expectation – like Ralf's in (20) – therefore is $\neg p$, so that we could argue for a pragmatically negative question, which in turn, receives a *yes*.

In Erondell, c. twenty years later (1605), there are nine instances of *yes* after positive questions, but in only one of them (22) we can argue for a negative pragmatic meaning as clearly as in those from Bellot. (22) is from another bargaining scene, where

the Lady accompanied by Mistress du Pont-galliard is in a draper's shop to buy some Cambric, a kind of light fabric. The other speakers are the shopkeeper (the sempster) and her maid (Atire-gain). After some haggling with the shopkeeper's maid, the Lady states that her last offer is sixteen shilling per ell, but her companion claims this price is too high, and they leave the shop. The maid, who initially wanted twenty shilling, asks the shopkeeper whether they should sell it at sixteen; the shopkeeper considers this briefly and replies *yes call them backe*. Since the maid originally claimed twenty shilling per ell, the shopkeeper may have assumed the maid to expect that $\neg p$, i.e., that they will *not* sell it at the price. ¹⁷ Hence, her *yes* could be seen as a reply to this negative epistemic implicature of the antecedent.

(22) Atire-gain, [...] the Cambricke will cost you twentie shillings the Ell.

Lady. Truly it lacketh no price: And if thinges be so much worth as those which sell them, doe make them to be: your Cambricke is very good, for you holde it at a good price, But yet I will not give so much tho.

Atire-Ga, How much will it please you to give then Madame? to the end that I may have your Custome?

Lady, I will giue you fifteene shillings, If you will take my money make shorte, for I haue other busines then to tarye heere,

Atire-Ga. Truely Madame I would be verye sorie to denye you if I could give it at that price, but in truth I cannot, vnles I should lose by it.

Lady, I will giue you sixteen, and not one halfepeny more. Mistris Du Pont-galliard, is it not enough?

Mist. du-po.gal: Me thinketh it Madame that you offer too much, as for me, I would not give so much.

Lady, Let vs goe then to the shop on the other side.

Atire-Ga. Shall we give it her at that price Mistris?

The Sempster, Showe me the marke of it. Yes call them backe. (1605 Erondell)

The remaining eight instances of *yes* after formally positive antecedents in Erondell are different from (22), as their context cannot as readily be interpreted as involving negative pragmatic meanings. The majority appear in the collocation *yes mother*. Two examples are shown in (23).

(23) Lady, [...] come hether Guy, haue you said your prayers this morning?

Guy, Yes Mother.

Lady, And you also Rene?

Renè Yes Mother [...] (1605 Erondell)

There is not really anything in the context here that would indicate that Guy and Rene assume their mother to expect $\neg p$, i.e., that they have not said their prayers. The collocation *yes mother* appears five times, each time as a reply to a similar parental inquiry (e.g., have you saluted your father today?); we never find this collocation with yea, however. This might suggest that the collocation yes mother was already conventionalised to some extent. The origin could lie in exchanges in which the parent actually assumes that the children have not done as they should – probably not too rare a context either – from which it may have generalised.

In the last handbook considered here, Wodroephe from 1625, there are ten instances in which yes is used after formally positive antecedents. Only in some of them, negative implicatures, which would motivate yes rather than yea, can be argued for. I discuss two examples in (24–25). In others, like in most from Bellot above, there are no obvious negative implicatures; examples are given in (26–27).

In (24), which displays many of the vocabulary building alternative phrasings typical for the model dialogues, a captain calls his "inferiour officers and souldjers" to issue marching orders. The officer, for whom this apparently happens completely out of the blue (cf. in what part must we goe? what sort of enemy? what sort of folks be they?) asks whether the enemy is so near, to which the captain replies using yes. On the basis of the officer's ignorance about the enemy, the captain may assume that the officer expected $\neg p$, i.e., that the enemy – of whom he was not even aware a minute ago – is not very near yet. In this interpretation, the epistemic implicature of the question is negative, which motivates the captain's yes.

- (24) C. My Lieutenant, mine Ensigne, my Serjeans, and my Corporals.
 - O. What doth it please you sir? will you have any thing?
 - C. I beleeue we must march, take our way, and make a voyage to morrow: that it behoues vs to beate to the fields one of these dayes, or very soone.
 - O. Sir where if it please you? in what part must we goe? march? take our iourney? or make our voyage?
 - C. Doe not you know? against the enemy, in the fields, in the champion field.
 - O. Sir, what sort of enemy? what sort of folkes be they?
 - C. The Spaniard, the Castilian, the Italian and the Albanians.
 - O. The ill man breake his armes, the head and the legges.
 - C. Amen, amen: so be it: so may it happen vnto him.
 - O. Sir, is he so neere? is hee so nigh? is hee verie neare?
 - C. Yes, yes: see here he is at hand: behold, he is here at our flankes: see here hee is behind vs: see here he is within a shot of a cannon, of a musket, of a harquebuse, of a pistol, to vs. (1625 Wodroephe)

In (25), we have two response particles, a 'normal' yea (25a) and a yes (25b) in the innovative use after positive antecedent. In this example, Henry is on his way to the Exchange, accompanied by his friend Thomas, to meet someone for business. Thomas asks whether Henry thinks he will find the person at the Exchange – a neutral question

This interpretation that the maid and the shopkeeper had originally not intended to sell the fabric for such a low price might be supported by the shopkeeper's subsequent words to the Lady: "Madame, I am content to lose in it, of the price that I sell it to others, in hope that you will buye of vs when you shall have need".

with no negative implicature, to which Henry replies with yea (25a). But Thomas is sceptical (cf. also the turns following (25b)) and asks whether Henry thinks that the person will keep the promise to meet him. This question might indicate to Henry that Thomas expects the person not to show up, i.e., not to keep the promise, and this negative epistemic implicature might be responsible for Henry's use of yes (25b) this time.

- (25) T Sir, what have you to doe at the Exchange, if it please you?
 - H Sir, I am to dispatch some businesse of mine.
 - T Sir, what businesse haue you there to bring to end?
 - H Sir, I am to speake to a friend for some worke of mine.
 - T Sir, thinke you to finde him there?
 - HYea (a) for sooth, for he did promise me so yesterday.
 - T On what side hath he assigned you to finde him?
 - H Where the Italians do walke, or there about.
 - T Think you that he wil keep his promise?
 - H, Yes (b) sir, for I take him to bee an honest man.
 - T. Who promises and keepes not is not to bee trust to.
 - H. Sir. you are in the right, but I trust to his.
 - T. Good God keepe mee from those in whom I trust, for I shall keepe me from those whom I mistrust.
 - H, Sir, he gaue me so good words, that I could not refraine but trust him
 - T. Doe not you know, that the wicked deedes, and the faire words, doe beguile the wise men so well as fooles?
 - H, Sir, I know it well, but if he strike me with his sword, Ile strike him againe with my scabbert. (1625 Wodroephe)

While in these attestations, the use of yes can be interpreted as reacting to the negative implicature of the antecedent, this is not the case in several other attestations from Wodroephe. (26) and (27), for instance, do not feature such implicatures. (26) is from the conversation between the burgher and the peasant again, like (18); (27) is between a servant (Rupsa) and his master (Torquato).

- (26) B. Haue you spanged my horses to the chariot? It was Sir I spanged them the other day for to carrie some flung, and some flungfill, for to leatest the land, the variet and the field. (1625 Worldwenie)
- (27) & Sin doth it please you to weare your Rapier and Pomard to day? 7: Yes, yes, giue me my Rapier and Poinard. (1625 Wodroegine)

To conclude, the pragmatic analysis of innovative uses of ves after formal positives suggests that in the beginning, this use is motivated by negative implicatures, which dominate in the earlier two handbooks. In the later handbooks, particularly in Erondell, negative implicatures are rarer, and yes seems to have extended to positive antecedents in general.

5. Conclusion and Outlook

This pilot study of yea and yes in Early Modern English model dialogues has confirmed that the frequency of yes as opposed to yea rises in the fifty years around 1600. By analysing the usage contexts formally with regard to their function and to the presence or absence of negative elements in the antecedent, I have found that the rise is due to the innovative use of yes in replies to formally positive antecedents, i.e., yes is increasingly used in contexts which formerly were reserved for yea (4.2).

To examine these contexts more closely, I have presented a qualitative analysis of examples of the innovative use of yes from a pragmatic perspective (4.3). I found that early attestations of yes after positives (in the two handbooks before 1600) predominantly involve antecedents which - despite their positive form - can be interpreted as carrying negative epistemic implicatures, as in But is it really so late? implicating 'I did not expect that it is so late'. These attestations of yes after formally positive but pragmatically negative antecedents suggest, in other words, that the interlocutors may have assumed the speakers of the antecedent to expect $\neg p$ (e.g., 'it is not so late') and that by using yes, they replied to this negative implicature.

The attestations are different in the post-1600 data: while the positive antecedents of yes here are still sometimes pragmatically negative, there are now many without such negative implicatures. This suggests that the innovative use of yes has generalised to antecedents which are not only formally, but also pragmatically positive. Formal positives with negative epistemic implicatures (but is it really so late?), as discussed in 4.3.2, may have been the bridging contexts which paved the way to this more generalised use after positive antecedents.

Since this is a pilot study based on only slightly more than 100 attestations from four different texts, these results are certainly preliminary, and will have to be checked with more material. What the pilot has definitely shown is that in investigating the changes in the distribution of YEA and YES, it is not enough to focus on the formal presence of negative elements in the antecedents, but we also need to take into account their pragmatics. Also, since the loss of YEA as a response particle from the standard seems to have happened so rapidly (there is no more yea in the model dialogues after 1625), it is rather likely that there was in fact variation already before the (mid-) sixteenth century. So we need to go back further in time, to investigate variation between YES and YEA in late Middle English. More generally, in addition to the micropragmatic perspective adopted in the pilot, it might be worth to explore the antecedents of the response particles also with regard to whether they are statements or questions: In the dataset of this pilot, only yea occurs after positive statements, while negative questions are followed exclusively by yes. This might have to do with the epistemic stance of the speakers of the preceding utterance towards their proposition. Another thing to consider in more detail are the collocations of the particles - very often, the reply does not consist in the particle alone, but in a combination with forsooth, truly, verily etc., or with an address term. Combinations with echo-type answers (e.g., yes forsooth I can) are rare in the pilot data, but reading through the model dialogues has revealed that there are several echo-type answers without response particle, particularly as replies to requests (e.g., Shew mee a peece of blacke veluet. – Well, I will). When and how does this strategy gain in frequency? What other response strategies are there and how are they distributed? Is there a research gap? Yea forsooth.

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"I'd walk a mile for a Camel": Travelling as a Motif in Brand Names

Elke Ronneberger-Sibold

1. Introduction

Being free to travel according to one's own free will is part of the basic human need for individual autonomy. Even people who are less fond of travelling than Hans Sauer enjoy watching films about foreign countries, looking at pictures of distant places or reading books about them. These invite them to dream of elegant white cruisers with even more elegant passengers, of exotic beaches with palm trees underneath a blue sky, of exciting adventures in the jungle or the desert, and so forth. Or they simply make them yearn for relaxing holidays in a Mediterranean country, enjoying nice food, good wine and the *dolce far niente*. In the following, such motifs are subsumed under associations of "travelling in the widest sense".

In advertisements, such associations are evoked not only for travel agencies, but also for products without any direct relation to travelling, such as food, drinks or tobacco. The slogan *I'd walk a mile for a Camel*, with its accompanying imagery of a lonesome wanderer overcoming various natural obstacles in a lush green wilderness is a case in point. The famous pictures of a cowboy smoking a Marlboro cigarette at the campfire, set against a stunning sunset, after having roamed the prairie all day long are another example.

Not only advertisements, but also brand names may be designed to evoke associations of this kind. In fact, a good brand name may be considered as a minimal text² which, in addition to identifying a product, conveys an extremely condensed advertising message. For instance, the picture of a determined unflinching traveller striving towards his goal even under difficult circumstances going along with the above Camel slogan is condensed in the name Camel. This name indeed refers to an extremely enduring animal endowed with an excellent sense of direction, which is traditionally used for long, adventurous journeys. Thus, the essential characteristics of the personality depicted in the advertising campaign are present in the product name Camel. The charm of such names consists in offering an imaginary identity to the potential customer, which is more exciting or glamorous than his or her own (cf. Ronneberger-Sibold 2012). This 'desired identity' constitutes the so-called secondary or additional benefit accompanying the primary benefit provided by the product itself. In times of saturated markets, this additional benefit is becoming increasingly

¹ Cf., e.g., Deci and Ryan (2008). "The right to freedom of movement and residence" is even included in the International Bill of Human Rights (Article 13).

Cf. Lenker (2018) on speech acts consisting of one word.