

Politeness reciprocity in Shakespeare's dialogue

The case of *thanks*

Jonathan Culpeper, Samuel J. Oliver and Vittorio Tantucci
Lancaster University

Recently, it has been proposed that (im)politeness in interaction today is governed in large part by a Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity (Culpeper and Tantucci 2021). This paper investigates whether politeness reciprocity works similarly in early modern English – specifically, in the plays of Shakespeare. Focussing on thanking behaviours, the questions of whether politeness reciprocity can be detected, and, if so, how social status might influence the nature of reciprocity, are addressed. The first part of the paper establishes that Early Modern English politeness behaviours were being discussed in terms associated with reciprocity (e.g., metaphors relating to balance and financial/commercial transactions). Then, all the instances of the two main thanking formula patterns (the verbal **FIRST PERSON PRONOUN + *thanks* + SECOND PERSON PRONOUN** and the nominal *thanks*) were extracted from thirty-eight plays attributed wholly or substantially to Shakespeare, and coded for a number of variables, including the weightiness of the gift for which thanks has been given, the amount of effort expended in performing thanks, and the social statuses of the Thanker and Thankee. The results show that reciprocity does govern thanking behaviours, and that social status licences imbalances in those behaviours. The paper also touches on conventionalisation.

Keywords: Early Modern English, politeness, reciprocity, Shakespeare, social status, thanks

1. Introduction

If anyone can be regarded as the founder of historical pragmatics, it is Andreas H. Jucker, and notably through his 1995 edited collection, *Historical Pragmatics*. Amidst his plentiful and rich publications, politeness has loomed large, as attested by his recent 2020 monograph, and Shakespeare has received attention (see, for

example, Jucker [2012]). In tune with this work, this article examines how politeness works in Shakespeare.

A recent paper focussing on (im)politeness in interaction, Culpeper and Tantucci (2021), proposes a Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity, which concerns the (mis)matching of (im)politeness across participants in interaction – something which can be construed in terms of an underlying debit–credit balance sheet. This principle is claimed to be driven by the moral order of the community in which it is exercised, and to be a fundamental mechanism in shaping (im)politeness in interaction and triggering the search for (im)politeness implicatures. Ours is not the first paper to consider reciprocity in historical contexts, although relevant literature is scant. Tantucci et al. (2018) examines the greeting expression *good morrow* in Early Modern English and its responses in terms of reciprocity. But that paper is narrowly focussed on one particular greeting and its responses. Our paper, whilst more narrowly focussed in its data – a corpus of Shakespeare's plays – takes a much broader perspective in examining politeness reciprocity across speech act exchanges, specifically relating to thanks. Our two key research questions are: (1) do thanking behaviours in Shakespeare's plays exhibit politeness reciprocity, and if so, in what way? and (2) is reciprocity in thanking behaviours in Shakespeare's plays influenced by social status, and if so, how? We will also briefly consider the role of conventionalisation.

This paper does not have a traditional structure, whereby relevant modern scholarship is laid out, then methods and data, followed by analysis, results and discussion. Whilst we do start with modern scholarship on (im)politeness reciprocity generally, the paper then addresses the *sine qua non* for the rest of the paper – namely, whether there is evidence of some kind of reciprocity principle in operation in Early Modern English, and, in particular, whether it is construed, metaphorically, in terms of money and commerce, and specifically as a kind of balance–sheet of debits and credits. We do this partly by drawing on modern scholarship, but also by examining contemporary metapragmatic comments. Then, we turn to our research questions, and start by outlining our data and method. Focussing on politeness, we examine all thanking expressions and their contexts in Shakespeare, including the weightiness of the gift that is receiving the thanks and the social statuses of Thanker and Thankee. Statistics are then used to reveal the functioning of reciprocity and the role of contextual features, and the results are discussed.

2. Reciprocity and (im)politeness

Reciprocity, as far as (im)politeness is concerned, focusses on the (mis)matching of (im)politeness across participants in interaction. Thus, a polite request might be met with polite compliance or polite refusal. The most extensive discussion of reciprocity in the context of pragmatics, and specifically (im)politeness, is Culpeper and Tantucci (2021). In this section, we outline key aspects of that study.

The idea of reciprocity in society is not new. Culpeper and Tantucci (2021) point to its presence in many religions and legal frameworks (as in dictums like “an eye for an eye”). And it has long been studied in anthropology and sociology, Gouldner (1960) being an important early statement. Gouldner (1960:170) suggests that the key to reciprocity is “a generalized moral norm [...] which defines certain actions and obligations as repayments for benefits received”. Morality, as several scholars have argued recently (e.g., Culpeper 2011:35–39, 59–62; Kádár 2017; Parvaresh and Tayebi 2018), is also important in understanding (im)politeness. For example, we may be polite because we feel that we *should* be polite in a particular context; and being polite in that context reinforces the norm that we should be polite in that context. In particular, morality is discussed by (im)politeness scholars in terms of a “moral order”, the “rule governed activities of everyday life” which people experience as “perceivedly normal courses of action” (Garfinkel 1964:2–5). Culpeper and Tantucci (2021:148) define a moral order as “a culture-specific ideology about what counts as right or wrong”. The cultural specificity of this notion is important, given that we will be discussing a cultural context that is chronologically remote from ours today.

Note also that the quotation from Gouldner (1960:170), in discussing “repayments”, adopts a commercial metaphor. This metaphor connects with (im)politeness scholarship. Some scholars (e.g., Watts 2003:115; Werkhofer 2005 [1992]:170–172, 182–187) have posited that politeness can be conceived of metaphorically as money, as a kind of social payment. More broadly, some (im)politeness models (e.g., Fraser and Nolan 1981; Leech 1983, 2014) adopt notions from economics or commerce (e.g., costs and benefits). Ohashi (2008:2163), probably the earliest paper to explicitly discuss politeness in terms of reciprocity, talks of participants observing a “debit credit equilibrium”, with a beneficiary deploying “linguistic devices such as thanking speech formula [sic], speech formulae for apology and benefactive verbs in compensating the imbalance symbolically”. However, it would be precipitous to assume that every culture conceives of (im)politeness in terms of commercial metaphors. This is something we will examine for the period in focus in this study.

Whilst morality is one of the key motivators of reciprocity and “politeness is money” is its substance, we need to consider what reciprocity is. Culpeper and Tantucci (2021) propose the Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity (PIR), which they intend to be similar to the sociopragmatic interactional principles proposed in Spencer-Oatey and Jiang (2003). Culpeper and Tantucci (2021: 150) define the PIR as:

[...] a constraint on human interaction such that there is pressure to match the perceived or anticipated (im)politeness of other participants, thereby maintaining a balance of payments.

(Im)politeness reciprocity is about maintaining a balance of payments, as when, for example, a politely formulated request makes a politeness credit that can be balanced by politely formulated compliance, or an impolitely formulated insult makes a debit that can be balanced by an impolitely formulated counter insult.

Observe the importance of the notion of “balance” to reciprocity. Culpeper and Tantucci (2021: 149–150) relate this to the cognitive notion of the “balance image schema” (Johnson 1987), which permeates everything from economics (e.g., “balance of payments”) to psychology (e.g., “balanced personality”). As Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 325) observe, moral concepts are usually couched in metaphorical terms, and maintaining “moral balance” “may universally be regarded as a good thing”, but “what gets balanced and precisely what it means to achieve balance may vary across cultures”. This is something that this study will consider.

3. (Im)politeness reciprocity in the context of early modern English

That reciprocity might be relevant to the workings of Early Modern English interaction in general, and Shakespeare in particular, has already been briefly hinted at by a number of scholars. Leech (2014: 291), in his work on the pragmatics of politeness, writes: “in Shakespeare’s day, as in earlier times, politeness was not just a unidirectional tribute paid by the lowly to the rich and powerful but also had a reciprocal element”. Tantucci et al. (2018) considered a dialogic construction consisting of the reciprocal greetings *good morrow*–*good morrow*. The interest here was to explore not just whether speakers did politeness work that achieved a reciprocal balance but the nature of that politeness work. They found that this greeting pair reached its reciprocal peak around 1600; in other words, if one speaker used the greeting *good morrow* to another, it was highly likely to be reciprocated. However, as we approach the middle of the seventeenth century, more creative non-reciprocal pairs emerged. They suggested that the reason for this

was because the more the response to *good morrow* became conventionalised and merely formulaic, so its ability to do politeness was diminished. Thus, the recipient of *good morrow* would creatively adapt the formula (e.g., “I wish you a thousand good morrows”) simply to maintain reciprocity. Conventionalisation will be an issue to which we return at the end of Section 6.

Social historians have also made observations on reciprocity. Bryson (1998:123) notes that even “before the sixteenth century there had undoubtedly been a strong transactional language of courtesy in, for example, reciprocal hospitality and present-giving” (see also Bryson [1998:124]). But it was the second half of the sixteenth century that saw a strong alignment between social relations and commerce. This was a period of dramatic economic change, and one in which a “consumer culture” took off (Thirsk 1978). The old idea of everyone being in their allotted place was being challenged by those who could accumulate money. The important point here is the broader impact that discussions of economy and commerce had on thinking, and especially thinking about social relations. There was a new idea that commerce could be the basis of sociability (e.g., Muldrew 1998; Richards 2003: Chapter 4). Indeed, thinking about social relations and their enactment in language began to be couched in terms of commerce. Stefano Guazzo, for example, wrote in his *Civile Conversation* of 1581 (p.8):

As money well employed, turneth both to the commoditie of him that receiueith it, and likewise of him that disburseth it: so woordes well considered, bring prefitte to the hearer, and prayse to the speaker. And as out of one purse are drawen diuerse kindes of coyne, as of golde, siluer, and baser mettall: so out of the mouth procéde sentences and woordes of different value.

The idea that “sentences and woordes” have different values is central to the notion of (im)politeness, given that there is agreement that (im)politeness involves evaluations (e.g., Eelen 2001; Spencer-Oatey 2005; Haugh 2014; Culpeper and Tantucci 2021). This commercial language is a key part of the metalanguage of reciprocity, the language that is used to talk about reciprocity. As we will illustrate later, and picking up on the use/mention distinction, also observe that, like (im)politeness metalanguage more broadly, “mention” of reciprocity and related aspects (i.e., reciprocity metalanguage) can be used to “do” reciprocity. For example, putting it on the record that you are “indebted” to someone else, thereby incurring a cost to the self, actually contributes to the reciprocal rebalancing relative to the person one is indebted to.

The value of “polite” words and sentences varies according to who is saying them, and especially their social status. Bryson (1998:168) writes that whilst “paying lavish compliments and respects imposes an obligation to a similar response”, that response is influenced by the status of the interlocutor. This is an

important point. Culpeper and Tantucci (2021) stress repeatedly that the application of the PIR is context-sensitive. In particular, they point to the general importance of power relations. Thomas (2018: 70) states that polite or courteous behaviour was a necessity to gain advancement in society, and quotes a writer who deploys metaphors of commerce: “‘Civil courtesy,’ claimed a writer in 1577, would enable men ‘to purchase worthy praise of their inferiors, and estimation and credit among their betters’”. Note that the whole idea of “credit”, social advancement, through “civil courtesy” rests on the idea of a social debit–credit balance sheet upon which the mechanism of reciprocity would operate. Thomas (2018: 191), discussing how commerce and trading had been seen as the impetus for the “civilisation” process, quotes Bernard Mandeville, writing in the eighteenth century, who “thought that ‘the whole superstructure’ of civil society was ‘made up of the reciprocal services which men do to each other’”. In a similar vein to Bryson (1998), Thomas (2018: 69–73 *et passim*) emphasises that the status of the interlocutors would determine the behaviour shown to them. He quotes the Marquess of Halifax, writing in the seventeenth century, who states that there was “nothing more unmannerly than to be civil to everybody alike” (Thomas 2018: 66). Social status and its role in reciprocity is a particular feature we will examine in Shakespeare’s plays.

Shakespeare, of course, was writing at a point when these developments were in full flood yet still fresh. Oliver (2022) explores hundreds of lexical items which are used to evaluate (im)politeness in a corpus of Shakespeare’s plays, dividing these lexical items up into five semantic groups with both politeness and impoliteness polarities. One such group is GENEROSITY–HARM, which is defined as follows:

Adopting the notions of a cost-benefit analysis from Leech (1983) and a debit-credit balance sheet from Culpeper & Tantucci (2021), the GENEROSITY–HARM category can be defined as a category of metalanguage labels which appeal to the conceptualisation of acts of (im)politeness as a form of transaction involving costs and benefits, drawing attention to the recipient of the behaviour as well as the agent, and all of this is backgrounded by the sense that there exists an ongoing ‘debit-credit balance sheet’ of (im)politeness. (Oliver 2022: 13)

The GENEROSITY polarity of the category includes lexemes such as *favour*, *charity*, *bounty*, *generous*, *attentive*, and so on, and the HARM polarity includes lexemes such as *offend*, *abuse*, *injury*, *evils*, *cruelty*, and so on. These items are frequently used in metaphors of commerce, suggesting that social exchange is at least some of the time conceptualised as a form of commercial exchange. This emerges in instances from Shakespeare’s plays, as shown in Examples (1) and (2), where commercial metaphors are underlined, and GENEROSITY–HARM items are shown in boldface.

- (1) Prithee peace: pay her the debt you owe her, and unpay the **villainy** you have done her: the one you may do with sterling money, & the other with current repentance. (Henry IV, Part II, 2.1)

- (2) Lord 1: [...] Come shall we in,
And taste Lord Timon's **bounty**: he outgoes
The very heart of **kindness**.
Lord 2: He pours it out: Plutus the God of Gold
Is but his Steward: no meed but he repays
Sevenfold above itself: No gift to him,
But breeds the giver a return: exceeding
All use of quittance. (Timon of Athens, 1.1)

Two lexical items which frequently manifest this metaphor in these instances are *debt* and *pay*. Indeed, in Shakespeare's plays, *debt* is frequently used in a metaphorical sense, often to refer to social exchange, as in Example (3), where the speaker explains that they will be infinitely in debt for nine months of hospitality.

- (3) Nine Changes of the Watery Star hath been
The Shepherd's Note, since we have left our Throne
Without a Burden: Time as long again
Would be filled up (my Brother) with our Thanks,
And yet we should, for perpetuity,
Go hence in debt (A Winter's Tale, 1.2)

4. A note on thanking

Our focus on thanking exchanges is not incidental. One of the earliest papers on politeness reciprocity, Ohashi (2008), also focusses on thanking. Descriptions of thanking in English put the idea of the speaker's indebtedness at their centre. That indebtedness is the result of being the recipient of gifts, hospitality, services, compliments, well-wishes, offers, and so on (see Aijmer [2014 (1996): 68]). Henceforth, we will use "gift" as a cover term for all such. Searle's (1969: 63) speech act rules state that the act of thanking involves a speaker expressing gratitude for a past act that benefits the speaker. Brown and Levinson (1987: 210) state that "expressing thanks puts S on record in accepting a debt". Jautz (2013), probably the most extensive treatment of thanking in English today, confirms that thanking threatens the speaker's face more than the hearer's.

These elements also accompany prototypical thanking in Early Modern English. This is well illustrated in Example (4), taken from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, where Petruchio articulates the nature of thanking in his battle to extract thanks from Katherine (also, note the commercial/financial language).

- (4) *Petruchio*: Pluck up thy spirits, look cheerfully upon me.
 Here Love, thou seest how diligent I am,
 To dress thy meat myself, and bring it thee.
 I am sure sweet Kate, this kindness merits thanks.
 What, not a word? Nay then, thou lovest it not:
 And all my pains is sorted to no proof.
 Here take away this dish.
- Katherine*: I pray you let it stand.
- Petruchio*: The poorest service is repaid with thanks,
 And so shall mine before you touch the meat.
- Katherine*: I thank you sir. (*The Taming of the Shrew*, 4.3)

The study of thanking in Early Modern English is not particularly well-served by scholarship. Jacobsson (2002) is perhaps the best-known paper, but there is also El-Mahallawi (2018) and Taavitsainen and Jucker (2020: 116–120). As these publications attest, overwhelmingly in this period there were two basic thanking expressions. One involves a verbal pattern, FIRST PERSON PRONOUN + *thanks* + SECOND PERSON PRONOUN (as illustrated in the final turn of Example [4]), and the other a nominal one, *thanks* (e.g., “Thanks, Theseus”, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 2.5). Our study focusses exclusively on these patterns, which, following Blum-Kulka et al. ([eds] 1989), we treat as “headacts”. Such headacts can be more creatively intensified or boosted, as Jacobsson (2002: 68) notes. Sometimes that might involve the addition of an adverb or adjective (e.g., “I humbly thank you” [*Measure for Measure*, 2.1]; “Hearty thanks” [*King Lear*, 4.5]), and sometimes something more elaborate (“I thank your pretty sweet wit for it” [*Henry IV, Part 2*, 1.2]; “I take my leave with many thousand thanks” [*Henry VI, Part 3*, 3.2]). In addition, there can be “support moves” (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989), material supporting the headacts. These, most commonly, are: (a) an explicit acknowledgment of the gift, its positive value and/or goodness of the person who gave it (e.g., “I thank you for this comfort” [*Measure for Measure*, 3.1]), and (b) a positive vocative (e.g., “Thanks gentle Duke” [*Henry VI, Part I*, 3.2]).

5. Data and method

This study used the Enhanced Shakespearean Corpus (ESC) produced by the Encyclopedia of Shakespeare's Language project,¹ specifically, the ESC: First Folio Plus. The ESC: First Folio Plus includes the plays of the First Folio (1623), *Pericles* (Quarto 1) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Quarto 1). The resulting thirty-eight plays, totalling 1,038,509 words, represent what is generally thought of as Shakespeare's canon. Of course, this is not a claim that Shakespeare was the sole author of every play; collaborative works were common at the time. The base texts were original-spelling texts which were kindly supplied by Internet Shakespeare Editions. As fully detailed in Culpeper et al. (2021), it is the enrichment through annotation/tagging that merits the label "enhanced" in the corpus title. Aside from spelling regularisation achieved with the program Variant Detector (VARD), the ESC is tagged for parts of speech using an adjusted version of the program Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System (CLAWS),² and then followed by a manual check on all texts in the ESC. Of particular relevance to this paper is the fact that the ESC has also been annotated for speakers' sex and social status, and other speaker characteristics. The social status categorisation scheme drew upon the approach developed by Archer and Culpeper (2003). The social hierarchy is as follows (the numbers in round brackets refer to the codes we use for the statuses in this study): monarchy (8) > nobility (7) > gentry (6) > professional (5) > other middling groups (4) > ordinary commoners (3) > lowest groups (2). Sensitive to the fact that we are working with fictional data, we added a "supernatural beings" category (1) to account for more than forty ghosts, gods, fairies, etc., in the plays.³

We retrieved instances of gift-giving and thanks from our corpus data by searching for the verbal and nominal formal thanking patterns discussed in the previous section. Of course, this does not take account of more indirect, periphrastic ways of expressing gratitude. However, these are relatively rare; indeed, they were too rare for useful quantification (Jacobsson 2002:67).⁴ Our

1. See: <http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/shakespearelang/>.

2. See: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/claws>.

3. In fact, in Archer and Culpeper (2003) the social hierarchy ranged from "0" to "7". For statistical convenience, we started our range at "1" and also reversed the order. In this way, higher status characters would receive a higher score rather than a lower one.

4. We did, in fact, pilot an alternative method. We searched for *thank* in the *Historical Thesaurus of English*. This returned category 02.04.18, "Gratitude", which includes categories of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, etc., relating to gratitude and giving thanks in the history of English. These returned an unmanageable number of hits. More particularly, it was clear that many of the formulae were not actually relevant to the speech act of thanking. For example, I

search strings were: "I * * *thank*" and "thanks". The asterisks (wildcards) at the beginning and end of the word *thank* allow for morphological variation (in practice, the initial asterisk, revealing but few words, such as *unthankful*, was of little consequence and was excluded from the main study). The varying number of asterisks between *I* and *thank* (up to three) accommodated the presence of adverbs such as *humbly*. The presence of the first-person singular pronoun at the beginning of the formula served two purposes. It helped concentrate results on: (a) somebody actually performing thanks, rather than, for example, discussing thanks in general; and (b) single speakers rather than groups (given our interests in social status, it would not have been possible to track the varying social statuses of the speakers comprising a group). The search string "I * * *thank*" generated 248 tokens of 22 different types; the search string "thanks" generated 180 tokens of one type. Eight tokens overlapped between the two search terms, and in total there were 420 unique tokens.

The examples were downloaded from CQPWeb and placed into an Excel spreadsheet. Not least for practical reasons and to create a cohesive dataset, we decided to focus on genuine thanks between actual characters present in a particular situation. This meant removing instances of: (1) insincere thanking, (2) multiple Thankees, and (3) relay thanks. Insincere thanking included, for instance, individuals thanking god or inanimate entities, hypothetical and conditional thanks, and instances where the thanks was negative (e.g., "I thank you not") or sarcastic. For instance, in Example (5), from *Much Ado About Nothing*, Leonato sarcastically thanks Claudio and Don Pedro for their supposed involvement in his daughter's death:

- (5) *Leonato*: No, not so villain, thou beliest thyself, Here stand a pair of
honourable men, A third is fled that had a hand in it: I thank you
Princes for my daughter's death, Record it with your high and
worthy deeds, 'Twas bravely done, if you bethink you of it.
(*Much Ado About Nothing*, 5.1)

Including thanks to or between groups (i.e., multiple Thankees) would have presented severely complex issues with tracking social statuses. In *Pericles*, King Simonides holds a tournament with knights. In a feast following the tournament, he says "Thanks, gentlemen, to all; all have done well" (*Pericles*, 2.3). We do not know exactly the social statuses of all the "gentlemen", nor do we know the debit-credit pertaining to each individual. And perhaps the speech act itself is not of the same order as thanks from one character to another for a service or

ought, I acknowledge, I will have mercy, I do acknowledge, and so on, were more broadly used to refer to what "I" should or should not do, etc., and not performances of gratitude.

gift provided. Finally, we excluded relay thanks involving some kind of messenger relaying the thanks. These always allow the possibility of ambiguity in the Thankee between the messenger as Thankee and the eventual target of thanks. For instance, in Example (6), from *Macbeth*, a messenger sends thanks to Macbeth from the King (and the thanks is also pre-emptive as part of a request for Macbeth to become present).

- (6) We are sent,
 To give thee from our Royal Master thanks,
 Only to herald thee into his sight,
 Not pay thee. (*Macbeth*, 1.3)

A total of 252 instances were removed, and 168 concordance lines remained. What these numbers caution is that our paper focusses on a core of thanking activity: genuine thanks between actual characters. We cannot claim to be accounting for *all* thanking activity in Shakespeare. Needless to say, these excluded items would merit further study.

The remaining concordance lines were coded by two of the authors for several factors:

- Whether the gift was minor or major;
- The character name and social status of who was doing the thanking (the Thanker);
- The character name and social status of who was being thanked (the Thankee);
- Whether the head act was verbal ‘thanks’ or nominal;
- The presence of any boosters; and,
- The presence of any support moves.

The categorisation of the gift as minor or major departs from previous classifications, notably that of Aijmer (2014 [1996]: 66–74), which revolves around whether the gift is material or not (Jacobsson [2002] follows Aijmer). What matters in our study is the weightiness of the gift and consequently the debt incurred, and hence our categories were minor and major gifts. An example of a minor gift would be a greeting or invitation for supper; an example of a major gift would be a pledge of allegiance or soldiers to the recipient’s cause. There were instances that were borderline, and these were all discussed by both coders. For these borderline cases, one key factor was whether the gift was important with respect to the plot of the play; if so, it would be coded as major. All early codings were checked for possible drift during coding, and all codings were re-checked for consistency.

As we mentioned, our research questions are to assess whether and how thanking behaviours in Shakespeare’s plays exhibit politeness reciprocity and, if

so, whether and how social status affects (im)polite (im)balances of reciprocity. To do this, we fitted a mixed effects linear regression model (see Baayen [2008]) to predict the degree of *effort* that Thankers would make to reciprocate the gift received from the Thankees. Effort values ranged from “0” to “2”. A “0” was ascribed to instances of the plain thanking head act without either boosters or support moves; 1 was ascribed to instances of the thanking head act with either boosters or support moves; 2 was ascribed to instances of the thanking head act with both boosters and support moves (examples of thanking differing in terms of effort are given in the following section). Examples (7) to (10), repeating and augmenting examples in Section 4, illustrate differing types of effortful, longer thanking acts.

(7) *Claudio*: I humbly thank you. (*Measure for Measure*, 3.1)

(8) *Lady Grey*: I take my leave with many thousand thanks.
(*Henry VI, Part III*, 3.2)

(9) *Claudio*: Most holy Sir, I thank you. (*Measure for Measure*, 3.1)

(10) *Talbot*: Thanks gentle Duke (*Henry VI, Part 1*, 3.2)

Example (7), modelled on the basic verbal formula, is internally boosted by the adverb *humbly*, whilst Example (8), modelled on the basic nominal formula, is internally boosted by the quantifier *many thousand*. Example (9) contains the basic verbal formula amplified by the support move *Most holy Sir*, whilst Example (10) contains the basic nominal formula amplified by the support move *gentle Duke*.

The predictors of the model were:

- The *magnitude* of the gift (minor or major);
- The *number of words* in the Thanker's utterance (this captures, principally, the difference between the verbal thanking pattern and the more minimalist nominal pattern); and,
- The *social status* of both interactants which was also fitted as a continuous variable, ranging from 1 to 8.

We chose the play scene as a random effect.

6. Analysis and findings

6.1 Reciprocity and social power

Our full results are presented in Appendix A, and key findings are presented in this section. The first positive coefficient in the Fixed effects section is the gift's magnitude, ($\beta = 0.17$, $t = 1.8$, $p < 0.1$). This is an important finding as it means that gifts of greater magnitude would lead to higher degree of effort made by the Thanker to reciprocate the gift; in other words, politeness reciprocity is in action. A similar trend can be seen for the number of words in the head act. This is not entirely surprising, as aside from the length difference of the verbal and nominal patterns, the addition of boosters and/or support moves reflecting a higher degree of thanking effort would correspond to longer head act lengths ($\beta = 0.06$, $t = 2.03$, $p < 0.05$). Finally, and importantly, the higher the Thanker's status, the lower the effort made to reciprocate the gift ($\beta = 0.014$, $t = 0.46$, $p < 0.1$). This indicates that socially powerful Thankers would feel comparatively less pressure to linguistically reciprocate the present that they received. In Example (11), the interaction is between a Queen and her servant. Cleopatra acknowledges her indebtedness, but ultimately the thanking expression is simply *thanks*.

- (11) *Cleopatra*: Dolabella, I shall remain your debtor.
Dolabella: I your Servant:
 Adieu good Queen, I must attend on Caesar.
 [Exit]
Cleopatra: Farewell, and thanks. (Antony and Cleopatra, 5.2)

In Example (12), the social gap between Macbeth, a king, and the murderer residing at the bottom of the social hierarchy (and arguably not even on the first rung) is even wider.

- (12) 1 *Murderer*: Aye, my good Lord: safe in a ditch he bides,
 With twenty trenched gashes on his head;
 The least a Death to Nature.
Macbeth: Thanks for that: [...] (Macbeth, 3.2)

The First Murderer affirms to Macbeth that Banquo is dead, and having performed that act for Macbeth is a significant "gift" by any account. However, again, the thanking expression is a minimal *thanks*. The power of the royal Thanker may explain the minimal effort expended in thanking, though in this particular case Macbeth's thanks may partly be muted by the fact that Fleance escaped – in other words, the "gift" is not as complete as it could or should have been.

It is important to remark that this latter trend regarding the status of the Thanker, like that for magnitude, should be treated with some caution, as it was very marginally above significance (see Nuzzo [2014] for a critique of the dogmatic understanding of absolute null hypothesis thresholds). One possible explanation of this “barely significant” trend could be the relatively limited size of our dataset. Whilst these data cannot clearly be expanded – since all the thanking acts present in the Shakespearian plays are included in this study – the effect sizes of the model show a coherent and clear picture of thanking behaviour in Shakespeare's discourse, as increasing slopes for magnitude and head act length combine with a decreasing one of Thankers' social status. These findings are visualised in Figure 1.

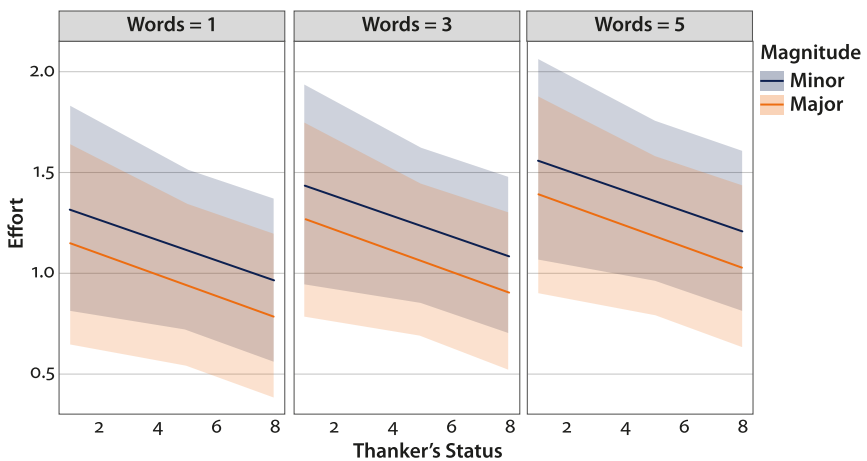


Figure 1. Predicted values of Thankers' effort to reciprocate Thankees' gifts

Figure 1 plots the predicted slopes for the degree of effort made by Thankers depending on their status, the magnitude of the gift and the number of words in the head act. The prediction clearly points to a decreasing effort made by socially powerful Thankers, with higher intercepts (the starting point of the slopes on the y axis) in the presence of major gifts and longer head acts. This clearly shows that power inhibits reciprocity; or, put another way, power licenses imbalances in reciprocity.

6.2 A close-up on the dynamics of thanking interactions

To achieve a more fine-grained understanding of types of thanking exchange, we also fitted a network to all the thanking exchanges in the corpus, as shown in Figure 2.

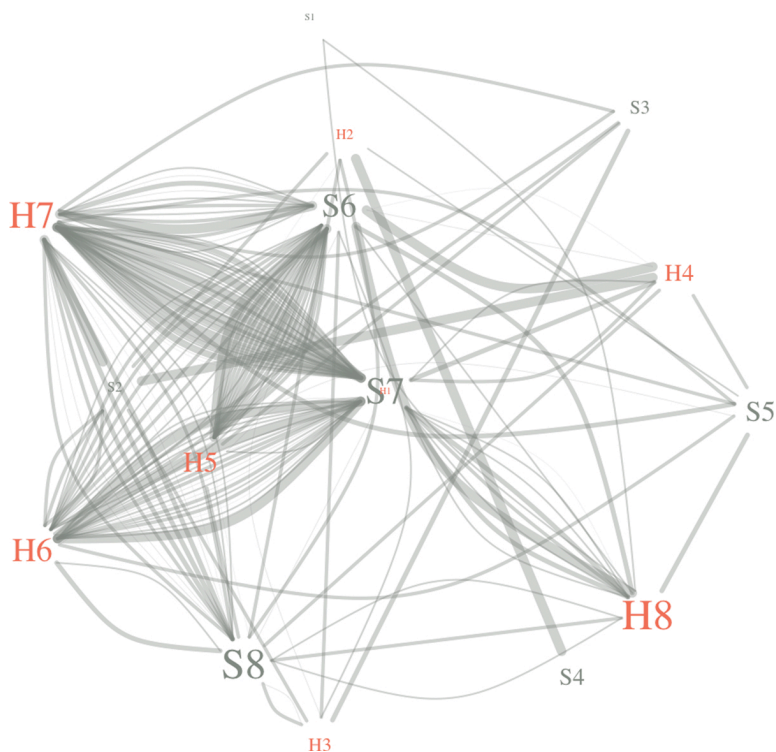


Figure 2. Social Network of all the thanking exchanges in the corpus (S = Speaker [i.e., Thanker]; H = Hearer [i.e., Thankee]; 8 = Monarchy; 7 = Nobility; 6 = Gentry; 5 = Professional; 4 = Other Middling Groups; 3 = Ordinary Commoners; 2 = Lower Groups; Supernatural Beings [e.g., ghosts = 1])

Each link in the network corresponds to a thanking utterance and runs unidirectionally from the Speaker S (the Thanker) to the Hearer H (the Thankee). Each link is weighted based on the degree of thanking effort multiplied by the scaled magnitude of the gift and the scaled number of words in the head act, so that the higher the effort the thicker the tie. The label colours differentiate speakers S (grey) from hearers H (red), whilst the increasing size of the number of each label corresponds to higher social status (e.g., S8 and H8 are the largest, whereas S1 and H1 are the smallest). What is novel about this representation technique is the combination of data-driven statistics together with the visual identification of every single speech event of interest in the corpus, in our case thanking exchanges. This provides a holistic visualisation of all the thanking behaviour in Shakespearian plays and can be ultimately considered both quantitative and qualitative in nature, as specific utterances of interest can be easily identified, retrieved and discussed in relation to the context of use.

Regarding Figure 2, and tangentially relevant to this study, is the fact that characters of similar social status interact frequently together – S7 with H7, S6 with H5, S7 with H6, and so on – and that the bulk of interactions take place amongst mid to high (but not the very highest) socially ranked characters. But there are outliers. S1 (at the top of the Figure) is linked to H8, and concerns one instance of a monarch (Rank 8), Prospero, thanking a supernatural being (Rank 1), Ariel. This comes from *The Tempest*, in a dynamic illustrating that supernatural beings are outside the normal social hierarchy. The one instance can be seen in Example (13).

- (13) *Prospero*: Come with a thought; I thank thee *Ariel*: come.
 [Enter Ariel.]
Ariel: Thy thoughts I cleave to, what's thy pleasure?
 (*The Tempest*, 4.1)

Prospero appears to be pre-emptively thanking Ariel for coming when he orders, and perhaps even thanks her to goad her in. A command in the form of a pre-emptive thanks would potentially be salient for a monarch when addressed to anyone of a lower social status. Ariel is bound to Prospero and follows his orders, but it is clear that this is due to her own debt to Prospero for freeing her from the witch Sycorax before the events of the play. She even offers her own thanks in the play when reminded of this by Prospero, as seen in Example (14).

- (14) *Prospero*: [...] it was mine Art, When I arrived, and heard thee, that made
 gape The Pine, and let thee out.
Ariel: I thank thee Master.
 (*The Tempest*, 1.2)

However, this power dynamic is less fixed than is the usual social hierarchy. Ariel references Prospero's promise to free her from his command throughout the play, and eventually is freed. Prior to (and prompting the reminder), Ariel petitions for her liberty, in Example (15).

- (15) *Ariel*: Is there more toil? Since thou dost give me pains, Let me
 remember thee what thou hast promised, Which is not yet
 performed me.
Prospero: How now? moody? What is it thou canst demand?
Ariel: My Liberty.
 (*The Tempest*, 1.2)

The unusual power dynamic might explain why their thanking behaviours are identical: both use the form *I thank thee* with each other, with Ariel only adding a deferential term of address, *Master*.

Another important and highly relevant observation to make of Figure 2, reinforcing a point made earlier, is that higher-ranked speakers expend less thanking effort (as represented by the thickness of the links) than lower-ranked speakers. For example, the links flowing from S8 (monarchy) are all relatively thin. This contrasts noticeably with S2 (lower groups) and S4 (middling groups), which have a predominance of thicker links. There are thick links emanating from S7 (nobility) and S6 (gentry) too, but, as we have noted, such characters participate in a high number of interactions, and so those thick links do not predominate, relatively speaking.

6.3 A note on reciprocity and conventionalisation

A final dimension of reciprocity that needs to be mentioned is conventionalisation. When expressions become conventionalised, they become part of expected behaviour in some situation (see Terkourafi [2005]; Haugh [2007]). This is generally geared towards normatively polite or politic interaction (see Watts [2003], see also Culpeper and Tantucci [2021] on normal *versus* extra politeness), although tendencies towards conventionalised impoliteness are also attested (Culpeper 2011). What is key about this is that ad hoc efforts made to produce reciprocity imbalances or rebalance them – whether towards a distinctive surplus of politeness or impoliteness – involve creativity (Tantucci et al. 2018), as they often deviate from conventionally expected and/or formulaic behaviour. Our dataset was no exception in this respect. Figure 3 displays our conventionalised thanking formulae and the extent to which they are internally modified or externally supported.

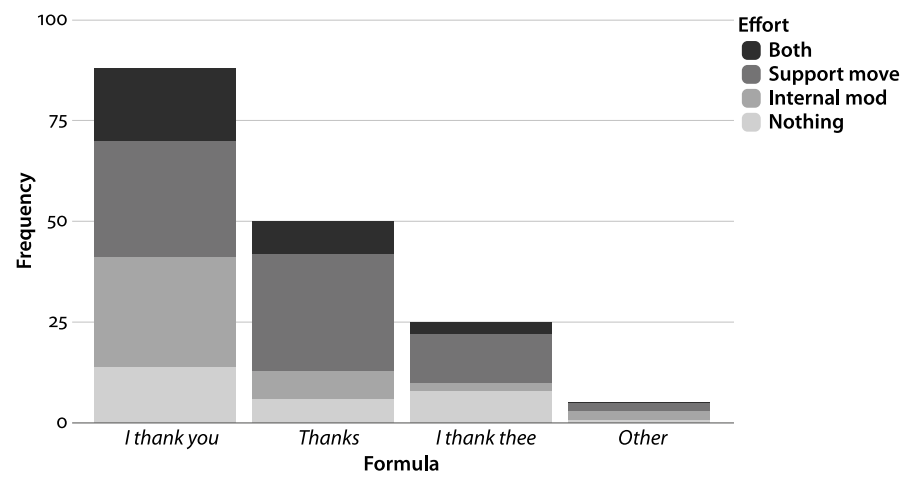


Figure 3. Formulaic behaviour and Thankers' effort to reciprocate Thankees' gifts

On the x axis of Figure 3 are the three most frequent thanking formulae in the corpus (*I thank you*, *Thanks* and *I thank thee*), as well as a fourth column including much less conventionalised thanking utterances labelled "Other".⁵ The y axis accounts for raw frequency of use, while darker shades of colour express degrees of effort made by Thankers to reciprocate Thankees' gifts. As we mentioned in Section 5, these could involve Nothing, a Support move, some Internal modification, or both.⁶ It is important to note that conventionalised formulae rarely appear without additional "creative" effort made in order to reciprocate the gift. This is evident once we compare the light-grey portion at the bottom of the bars (involving no additional effort made to reciprocate the gifts) with other ad hoc strategies that are geared towards extra politeness in achieving reciprocity (i.e., the darker portions). This supports what is assumed by the Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity, as it predicts that reciprocity requires ad hoc creativity to produce extra politeness – that is to say, a marked effort to reciprocate "more" when more than a minimal gift (incurring a higher debt) is received. The fact that plain basic formulaic behaviour (very light-grey bar portions) is very infrequent in Shakspearian plays may, of course, be due or partly due to the fictional nature of the interactions, which were designed, amongst other things, to entertain the audience rather than simply represent the boring everyday of social "normality" – hence one might expect more creativity. Even so, as we see, the Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity here is still at work. What is of interest in this study was not whether characters would use conventionalised formulae or not, but the degree to which they would make a creative effort to do more in the pursuit of reciprocity.

7. Conclusions

Importantly, in the process of deriving our findings, we have demonstrated an innovative method, bringing together pragmatics, corpus data and sophisticated statistical modelling. Having introduced the notion of (im)politeness reciprocity, we laid the ground for our study by showing that contemporary Early Modern thinking about politeness was infused with the fundamental ingredients for reciprocity – namely, the metaphorical conceptualisation of polite behaviours as items

5. The first two, *I thank you* and *I thank thee*, are of course both part of the verbal thanking pattern. In our study, we did in fact track the use of *you* and *thou* forms separately, but their effect on reciprocity could not be discerned.

6. Bear in mind that Support move and Internal modification were considered to be equally important in our annotation scheme.

of value, just like money, and the need to keep interactions between people in balance, just as one would with financial credits and debits in a balance sheet. Our first research question was: do thanking behaviours in Shakespeare's plays exhibit politeness reciprocity, and if so, in what way? We confirmed that this is indeed the case: the higher the magnitude of the gift, the stronger the effort produced by the Thankers. This result was also strengthened by the fact that the number of words of the act of thanking increased in tandem with the effort. Our second research question was: is reciprocity in thanking behaviours in Shakespeare's plays influenced by social status, and if so, how? We confirmed that this is indeed the case: the higher the social status of the Thankers, the lower the effort made to reciprocate the gift. Power is key to licensing imbalances of reciprocity.

The fact that in early modern data we found politeness reciprocity to be in operation and that power licenses imbalances, as has been argued for the present day (Culpeper and Tantucci 2021), may suggest that reciprocity conforms to the Uniformitarian Principle (Traugott 2017), according to which "the linguistic processes taking place around us are the same as those that have operated to produce the historical record" (Labov 1972: 101). Such a view of uniformitarianism assumes the "cognitive invariance" hypothesis that human cognition is stable through time (Winters 2010: 16). What this means for the account here is that, while degrees and kinds of power imbalances will always vary diachronically, the very process of increasing power leading to a decrease in reciprocity (and vice versa) can be expected to be at work in every stage of socio-cultural evolution.

We also touched on the topic of conventionalisation. Simple, formulaic verbal or nominal thanking expressions do occur, but they are frequently boosted creatively. This is of no surprise because gifts are not uniformly minimal, and when more than a minimal gift is given, the Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity would predict that more than a minimal thanking response is required. However, we did also note that the particular frequency with which creative boosting occurs in our data may in part reflect the fact that it is fictional – creativity is entertaining.

Of course, caveats must be made and limitations acknowledged. We have only looked at a single speech act, that of thanking. We would predict that (im)politeness reciprocity would be found for other speech acts, too. We have limited ourselves to the words and fictional worlds of Shakespeare's plays. It certainly cannot be taken as a given that all behavioural interactions in Early Modern England are governed by (im)politeness reciprocity, though we would predict this to be the case. Finally, the principle of (im)politeness reciprocity covers both politeness and impoliteness. Here, we have only explored early modern politeness, but we would predict that reciprocity also governs impoliteness. It remains for future research to put these predictions to the test. Finally, we would certainly

acknowledge that there is more to be said about (im)politeness reciprocity in Shakespeare's plays specifically. In particular, how reciprocity works at a finer level of granularity could be explored.

Funding

Open Access publication of this article was funded through a Transformative Agreement with Lancaster University.

References

- Aijmer, Karin. 2014 [1996]. *Conversational Routines in English: Convention and Creativity*. (Second edition.) London and New York: Routledge.
- Archer, Dawn and Jonathan Culpeper. 2003. "Sociopragmatic Annotation: New Directions and Possibilities in Historical Corpus Linguistics". In Andrew Wilson, Paul Rayson and Tony McEnery (eds), *Corpus Linguistics by the Lune: A Festschrift for Geoffrey Leech*, 37–58. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Baayen, R. H. 2008. *Analyzing Linguistic Data: A Practical Introduction to Statistics Using R*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511801686>
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper (eds). 1989. *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Bryson, Anna. 1998. *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198217657.001.0001>
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813085>
- Culpeper, Jonathan. 2011. *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511975752>
- Culpeper, Jonathan and Vittorio Tantucci. 2021. "The Principle of (Im)politeness Reciprocity". *Journal of Pragmatics* 175: 146–164. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.01.008>
- Culpeper, Jonathan, Andrew Hardie, Jane Demmen, Jennifer Hughes and Matt Timperley. 2021. "Supporting the Corpus-based Study of Shakespeare's Language: Enhancing a Corpus of the First Folio". *ICAME Journal* 45 (12): 37–86.
<https://doi.org/10.2478/icame-2021-0002>
- Eelen, Gino. 2001. *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing.
- El-Mahallawi, Basma Mahmoud Mohamed. 2018. "The Use of Thanking Expressions and their Intensifiers from Early Modern to Present Day English." *FJHJ (Journal of Arts and Humanities, Minia University)* 86 (4): 903–920. https://journals.ekb.eg/article_174628.html
- Fraser, Bruce and William Nolan. 1981. "The Association of Deference with Linguistic Form". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 27: 93–109.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl.1981.27.93>

- Garfinkel, Harold. 1964. "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities". *Social Problems* 11 (3): 225–250. <https://doi.org/10.2307/798722>
- Gouldner, Alvin W. 1960. "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement". *American Sociological Review* 25 (2): 161–178. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2092623>
- Guazzo, Stefano. 1581. *The ciuile conuersation of M. Steuen Guazzo written first in Italian, and nowe translated out of French by George Pettie, deuided into foure books [...]*. London: Richard Watkins.
- Haugh, Michael. 2007. "The Co-constitution of Politeness Implicature in Conversation". *Journal of Pragmatics* 39 (1): 84–110. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2006.07.004>
- Haugh, Michael. 2014. *Im/politeness Implicatures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jacobsson, Mattias. 2002. "Thank You and Thanks in Early Modern English". *ICAME Journal* 26: 63–80.
- Jautz, Sabine. 2013. *Thanking Formulae in English: Explorations across Varieties and Genres*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.230>
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Reason and Imagination*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226177847.001.0001>
- Jucker, Andreas H. 2012. "What's in a Name?: Names and Terms of Address in Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet". In Sarah Chevalier and Thomas Honegger (eds), *Words, Words, Words: Philology and Beyond: Festschrift for Andreas Fischer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, 77–97. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Jucker, Andreas H. (ed.). 1995. *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.35>
- Jucker, Andreas H. 2020. *Politeness in the History of English: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108589147>
- Kádár, Dániel Z. 2017. *Politeness, Impoliteness and Ritual: Maintaining the Moral Order in Interpersonal Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781107280465>
- Labov, William. 1972. "Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology". *Language in Society* 1 (1): 97–120. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500006576>
- Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Leech, Geoffrey N. 2014. *The Pragmatics of Politeness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195341386.001.0001>
- Muldrew, Craig. 1998. *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-26879-5>
- Nuzzo, Regina. 2014. "Scientific Method: Statistical Errors". *Nature News* 506 (7487): 150–152. <https://doi.org/10.1038/506150a>
- Ohashi, Jun. 2008. "Linguistic Rituals for Thanking in Japanese: Balancing Obligations". *Journal of Pragmatics* 40 (12): 2150–2174. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.04.001>
- Oliver, Samuel J. 2022. "A Corpus-based Approach to (Im)politeness Metalanguage: A Case Study on Shakespeare's Plays". *Journal of Pragmatics* 199: 6–20.
- Parvaresh, Vahid and Tahmineh Tayebi. 2018. "Impoliteness, Aggression and the Moral Order". *Journal of Pragmatics* 132: 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2018.05.010>

- Richards, Jennifer. 2003. *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511483912>
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139173438>
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen D.M. 2005. "(Im)Politeness, Face and Perceptions of Rapport: Unpackaging their Bases and Interrelationships". *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behaviour, Culture* 1 (1): 95–119. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.95>
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen and Wenying Jiang. 2003. "Explaining Cross-cultural Pragmatic Findings: Moving from Politeness Maxims to Sociopragmatic Interactional Principles (SIPs)". *Journal of Pragmatics* 35 (10–11): 1633–1650. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(03\)00025-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00025-0)
- Taavitsainen, Irma and Andreas H. Jucker. 2020. "Digital Pragmatics in English". In Svenja Adolphs and Dawn Knight (eds), *Routledge Handbook of English Language and Digital Humanities*, 107–124. Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003031758-7>
- Tantucci, Vittorio, Jonathan Culpeper and Matteo Cristofaro. 2018. "Dynamic Resonance and Social Reciprocity in Language Change: The Case of *Good Morrow*". *Language Sciences* 68: 6–21. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2017.09.004>
- Terkourafi, M. 2005. "Beyond the Micro-Level in Politeness Research". *Journal of Politeness Research* 1 (2): 237–262. <https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.2.237>
- Thirsk, Joan. 1978. *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Culture in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Thomas, Keith. 2018. In *Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2017. "'Insubordination' in the Light of the Uniformitarian Principle". *English Language & Linguistics* 21 (2): 289–310. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1360674317000144>
- Watts, Richard J. 2003. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615184>
- Werkhofer, Konrad T. 2005 [1992]. "Traditional and Modern Views: The Social Constitution and the Power of Politeness". In Richard J. Watts, S. Ide and K. Ehlich (eds), *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice*, 155–199. (Second edition.) Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Winters, Margaret E. 2010. "Introduction: On the Emergence of Diachronic Cognitive Linguistics". In Margaret E. Winters, Heli Tissari and Kathryn Allan (eds), *Historical Cognitive Linguistics*, 3–27. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110226447.3>
- 02.04.18 (n.). Gratitude. 2021. In *The Historical Thesaurus of English*. (Second edition, Version 5.0.) University of Glasgow. Accessed 19 September 2021 at: <https://ht.ac.uk/category/?id=132004>

Appendix A

Mixed effects linear regression of Thankers’ degree of effort to reciprocate the gift.⁷ (Significance codes: 0 = “***”; 0.001 = “**”; 0.01 = “*”; 0.05 = “.”; 0.1 = “.”.)

<i>Random effects</i>	Groups	Name	Variance	Std. Dev.
	Scene	(Intercept)	0.02	0.16
	Residual		0.33	0.57

<i>Fixed effects</i>	Estimate	Std. Error	Df	T value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	1.04	0.28	76.74	3.672	0.000443 ***
MagnitudeMajor	0.17	0.09	162.5	1.847	0.066602
Words	0.06	0.03	114.95	2.026	0.045102 *
Thanker_Status	−0.05	0.03	161.45	−1.715	0.068264
Thankee_Status	0.014	0.03	162.59	0.459	0.646535

Address for correspondence

Jonathan Culpeper
Department of Linguistics and English Language
Lancaster University
County South
Lancaster, LA1 4YL
United Kingdom
j.culpeper@lancaster.ac.uk

Co-author information

Samuel J. Oliver
Department of Linguistics and English
Language
Lancaster University
s.oliver1@lancaster.ac.uk

Vittorio Tantucci
Department of Linguistics and English
Language
Lancaster University
v.tantucci@lancaster.ac.uk

Publication history

Date received: 1 March 2022
Date accepted: 5 May 2022

7. Standardisation was used to make the slopes more comparable (see Winter [2020:108]).