

THE IMPERATIVE ACCOMPANIED BY THE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN

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I. Introduction

It is a self-evident truth that imperative sentences, unlike declarative ones, naturally require no expression of grammatical subjects. The fundamental function of the imperative verb is to convey the speaker's intention directly to the person addressed. The agent of the action meant by the verb is naturally intended to be the hearer himself. The logical subject of the imperative verb is implicitly understood in situations where the speaker is going to use the imperative mood. In other words, the second personal pronoun *you* is the implied subject of any imperative sentence, whether it may be expressed in an actual utterance or not.

In present-day colloquial English we sometimes see *you* expressed before an imperative verb as its grammatical subject. It should be observed, however, that the nature of *you* so used before the imperative is different from that of an ordinary subject which has been logically expressed with an ordinary predicate verb, so as to form an essential constituent of a sentence, that is a logically self-sufficient statement. Only in outward structure does the word-order of subject and predicate verb agree with the favoured pattern of an ordinary declarative sentence. It is indeed the tendency towards the establishment of the Modern English word-order SV that has popularized the type "*you*+imperative" in the present-day colloquial style.¹ Here *you* is appended to the imperative with a special psychological or emotive function. The speaker chooses this type of expanded imperative expression for some special purposes. He expresses it, first to emphasize the person addressed, often with the intention of contrasting or distinguishing him from some other person or persons, and secondly to add some subjective emotional colouring to the tone of the utterance and so reflect on the expression of *you* some feeling on the speaker's part towards the action that is to be done by the person addressed.

It is true that in actual speech these two purposes cannot always be distinct from each other; they are sometimes delicately intermingled. But I shall below try to classify some quotations from modern writers into the two groups, according to the main semantic features. Group A includes those expanded imperatives whose function is mainly antithetic, while Group B includes those whose function is mainly affective.

A. (1) "*You go to the kitchen,*" he said, "*I'm going to bed.*"—G. Galsworthy, *The Apple-Tree* II.

(2) "*You take it out, or I'll have Handsome chop it up for stovewood,*" she said,...
—E. Caldwell, *Georgia Boy* I.

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¹ Cf. O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, III. (Heidelberg, 1927) § 11. 8₂.

- (3) "You wait here, and the minute the show's over and I've got my make-up off I'll come down."—S. Maugham, *Cakes and Ale* XXVI.
- B. (4) *You hear* him, Tavy!—B. Shaw, *Man and Superman* 1.
- (5) "Master Philip, *you do* as you're told."—G. Greene, *The Basement Room* 1.
- (6) 'But first *you come* down to the kitchen with me, and *have* a nice warm bath behind the stove. Bring your things; there's nobody about.'—W. Cather, *My Ántonia* I. ii.
- (7) "*You wear* your socks properly, Harold," she said; "it's all I can do to mend this pair."—J. Galsworthy, *Virtue*.
- (8) '*You do* it, and *you never dare* to say a word or *dare* to make a sign concerning your having seen such a person as me, or any person sumever, and you shall be let to live. *You fail*, or *you go* from my words in any partickler, no matter how small it is, and your heart and your liver shall be tore out, roasted and ate.'—C. Dickens, *Great Expectations* 1.

In Group A *you* is emphatically expressed before an imperative verb so that the person addressed may be specially contrasted with the speaker himself (as in examples 1 and 3), or with a third person (as in example 2). In Group B the speaker has expressed *you* either to draw the hearer's attention forcibly to his own speech (as in example 4), or reflect on the tone some kind of personal feeling or intention, such as conciliation (as in example 5), sympathy (as in example 6), ironical reproach (as in example 7), or threatening (as in example 8).

This kind of imperative sentence is formally in accordance with the ordinary SV type of Modern English sentence, though from a semantic point of view the subject *you* here is nothing but an emphatic extension of the imperative verb. There is another kind of imperative expression with a second personal pronoun, to which I shall pay special attention in the present article. In this type the pronoun is placed after the imperative verb, as illustrated in the following representative examples.

- (9) Rosamond and Griselda can help a lot, and maybe Darling Jill, too. Now *mind you*, I don't say I'm asking girls to do work like the rest of us.—E. Caldwell, *God's Little Acre* III.
- (10) For *mark you*, Tavy, the artist's work is to shew us ourselves as we really are.—B. Shaw, *Man and Superman* 1.
- (11) Are there not enough troubles in life that one must go seeking them in one's own pockets? And I have a precedent, *look you*. Did not Napoleon say that if you did not look at your letters for a fortnight you generally found that they had answered themselves?—A. G. Gardiner, *On Pockets and Things*.
- (12) 'Now *lookee* here!' said the man. 'Where's your mother?'—C. Dickens, *Great Expectations* 1.
- (13) *Harkee*. Quick haul up your ponderous dolphins.—B. D. Walsh, *The Comedies of Aristophanes* II. iii [OED].

The verbs here used are limited to a few words: *mind*, *mark*, *look*, and some others. They all have the same semantic function of calling the hearer's attention to what the speaker has to say. The type "mind you," though an independent sentence in itself, is usually placed in an extrapositional or parenthetical position with regard to another main statement. It is, as it were, situated outside the objective sentence, tincturing it with some subjective colour. It may be defined as an interjectional imperative expression.

Now it should be noticed that *you* appended to an imperative verb of this type is

intrinsically of the same nature as *you* in “*You* hear me,” that is the other type of imperative expression mentioned above. Both in “*Mind you*” and in “*You* hear me,” *you* performs the function as an affective addition to the imperative verb *mind* or *hear*. What is more, the verbs of attention used in the interjectional expressions are connotative of the speaker’s subjective interest in what the hearer is to do, and the pronoun *you* is expressed so as to render this connotation of subjective interest more explicit and intensive.

The problem we now have to deal with is what syntactic function *you* in “*Mind you*” has originally. Although *you* in “*Mind you*” and *you* in “*You* hear me” are of similar nature, the two *yous* cannot be said to be of the same syntactic origin. We must here take into account the factor of word-order, which is usually of vital importance in the decision of syntactic functions. The noteworthy phenomena, moreover, are “*lookee*” and “*harkee*” in examples 12 and 13. “*Lookee*” and “*harkee*” are the contracted forms of “*look ye*” and “*hark ye*,” where *ye* is originally the nominative plural form of the second personal pronoun, but has been confused with the originally dative *you*. The confusion, both morphological and syntactical, brought about a new differentiation in usage. After the fifteenth century on, there arose a tendency that *you* should generally be chosen in a more emphatic position and *ye* in an unemphatic or enclitic position.² In present-day English the form *ye* has ceased to be used in colloquial standard speech, but in some dialectal or uneducated collocations it has been preserved in an unstressed position. We can mention some stock expressions: *Thankee or Thanky* (<Thank *ye*.)/*How d’ye do?* (<How do *ye* do?)/*D’ye think so?* Again, *goodbye*, which is a stereotyped instance now received as a standard element of the English vocabulary, is derived from “*Good b’w’ye*,” originally “*God be with you*.” Similarly the enclitic *ee* in *lookee* and *harkee* should be interpreted as resultant from the weakening of *ye*, which has replaced *you* in the structural position with weak sentence stress. Here it should be observed that the morphological fossilization has taken place in conjunction with the interjectional imperative, a formula belonging to a closed category in colloquial speech, and that the second personal pronoun, which is originally a reflexive dative with affective force, has adapted itself to this special syntactic situation and been preserved in the dialectal idiom.³ This observation of the origin of “*mind you*,” however, must be corroborated by an investigation into the historical facts concerning the expanded imperative expressions in general.

II. *The VS Type*⁴

In Old and Middle English a second personal pronoun was sometimes expressed either after an imperative verb or before it. Of these two cases of word-order, the former, that is, the pronoun *after* the imperative, was commoner and more natural than the latter, that is,

² The following quotations from Shakespeare would be instructive in this respect.

I do beseech *ye*, if *you* beare me hard,...—*Jul. Cæs.* III. i. 157.

Stand sir, and throw vs that *you* have about *ye*.—*Two Gent.* IV. i. 3.

³ It has sometimes been explained otherwise. OED (s. v. HARK, v. 2c), for example, notes that the nominative *ye* is often added to the imperative *hark*; “less commonly *hark you*, and by confusion *hark thee*.” It is the purpose of the present article to demonstrate that the result of false analogy is *hark ye*, not *hark thee*.

⁴ For this and the next chapter I have been greatly indebted to Kurt Suter, *Das Pronomen beim Imperativ im Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen* (Aarau, 1955).

the pronoun *before* the imperative. As observed above, the finite verb in the imperative mood naturally implies the prompt fulfilment of some action by the person addressed, and so is apt to take the initial emphatic position of the utterance. When the second personal pronoun is added for a special purpose, it is to reinforce the emphasis inherent in the imperative, and it is accordingly natural that the pronoun should be placed after the imperative as a sort of additional extension of the verb. The pronoun so expressed was generally in the nominative, so as to indicate that it should be syntactically understood as a subject towards the preceding predicate verb.

First I shall quote some instances of this VS type from the Old English texts.

- (1) *Heald þu* nu, hruse, nu hæleð ne moston,
eorla æhte! —*Beowulf*⁵ 2247-8.

(=Now do thou, O Earth, hold what heroes might not—possessions of nobles!)

- (2) *Ga ge* on minne win-geard, and ic sylle eow ðæt riht byþ.—A.-S. Gosp.,⁶ *Matt.* xx. 4 (=You also go into my vineyard, and I will give you what is right.)

- (3) *Gang ðu* sceocca onbæc :...—*ibid.* iv. 10. (=Go back, thou Satan.)

- (4) *Dem þu* hi to deaþe, gif þe gedafen þince,
swa to life læt, swa þe leofre sy. —*Juliana* 87-8.

(=Doom her to death, if it seems good to you; or let her live, if it is more profitable to you.)

In examples 1 and 2, the pronouns have been inserted for an antithetic purpose. In 1 *þū* (>thou) is contrasted with *hæleð* (=heroes). The persons denoted by *gē* (>ye) in 2 are contrasted with the other labourers who have already been sent into the vineyard, the persons described in the context preceding the quotation. We might compare the corresponding Latin version: "Ite *et* (=also) *vos*..." In examples 3 and 4 the pronouns may be interpreted as having affective value. In 3 *ðū*, with the following noun in the vocative *sceocca* (=Satan), has some vocative force in itself; but at the same time it implies the subjective quality of sternness with which the speaker Jesus Christ is going to reject the hearer Satan. In 4, apart from a rhythmical consideration, the expression of *þū* reflects impatience on the part of the speaker.

As examples in Middle English the following may be quoted.

- (5) *Ȝe went tu* alswa of baþine ancre huses, as he dude wið ute bruche, & leaf ham ba ihale.—*Ancrene Wisse*⁷ f. 102 b. 7-9. (=Nay, you also go out of both your anchoress' houses, as he did without breaking out, and leave them both whole.)

- (6) *Wite þou* þis knaue,
Al-so thou wilth mi lif haue; —*Havelok*⁸ 559-60.

(=Guard this boy, if you want my life to be saved.)

- (7) *Ryse vp*, and take the child and his modir, and flee in to Egipt, and *be thou* there, til that I seye to thee;...—*Wycliffe, Matt.* ii. 13.

- (8) *Heere ȝe*, and understonde.—*ibid.* xv. 10.

⁵ All the examples of Old English poetry illustrated in this article will be quoted from *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (6 volumes), Columbia U. P., 1931-58.

⁶ The abbreviation of *The Anglo-Saxon Gospels*. All the examples of the biblical versions in Early English will be quoted from *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, ed. by J. Bosworth & G. Waring, London, 1888.

⁷ Ed. by J. R. R. Tolkien. E. E. T. S. No. 249, 1962.

⁸ Ed. by F. Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1928.

- (9) *Hoold thou* thy pees, and spek no wordes mo,
For if thou do, thou shalt it deere aby.

—Chaucer, *C. T.*,⁹ “The Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale,” G 693-4.

(=Hold your peace and speak no more words. For if you do, you shall pay for it dearly.)

- (10) Sir, *thynk ye* that ye ar a man of holy kyrk, —*The Towneley Plays*¹⁰ XXI. 208.

(11) God save yow all, and send me good tythynges of yow all. And *send ye* me word in hast how ye doo, for I thynk longe to I here off yow.—*The Paston Letters*,¹¹ No. 758 (1475).

Tū (<OE *pū*) in example 5 is contrasted with *hē*, *i. e.* Christ. The adverb *alswā* (=also) makes the antithetic emphasis more explicit. The expression of *thou* in example 7 also serves to contrast the concept of the person addressed with that of the speaker himself, as seen in the subsequent clause: “til that *I* seye to *thee*.” At the same time, however, it has an affective effect, reflecting the speaker’s affectionate concern for the person addressed. In all the other examples we can perceive the affective value in the pronouns. On the addition of *pou* is reflected the sternness of the commander, *i. e.* Grim, to his wife. As to example 8, we feel as if the writer had used *ze* to make more explicit Christ’s intention of drawing the people’s attention to what he was going to tell them. By the way, Wycliffe used this expanded form of the plural imperative with considerable regularity.¹² The addition of *thou* to *hoold* in example 9 serves to heighten the threatening tone of the admonition. In example 10, we see the speaker’s exhortative eagerness reflected on the expression of *ye* after *thynk* (=think). The appendage *ye* to the second *send* in example 11 seems to indicate the increase of the courteous sincerity of the writer in asking the favour of the addressee. We may again add that in *The Paston Letters* a verb in the imperative is almost always followed by a pronoun in the second person.¹³

In Modern English imperative expressions of the VS type have been much diminished, and especially in present-day colloquialism they are quite dialectal—chiefly Scottish¹⁴—except the type of “mind you,” though *you* in the latter cannot properly be called subject. Below I shall quote a few examples in Modern English, without adding any comments.¹⁵

- (12) *Pray thou*, and we will pray that God may have mercy upon thee.

—Marlowe, *Faustus* XIV.

(13) Arise and take the young childe, and his mother, and flee in Egypt, and *bee thou* there vntill I bring thee word...—A. V.,¹⁶ *Matt.* ii. 13 (cf. example 7 above).

- (14) *Be thou*, Spirit fierce,

My spirit! *Be thou* me, impetuous one!

—Shelley, *Ode to the West Wind* 61-2.

- (15) And ‘while the world runs round and round,’ I said,

⁹ The abbreviation of *The Canterbury Tales*. All the quotations from Chaucer are based upon *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (2nd ed.), ed. by F. N. Robinson, Oxford U. P., 1957.

¹⁰ Ed. by G. England, E. E. T. S., E. S. No. 71, 1897.

¹¹ Ed. by J. Gairdner, London, 1900-1.

¹² Cf. Suter, *op. cit.* § 86.

¹³ Cf. F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* I. (Leiden, 1963) p. 17 ft.

¹⁴ Cf. Visser, *op. cit.*, § 24.

¹⁵ Cf. H. Spies, *Studien zur Geschichte des englischen Pronomens im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1897), § 97.

¹⁶ The abbreviation of *The Authorized Version*. For the quotations in this article I depend on *The A. V. of the English Bible 1611*, ed. by W. A. Wright, Cambridge U. P., 1909.

'*Reign thou* apart, a quiet king,

—Tennyson, *The Palace of Art* 14-5.

(16) "Becky Sharp! Miss Sharp! *Come you* and sit by me and amuse me; and let Sir Huddleston sit by Lady Wapshot."—Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* XI.

(17) '*Take you* my knitting,' said Madame Defarge, placing it in her lieutenant's hands, 'and have it ready for me in my usual seat. Keep me my usual chair. *Go you* there, straight, for there will probably be a greater concourse than usual, to-day.'

—Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* III. XIV.

From the standpoint of present colloquial speech, it can safely be said that this type of expression has become archaic or obsolete and has been replaced by the SV type, as exemplified in chapter one. How this traditional type came to be intermixed with another type "imperative+reflexive dative" will be described in the later chapters four and five.

III. *The SV Type*

The kind of structure where a pronoun in the second person precedes a verb in the imperative mood has also existed since the Old English period. Before exemplifying it I must refer to two peculiarities about this SV type as observed historically. First, the pronoun expressed before the imperative was originally not so much in the nominative as in the vocative case. Secondly, as Visser illustrates in his recent exhaustive work (*op. cit.*, § 25), the instances of this type were fairly frequent in Old English and in the greater part of Middle English, but they began to be rare in Late Middle English, so much so that there arose a practical gap in the line of illustration during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the two succeeding centuries. The instances reappeared at the end of the seventeenth century and has continued up to the present day. Visser makes some conjectures to account for this phenomenon from the standpoint of the historical continuity of the SV type of imperative expression. It seems more justifiable to me, however, that the standpoint should be transposed from the SV to the VS type, and that more attention should be paid to the general disappearance of the latter from present-day English than to the discontinuity of the former.

I should like to regard the expression of an imperative verb accompanied by a second personal pronoun as intrinsically pertaining to the expanded structure of the VS type, where the pronoun is merely appended for a special purpose, antithetic or affective. The modern transition from "Hear *you*" to "*You* hear" should be considered due to the general tendency towards establishing the SV word-order. Thus the transition is only in outer form; semantically the antithetic or affective value can be perceived in the modern "*You* hear" as well as in the older "Hear *you*." On the other hand, the SV type, as illustrated from the greater part of Old and Middle English, is originally composed of the pronoun in the vocative case and the imperative verb more loosely combined with it. We might say that the old vocative feature has gradually been absorbed into the new emphatic or affective feature, while the word-order has remained unchanged. In short, the intrinsic nature of the expanded imperative expression has continued for all the alteration in outer structure.

Below we shall observe the vocative feature of the second personal pronoun that precedes the imperative verb.

(1) Onfoh þissum fulle, freodrihten min,

(=But thou go where I bid thee go; thou go to him.)

- (8) Loke, Gawan, *pou be* graype to go as pou hettez,
And *layte* as lelly til pou me, lude, fynde,
As pou hatz hette in pis halle, herande pise knyżtes;

—*Sir Gawayn & þe Grene Knyżt*²¹ 448-50.

(=Look, Gawain, be ready to go as you promised, and seek as faithfully till you, knight, find me, as you have promised in this hall with these knights hearing.)

- (9) Reed Solomon, so wys and honourable;
Reed David in his psalms, reed Senekke.

My sone, spek nat, but with thyn heed *thou bekke*.

—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Manciple's Tale," H 344-6.

(=Read Solomon, so wise and honourable. Read David in his psalms, and Seneca. My son, don't speak, but nod with your head.)

Of these examples, 8 shows the vocative nature of the preposed pronoun most conspicuously. There *pou* before the imperative *be* has been expressed in the context introduced by the simple vocative imperative *lōke* (imperative of *lōkien* <OE *lōcian* look) and the vocative address *Gawan*. In example 4 *þu send* and *þu todreaf* have some optative tone, and *send* and *drēaf* (imper. of *drifen* <OE *drifan* drive) functionally resemble present subjunctives, each with the preceding *þū* as its subject. In "*þu stond...do*" of example 5 we can perceive both antithetic and affective value. On one hand it is contrasted with "*ic mis rempe*," and on the other is suggestive of a provocative or disdainful intention on the part of the speaker, that is the owl. As to examples 6, 7 and 9, the pronoun before the imperative can be interpreted as having affective value. In 6 "*þu leste* (imper. of *lusten* <OE *hlystan* listen)" should be compared with "*þu schalt bere*," and we see the speaker's courteous good will reflected on the SV structure which formally runs parallel with the following declarative sentence. In 7 the repeated imperative expression "*pou ga* (imper. of *gān* go)" reflects urgency in the exhortation of the speaker Christ towards the hearer Ananias who has refused to obey the command. It is noteworthy that this passage in Cotton MS. corresponds to "*ga forþ þer I bid þe ga, ga forþ til him*" in Fairfax MS., where no pronouns have been expressed. In 9 *thou*, which has been inserted to fill up the verse metrically, implies some personal intimacy, as is clearly seen especially when it is compared with the other pronominal expressions *my* and *thyn* in the same line.

We have already enumerated some present-day examples in the introductory chapter, so as to show how prevalent this SV type of imperative expression has become in the colloquial style of Late Modern English. It must be noticed, however, that there is a distinct difference in stylistic value between the SV type hitherto described and the corresponding type seen in Late Modern English. The SV type of imperative expression as found up to the fifteenth century was rather literary or rhetorical and mainly belonged to the poetical style. For the explanation of the simpler and more straightforward type of imperative expression that cropped up in the colloquial style of Early Modern English, we must turn to another traditional line, subsidiary though it may be.

²¹ Ed. by J.R.R. Tolkien & E.V. Gordon, Oxford, 1930.

IV. "Imperative+Reflexive Dative" in OE and ME²²

As mentioned in chapter one, *you* in the characteristic modern type "Mind *you*" should be historically interpreted as a pronoun in the dative case used reflexively. This function as reflexive dative may be observed in almost every pronoun in the second person that is closely connected to a verb in the imperative mood. The characteristic feature of the pronoun as reflexive dative is that it tends to lose its original emphasis and be combined with the verb more or less enclitically.

Let us now survey how reflexive datives have historically had a kind of syntactic adaptability to be conjoined with verbs in the imperative. Those verbs which have particularly often been used with reflexive datives may roughly fall into six classes: (a) verbs of motion, (b) verbs of state or posture, (c) verbs of emotion, (d) verbs of attention, and (e) verbs of other kinds. The construction in which a reflexive dative is added to one of these verbs is originally an analytic expression that corresponds to the Indo-European middle voice. Its fundamental sense is that the person or persons denoted by the subject shall be particularly affected by the action or state denoted by the verb. The usage with a reflexive dative was expanded by the borrowing of many French reflexive intransitive verbs in Middle English and later.²³ Meanwhile, with the loss of a distinctive dative form, the construction lost its original analytic function and came to be felt as a mere synthetic or pleonastic idiom. As we may judge from the illustration in the next chapter, it still remained flourishing in Elizabethan English; but from the seventeenth century onward it generally came into disuse in standard speech. But this intensive, though illogical, feature of the reflexive dative construction is adapted to the simple and affective nature of an imperative expression. The addition of a pronoun as reflexive dative to an imperative verb often succeeds in intensifying the psychological element of personal interest in the action or state denoted by the verb. Otherwise it animates the notion of the prompt fulfilment of the action or the rapid change of the posture. Sometimes it helps to give the force of ingressive aspect to some verbs that are in itself durative or neutral with respect to aspect, as in "*Sit thee* down"; so that it can generally afford lively vividness to the tone of the command or request. We have already seen in chapter two that a second personal pronoun in the nominative case has been appended to an imperative verb so as to produce a stylistic effect of adding emphasis or emotional colouring to the connotation, and that the function of the pronoun is often rather similar to that of an adverbial adjunct towards the verb. Now we might say that the reflexive dative *thee* or *you* should be a more natural and appropriate form to perform the very function that has actually been performed by the pronoun in the VS type.

Below we shall observe some Old English and Middle English quotations where the kinds of verbs above mentioned are used in the imperative and accompanied by the second personal pronouns as reflexive datives.

(a) Verbs of motion.

(i) Old English.

(1) *Cer ðe* on bæcling! —*Christ and Satan* 697. (=Go back!)

²² For the observation made in the present and subsequent chapters, I have especially been indebted to F. Voges, "Der Reflexive Dativ im Englischen" (*ANGLIA* VI, 1883).

²³ Cf. Visser, *op. cit.* p. 321.

(2) *Wend þe* from wynne!—*Genesis* 919. (=Depart from joy.)

(3) Ðu slawa, *ga ðe* to æmethylle, & giem hu hie doð, & leorna ðær wisdom.—*Pastoral Care*²⁴ 190.25–192.1. (=Thou sluggard, go to an anthill, and observe what they do, and learn wisdom there.)

Wend in example 2 is the singular imperative of *wenden* (=turn, go). In *Genesis* the verb is also used as a transitive and construed with a reflexive accusative: "...and wende *hine* eft þanon—493 (=and he went back from there)."

(ii) Middle English.

(4) *Turneð giu* to me. —*Old English Homilies* II.²⁵ XI. (=Turn to me.)

(5) *Ga þe* nu forth, mi lef freind,

For þou has leue nu for to wend;

I damp þe not quar-so þou far,

Bot ga nu forth and sin na mar.

—*Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS.) 13753–7.

(=Go out, now, my dear friend, for you may now go. I don't damn you wherever you may go, but go forth now and sin no more.)

(6) "Have do," quod she, "com of, and *speed the* faste,
Lest that oure neighebores thee espie."

—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Miller's Tale," A 3728–9.

(="Have done," said she, "come off, and hurry up, lest our neighbours should see you.")

(7) Telleth youre grief, lest that he come adoun;

And *hasteth yow*, and gooth youre wey anon.

—*ibid.*, "The Shipman's Tale," B 1346–7.

(=Tell your grief, lest he should come down, and make haste and go your way at once.)

(8) Now, goode sire, go forth thy wey and *hy the*.

—*ibid.*, "The Canon's Yeoman's Tale," G 1295.

(=Now, good sir, go on your way and hurry up.)

(9) *Rape the* to ride and Resoun thow fecche;

Comaunde hym that he come my consaille to here.

—Langland, *Piers Plowman*,²⁶ B IV. 7–8.

(=Hurry to ride and fetch Reason. Command him to come and hear my advice.)

In example 5 we see in the same context both the expanded and the simple imperative expressions: *ga þe* and *ga*. Moreover, all the other three texts of *Cursor Mundi* contain the simple form in the first line as well: *ga* now forþ... (Fairfax MS.)/*Ga* nu forth... (Göttingen MS.)/*Go* now forþ... (Trinity MS.). It is noteworthy that in example 9 *rape* (<ON *hrapa*) *the* appears with *thow fecche*, an imperative expression of the SV type, in the same line. Again in examples 7 and 8, "*hasteth yow*" and "*hy (>hie) the*" run parallel with "*gooth youre wey (>way)*" and "*go forth thy wey*" respectively. It seems to be suggested that the reflexive datives *yow* and *the* are somewhat similar in function and stylistic value to the adverbial phrases of direction *your wey* and *thy wey*.

(b) Verbs of state or posture.

(i) Old English.

²⁴ Quoted from *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* I. (ed. by H. Sweet, E. E. T. S. No. 45, 1871).

²⁵ Ed. by R. Morris. E. E. T. S. No. 52, 1873.

²⁶ Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Oxford U. P., 1954.

(10) *Beoð eow stille, and Drihten fiht for eow:* —Ælfric, *Exod.*²⁷ xiv. 14.

(=Be still, and the Lord shall fight for you.)

This phenomenon should be compared with those of examples 7, 13 and 14 of the VS type under chapter two.

(ii) Middle English.

(11) *Lei þin heved i my barm, slep þou þe anon.* —*Judas*²⁸ 14.

(=Lay your head in my lap; sleep at once.)

Here the reflexive dative appears with the VS type of imperative expression.

(c) Verbs of emotion.

(i) Old English.

(12) *Ne ondræd þu ðe,
ðeah þe elpeodige egesan hwopan,
heardre hilde.* —*Elene* 81-3.

(=Don't be afraid, though foreigners may threaten you with severe, terrible battle.)

Here the reflexive dative appears in the construction of a negative imperative with the subject expressed after it. Stylistically the reduplication of the personal pronoun has heightened the encouraging tone of the announcement.

(ii) Middle English.

(13) *Louerd, no dred þe nowht.* —*Havelok* 2168. (=Lord, don't be afraid.)

(14) *But of my deeth thogh that ye have no routhe,
Avyseth yow er that ye breke youre trouthe.
Repenteth yow, for thilke God above,
Er ye me sleen by cause that I yow love.*

—Chaucer, *C. T.*, "The Franklin's Tale," F 1319-22.

(=But even if you have no pity for my death, consider before you break your faith. Repent, for God above, before you kill me because I love you.)

In example 14, *avyseth* (plural imper. of *avÿse* <OF *aviser* advise) should be interpreted as a transitive verb, construed with the reflexive accusative *yow*; but it cannot be denied that there is a considerable affinity between *yow* in "avyseth *yow*" and *yow* in "repenteth *yow*."

(d) Verbs of attention.

No instance of this category can be given from Old and Middle English.

(e) Verbs of other kinds.

Some verbs of this category are construed with an indirect object in the dative and a direct object in the accusative or, sometimes, genitive, and so the reflexive datives connected to such verbs cannot properly be called pleonastic.

(i) Old English.

(15) *Bebeorh þe ðone bealonið, Beowulf leofa,
secg betsta, ond þe þæt selre geceos,
ece rædas;* —*Beowulf* 1758-9.

(=Guard yourself against pernicious enmity, dear Beowulf, best of men, and choose that better part, your eternal benefit.)

(16) *"ac niotoð inc þæs oðres ealles, forlætað þone ænne beam,*

²⁷ Quoted from *The Heptateuch* (ed. by S. J. Crawford. E. E. T. S. No. 160, 1922).

²⁸ Quoted from F. Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen âge*, II, Paris, 1949.

wariað inc wið þone wæstm. Ne wyrð inc wilna gæd." —*Genesis* 235-6.
 (=“But eat all the others; leave that one tree; beware of that fruit. You shall not lack blessings.”)

(17) Læste þu georne
 his ambyhto, nim þe þis ofæt on hand,
 bit his and byrige. —*ibid.* 517-9.

(=Perform His service with zeal; take this fruit into your hand; bite and taste it.)

þe in “bebeorh þe” of example 15 is syntactically an indirect object used reflexively, while the dative pronouns in “þe...geceos” of the same example, “niotað inc” of example 16, and “nim þe” of example 17 are regarded as datives of interest that are used reflexively. These pronouns, whether datives as indirect objects or datives of interest, also have the stylistic value of enhancing the affective quality of the imperative expressions in the respective contexts. It is noticeable in that respect that “nim þe” appears parallel with the VS type “læste þu” in the quotation 17. Another fact worth to be mentioned is that *wariað* (plural imper. of *warian* guard) in “*wariað inc*” of example 16 is transitive and the attendant pronoun *inc* should accordingly be interpreted as a reflexive accusative. But we can perceive in semantic or stylistic value something common to the successive collocations “*niotað inc*” and “*wariað inc*.” By the way, *inc* is the dative-accusative dual number of the second personal pronoun, the peculiar Old English form which later becomes superseded by the common plural form *ȝow* (>*you*).

(ii) Middle English.

(18) *Tas yow þere my cheuicaunce, I cheued no more;*
 —*Sir Gawayn & þe Grene Knyzt* 1390.

(=Take what I acquired there; I acquired nothing more.)

(19) Go furth and *play the* all aboute, —*Towneley Plays* I. 246.

“*Tas yow...*” in example 18 should be compared with Old English “*nim þe...*” exemplified above as 17.

V. “Imperative+Reflexive Dative” Chiefly in Shakespeare

In the period of Early Modern English, just when the lively colloquialism was flourishing in the Elizabethan literature, expanded imperative expressions with pronouns expressed after verbs were fairly frequent; while the SV type, which had been decidedly poetical especially in Late Middle English, was apparently extinct during the period.²⁹ The remarkable feature about the former, as seen in Elizabethan English, is that the postposed pronoun often appears in the dative *thee* or *you*, instead of the nominative *thou* or *ye*. This shows that at that stage the type “imperative+reflexive dative,” historically surveyed in the preceding chapter, had been intermingled with the VS type and had exerted a considerable influence upon it.

Let us take a conspicuous instance to illustrate this process. The Old English biblical quotation of *Matthew* iv. 10, exemplified as 3 under chapter two, is:

Gang ðu sceocca onbæc;...

where the nominative *ðū* has been appended to the imperative *gang*, so as to enhance the

²⁹ The following is a rare instance of the SV type quoted from Shakespeare: “you shall not boudge: *You go* not till I set you vp a glasse, Where you may see the inmost part of you? (*Hamlet*. III. iv. 18-20).”

emphasis of the command. Now the corresponding passage in the Authorized Version runs :

Get thee hence, Satan :...

where the dative *thee* has been added reflexively to the intransitive imperative *get*. This “get thee ~” type has become a kind of syntactic idiom in Shakespeare, as will be described below. Anyhow, we can here see a diachronic phenomenon in which the old type “imperative+nominative subject” has been replaced by the new one “imperative+dative adjunct,” though the verb itself has alternated from *gangan* (=go) to *get*. To take another instance *Luke* xiii. 31 from the Bible, the Anglo-Saxon version and the Wycliffite run respectively :

A.-S.: *Far*, and ga heonon,...

Wyc.: *Go* out, and go hennis,...

The corresponding passages in the Tyndale version and the Authorized Version are :

Tyn.: *Gett the* out of the waye, and departe hence,...

A. V.: *Get thee* out, and depart hence;...

Here we see the transition from the simple imperative to the expanded imperative with the reflexive dative *thee*.

The “get thee out” type is, roughly speaking, confined to the period of Early Modern English, which is represented by Shakespeare and the Authorized Version. Of the two corpora the former offers a more varied and comprehensive range of instances illustrative of the construction in question. I shall below be restricted chiefly to the observation of Shakespeare, only occasionally supplementing it with remarks on quotations from some other authors.³⁰

The description below will be based on those five kinds of verbs which are apt to be construed with reflexive datives, just as in the previous chapter. What attracts our attention concerning the quotations from Shakespeare is that a trace of confusion may be perceived between the type “imperative+reflexive dative” and the VS type, the nominative *thou* sometimes occurring in the position of the dative *thee*. In considering this apparent confusion, we must beforehand understand that at Shakespeare’s period the personal pronoun in the singular second person was still fairly differentiated in case-forms, that is, *thou* as nominative and *thee* as accusative or dative. As for the confusion and euphonic differentiation between the originally plural *ye* and *you* I have already made a brief comment in chapter one (especially cf. footnote 2). At the end of the sixteenth century, moreover, *you* had been so much popularized that even as singular it had to a great extent replaced both *thee* and *thou*, which were retained chiefly when the speaker was addressing some person inferior in rank or relationship, or otherwise the address was tintured with some special personal feeling or emotion.³¹ These circumstances indicate that, in investigating Shakespeare’s use of reflexive datives in the structure concerned, especially in the field of lively colloquial style, we may evaluate the morphological distinction of *thou* and *thee* to a considerable extent,³² while we cannot set no more than a subsidiary value upon that of *ye* and *you*.

³⁰ For the description below in this chapter I must acknowledge my obligations to Celia Millward’s recent dissertation: “Pronominal Case in Shakespearean Imperatives” (*LANGUAGE* XLII. i, 1966).

³¹ Cf. W. Franz, *Die Sprache Shakespeares in Vers und Prosa* (4th ed., Halle, 1939) § 288 f.; E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar* (London, 1929) §§ 231–6.

³² In this respect I cannot follow the explanation by Abbott (*op. cit.* §§ 205, 212), who believes in the propriety of *thou* and rejects *thee* even in such imperative expressions as “haste *thee*,” “look *thee*,” or “hark *thee*,” though the euphonic reasons that he refers to should be estimated in view of the vivid colloquialism displayed by the type “imperative+reflexive dative.” Franz (*op. cit.* §§ 283, 307) admits the influence by reflexive verbs in the imperative, but still seems to suppose that the nominative *thou* ought to be a legitimate form for the construction.

(a) Verbs of motion.

Of the eleven verbs: *get, haste, hie, return, run, speed, come, fare, go, mount* and *turn*, there is no question about the first six, which are evidently used with the dative *thee* or *you*.

- (1a) *Get thee* to a Nunnerie. —*Haml.*³³ III. i. 122.
 (1b) Hence: home you idle Creatures, *Get you* home: —*Jul. Cæs.* I. i. 1.
 (2a) *Hast thee* for thy life. —*Lear* v. iii. 251.
 (2b) *haste you* speedily to Angelo,... —*Meas. for M.* III. i. 274.
 (3a) Goe *hye thee, hye thee* from this slaughter-house,
 Lest thou encrease the number of the dead, —*Rich. III* IV. i. 44-5.
 (3b) Go Ile to dinner, *hie you* to the Cell. —*Rom. & Jul.* II. v. 79.
 (4a) *Returne thee* therefore with a floud of Teares,
 And wash away thy Countries stayned Spots. —*1 Hen. VI* III. iii. 56-7.
 (4b) *Returne you* to my Sister. —*Lear* II. iv. 160.
 (5a) Good Margaret *runne thee* to the parlour, —*Much Ado* III. i. 1.
 (5b) Æmilia, *run you* to the Cittadell,
 And tell my Lord and Lady, what hath happ'd: —*Oth.* v. i. 126-7.
 (6a) *speed thee* straight
 And make my misery serue thy turne:... —*Coriol.* IV. v. 93-4.
 (6b) Sir, *speed you*: what's your will? —*Lear* IV. vi. 30.

We may safely judge *you* in examples 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b, 5b and 6b as a dative case used reflexively, just as *thee* in examples 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a and 6a, for we can find no instances of *thou* combined with any of these verbs in the imperative. As to "returne *thee*" and "speed *thee*" in examples 4a and 6a, Schmidt (*Shakespeare-Lexicon* pp. 973 l., 1099 l.) adds the notes "*thee* for *thou*" and "*thee*=*thou*" respectively, but we cannot see any reason why such explanation should be given. Especially for the latter, the Middle English example 6 under chapter four should be compared. By the way, *speed* in example 6b means "succeed" and so cannot strictly be called a verb of motion. For that should be compared the comment on *fare* exemplified as 8 below. It is specially noteworthy that the content meant by the quotation 1a has been expressed in another way in the subsequent context: "Goe *thy wayes* to a Nunnery (l. 132)." Here the adverbial function of the reflexive dative has been performed more analytically by the adverbial genitive phrase *thy wayes* (=your way). Again examples 7 and 8 in chapter three should be compared.

The verbs illustrated in the following examples are more or less problematic, since we can quote some instances where *thou* is used in the position of *thee*. As to the verb *fare*, though it is etymologically derived from OE *faran* (=go), the usual meaning in Shakespeare is "to be in any state or under any circumstances [Schmidt]," so that it does not strictly belong to the category of verbs of motion. We might, however, treat *fare* as a verb of motion in its transferred sense.

- (7a) *Come thee* on. —*Ant. & Cl.* IV. vii. 16.
 (7b) *Come thou* neere. —*ibid.* III. iii. 7.
 (7c) *Come you* sir,... —*Much Ado* v. i. 213.
 (8a) *Far thee* well Lord, —*Macb.* IV. iii. 34.
 (8b) Be free, and *fare thou* well: please you draw neere. —*Temp.* v. i. 318.

³³ For all the quotations from Shakespeare I depend upon *Shakespeare's Commedies, Histories & Tragedies* (a Facsimile Edition of the First Folio), ed. by H. Kökeritz, Yale U.P., 1954.

- (8c) So *fare you* well at once,... —*Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 29.
 (8d) *Faryewell*,
 We leaue you now with better company. —*Merch.* V. I. i. 58-9.
 (9a) Sir *go you* in; and Madam, go with him, —*Rom. & Jul.* IV. v. 91.
 (9b) *Go thou* further off,
 Bid me farewell, and let me heare thee going. —*Lear* IV. vi. 30-1.
 (10a) *Mount thee* vpon his horse,
 Spurre post, and get before him to the King, —*Rich.* II v. ii. 111-2.
 (10b) Titinius, if thou louest me,
Mount thou my horse, and hide thy spurres in him, —*Jul. Cæs.* v. iii. 14-5.
 (11a) *Turne thee* Benuolio, looke vpon thy death. —*Rom. & Jul.* I. i. 74.
 (11b) *Turne thou* the mouth of thy Artillerie,
 As we will ours, against these sawcie walles, —*John* II. i. 403-4.
 (11c) If you be well pleased with this,
 And hold your fortune for your blisse,
Turne you where your Lady is,
 And claime her with a louing kisse. —*Merch.* V. III. ii. 136-9.

As to *come*, though we could not give any instance of the construction concerned in the preceding chapter, OE *cuman*, ME *comen*, was one of those verbs of motion which were used with reflexive datives (e.g.: Foret *hym com* þe riche Jeu þat heizte Pilatus.—*Judas* 19 [=Forth came the rich Jew called Pilatus.]). In Shakespeare, “*come thou*” as in example 7b appears four times, while “*come thee*” appears only once at the place quoted above as 7a.⁸⁴ In example 7c, *you* after *come* seems to be emphatic, and so may be regarded as a nominative subject; whereas the reflexive dative form *thee* in 7a is placed in an unstressed position and is euphonically suited to the quick, lively tone of the command in this situation. The tendency is, however, decidedly in favour of the VS type; and here should be compared example 16 in chapter two.

“Fare thee well,” which has given rise to the solid interjection or noun *farewell*, is a fossilized formula used to express a kind wish at parting. As in example 8, the attendant pronoun appears in all the four forms. According to Millward,⁸⁵ the numbers of the times that the respective forms occur in Shakespeare are: *thee* 40, *thou* 1, *you* 73, and *ye* 10. This relative frequency would allow us to conclude that as the pronoun after the imperative *fare* the dative was felt the proper form by Shakespeare. By the way, a noteworthy construction is also found in Shakespeare: “Farewell to *you*,... Farewell to *thee*, to Strato (*Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 31-3).” Here, we might say, the reflexive dative *you* or *thee* in “Fare *you* well” or “Fare *thee* well” has been put in the more explicit and analytic form “to *you*” or “to *thee*.”

As to *go* as in example 9, no instance of “*go thee*” can be found in Shakespeare. Although we have given the quotations of OE *ga ðe* and ME *ga þe* in examples three and five under chapter four, it is possible to interpret *you* of “*go you* in” in the Shakespearean example 9a as nominative, for in *you* here a rather antithetic function is discernible. The nominative *thou* after *go* in 9b is expressed to suggest the sincere goodwill of the speaker, *i.e.* the blind

⁸⁴ Cf. Millward, *op. cit.* § 1.5. The object of Millward’s computation, by the way, does not include the poetry by Shakespeare and a few plays that are commonly attributed to Shakespeare, for she depends for her investigation upon Kökeritz’s facsimile edition of the First Folio.

⁸⁵ Cf. *op. cit.* §§ 1.1, 1.5.

Gloucester, for the hearer, *i. e.* the disguised beggar Edgar. Let us compare the following instance with *thee* as a distinct reflexive dative that is taken from the Authorized Version.

(9c) *Goe thee* one way or other, either on the right hand, or on the left, whither-soeuer thy face is set. —*Ezek.* xxi. 16.

The use of *thou* after *mount* in example 10b can be explained by the fact that *mount* in the sentence is transitive and is followed by its object "my horse," and that semantically it cannot be supplemented by a dative of interest. In 10a, on the other hand, the intransitivity of the verb enables it to be intensified by *thee* as a reflexive dative. In the VS structure of 10b, besides, *thou* after *mount* is affectively emphasized, with its implication contrasted with that of *my*. Likewise, in 11b, *turne* cannot be followed by *thee*; and, moreover, *thou* is contrasted with *we* in the next line. For "*turne thee*" in 11a the Middle English "*turneð giu*" illustrated as example 4 in chapter three should be compared. We might add the following pair of examples taken from the Authorized Version.

(11c) *Turne thee* vnto me, and haue mercy vpon me:... —*Ps.* xxv. 16.

(11d) Therefore *turne thou* to thy God:... —*Hos.* xii. 6.

To these verbs of motion it would not be improper to add *retire* as used in the following way:

(12) *Retire thee*, ge where thou art Billited: —*Oth.* II. iii. 386.

But *thee* here had better be interpreted as a reflexive accusative, for the verb is also used with the compound reflexive pronoun as in: "you must *retire your selfe* Into some Couert (*Wint. T.* IV. iv. 662-3)."

(b) Verbs of state or posture.

Among the verbs of this kind, *sit*, *stand* and *stay* are especially noteworthy.

(13a) *Sit thee* downe, Clitus:... —*Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 4.

(13b) Come hither Harrie, *sit thou* by my bedde, —2 *Hen. IV* IV. v. 182.

(13c) Come, come, and *sit you* downe, you shall not boudge: —*Hamlet.* III. iv. 18.

(14a) *Stand thee* by Frier,... —*Much Ado* IV. i. 23.

(14b) Come, *stand thou* by our side,

Make thy demand alowd. —*Cymb.* v. v. 129-30.

(14c) *Stand you* a while a part,

Confine your selfe but in a patient List, —*Oth.* IV. i. 75-6.

(15a) But *stay thee*, 'tis the fruits of loue I meane. —3 *Hen. VI* III. ii. 58.

(15b) I prythee Strato, *stay thou* by thy Lord, —*Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 44.

For the selection of the VS type in examples 13b, 14b and 15b there appears to be justification enough. In each of these instances the nominative *thou* is invested with some force of personal interest, contextually supplemented by the pronominal expression: *my* (in 13b), *our* (in 14b), or *thy Lord* (in 15b). It should be noticed, on the contrary, that the reflexive dative *thee* in example 13a, 14a or 15a has been uttered in a lighter tone. Especially "*stay thee*" in 15a, meaning something like "wait a minute," has much the same interjectional value that can be found in "*hark thee*" or "*mark thee*" (cf. d below). *You* in "*sit you downe*" of example 13c may be interpreted as a reflexive dative; but as for *you* in "*Stand you... a part*" of example 14c, I would rather regard it as nominative, for affective emphasis can be perceived on *you* in this context. By the way, Millward (*op. cit.*) reports that there are in Shakespeare three instances of *sit thee*, one of *sit thou*, and seven of *sit you*; two instances of *stand thee*,

five of *stand thou*, and six of *stand you*.

Three more verbs of this category may be considered.

(16) *Bee you* in the Parke about midnight, at Hernes-Oake, and you shall see wonders.
—*Merry W.* v. i. 11.

(17a) Nay, *lay thee* downe, and roare: —*Oth.* v. ii. 198.

(17b) Great Tyranny, *lay thou* thy basis sure, —*Macb.* iv. iii. 32.

(18) Pray set it downe, and *rest you* :... —*Temp.* iii. i. 18.

Although *you* after *bee* (=be) in example 16 may allow of interpretation as reflexive dative from a historical point of view (cf. example 10 in chapter four), it should descriptively be interpreted as a nominative that is expressed with affective value for the VS type. It is proper that *lay* in example 17 should be regarded as transitive, and so we should interpret *thee* in 17a as a reflexive accusative and *thou* in 17b as an emphatic subject for the SV type. Here again, however, it is no less necessary for us to be reminded of the traditional fact that the reflexive use of the Old English intransitive verb *licgan* (>ME *liggen*>ModE *lie*) was confused and consequently replaced by that of the Middle English transitive verb *leggen* (OE *leccan*>ModE *lay*).³⁶ We should observe that the same page 121 of *Ancrene Riwele*³⁷ shows the two instances side by side: “*lið* (3 sing. pres. of *liggen*) *him* adun to slepen” and “*leið* (3 sing. pres. of *leggen*) *him* to slepen,” both meaning “lies down to sleep.” The transition from *lið him* to *leið him* is symbolic of a process in the direction of more logical or objective expression.

“Rest *you*” in example 18 is also a dubious instance. Probably *you* here should be regarded as a reflexive accusative which is used after the transitive *rest*. This interpretation can be corroborated by the use of the compound reflexive pronoun that appears in the same context, just two lines below the expression above quoted: “pray now *rest your selfe* (*ibid.* 20).” Historically, OE *restan* was used with a reflexive accusative; but in Middle English the use of *resten* was probably influenced by that of Old French *rester* (<L *rēstāre* remain), so that we can see some feature of a reflexive dative, for example, in the instance: “Have I no thyng but *rested me* a lite (Chaucer, *C. T.* E 1926).”³⁸

(c) Verbs of emotion.

Of this kind involved in the structure concerned, we have only to mention one verb *fear*. The use of OE *ondrādan* and ME *drēden*, exemplified as 12 and 13 in chapter four, should be compared.

(19a) We are no tell-tales Madam, *feare you* not. —*Merch.* V. v. i. 123.

(19b) *Feare* not *you* that :... —*Merry W.* iv. iv. 78.

We can find four instances of this type of negative imperative expression in Shakespeare. Only one of them cited above as 19a contains no object of a thing. Since *fear* was used with a reflexive dative in Middle English and Early Modern English (e.g.: “O, but I *fear me* nothing can reclaim him!”—Marlowe, *Faustus* II), we should be allowed to interpret *you* in example 19a as a reflexive dative. But each of the other three instances, one of which has been given as 19b, contains an object of a thing; and in such structure it seems better to regard *you* as subject of *fear*, *fear* and *you* composing a VS type.³⁹

³⁶ Cf. Visser, *op. cit.* p. 322; T. F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax* I. (Helsinki, 1960), p. 153.

³⁷ Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A. XIV, by M. Day (E. E. T. S. No. 225, 1952). The corresponding expressions in *Ancrene Wisse* (MS. Corpus Christi), however, are “*leið him* to slepen” and “*lið* to slepen.”

³⁸ Cf. Voges, *op. cit.* p. 333.

³⁹ Here we should compare the modern negative imperative expression where the subject *you* is expressed, e.g.: *Don't you* be afraid of that.—Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* II. ii.

(d) Verbs of attention.

The construction of a verb of attention in the imperative followed by a reflexive dative pronoun was developed in the Modern English period. This kind of verbs is a closed one, consisting of four verbs in Shakespeare: *hark*, *hear*, *look*, and *mark*. Each of them is exclusively used in the imperative mood and accompanied by a second personal pronoun which can mostly be alleged to be a reflexive dative.

- (20a) *Hearke thee*, Dardanius. —*Jul. Cæs.* v. v. 8.
 (20b) Now God in heauen blesse thee: *harke you* sir, —*Rom. & Jul.* II. iv. 206.
 (20c) *Harke ye* your Romeo will be heere at night, —*ibid.* III. ii. 140.
 (21a) Why then you must: but *heare thee* Gratiano,
 Thou art to wilde, to rude, and bold of voyce, —*Merch. V.* II. ii. 189–90.
 (21b) Go with me to my house,
 And *heare thou* there how many fruitlesse pranks
 This Ruffian hath botch'd vp,... —*Twel. N.* IV. i. 57–9.
 (21c) But *heare you*, my Lord. —*1 Hen. IV* II. iii. 76.
 (21d) *Heare ye* Yedward, if I tarry at home and go not, Ile hang you for going.
 —*ibid.* I. ii. 149–50.
 (22a) O my Son, my Son! thou art preparing fire for vs: *looke thee*, heere's water
 to quench it. —*Cor.* v. ii. 76–7.
 (22b) This was your Husband. *Looke you* now what followes. —*Hamlet.* III. iv. 63.
 (22c) *Look ye* yonder, niece; is't not a gallant man too, is't not?
 —*Tr. & Cr.*⁴⁰ I. ii. 231.
 (23a) *Falst.* Doest thou heare me, Hal?
Prin. I, and *marke thee* too, Iack. —*1 Hen. IV* II. iv. 232–3.
 (23b) wee'l barre thee from succession,
 Not hold thee of our blood, no not our Kin,
 Farre then Deucalion off: (*marke thou* my words) —*Wint. T.* IV. iv. 439–41.

We can safely say that the present-day English interjectional idiom *mind you* and similar expressions, which were mentioned in chapter one, are the remnants of these Shakespearean expressions, though the verb *mind* was not yet used in this construction by Shakespeare.⁴¹ The noticeable instances are 21b and 23b, where the nominative *thou* was appended to the imperative *heare* or *marke*. Since the objects are expressed in these instances, they should be considered to belong to the VS type, with the subjects specially emphasized or invested with some colouring of personal interest. This is probably also the case with “*Looke you...*” in example 22b, where *you* should be interpreted as nominative rather than dative, though it is metrically in an unstressed position. On the contrary, *ye* in example 20c, 21d, or 22c should be considered a mere variant of *you* as a reflexive dative. The quotation 20c must be read with a pause between “*Harke ye*” and “*your Romeo...*”; there is a comma after this *ye* in the Globe Edition. Millward (*op. cit.*) gives the following figures that indicate the frequency of *you* and *ye* used after these verbs by Shakespeare: *hark you* (18), *hark ye* (8); *hear you*

⁴⁰ *Troilus and Cressida* is not contained in Kökeritz's facsimile edition of the First Folio, and so this quotation has been taken from *The Globe Edition*, edited by W.G. Clark and W.A. Wright, London, 1949.

⁴¹ OED (s. v. MIND v. 5c) records only one example of “*mind you*” taken from Browning, *Fra Lippo* (1855).

(14), *hear ye* (2); *look you* (73), *look* (3); *mark you* (9), *mark ye* (1).

By the way, *lo* (<OE *lā*, cf. L *ecce*⁴²) is semantically equivalent to *look* or *behold* in the imperative, though it is etymologically an interjection. We might say, therefore, that the following instances contain reflexive datives.

(24a) *Loe thee*. —*Ant. & Cl.* IV. xiv. 87.

(24b) *Lo you* my Lord,

The net has falne vpon me,... —*Hen. VIII* I. i. 202-3.

(e) Verbs of other kinds.

Among no small number of instances that show *thee* or *you* as a reflexive dative used after imperative verbs, the following seem specially worthy to be observed.

(25) *Hector, thou sleep'st*;

Awake thee!

—*Tr. & Cr.* IV. v. 114-5.

(26a) *Peace, breake thee of*:

Looke where it comes againe. —*Haml.* I. i. 40-1.

(26b) *Breake thou* in peeces, and consume to ashes,

Thou fowle accursed minister of Hell. —*1 Hen.* VI v. iv. 92-3.

(27a) *Hold thee* there's my purse,... —*All's Well* IV. v. 46.

(27b) ...*hold you*, there is a groat to heale your pate. —*Hen.* V v. i. 61.

(28a) *Hold, take my Sword*:

There's Husbandry in Heauen,

Their Candles are all out: *take thee* that too. —*Macb.* II. i. 4-5.

(28b) *Take thou* that,

As you like this, giue me the lye another time. —*Temp.* III. ii. 85-6.

Though *awake* is also used as transitive by Shakespeare, it seems better to interpret *awake* in example 25 as an intransitive and *thee* as a reflexive dative. Schmidt (*op. cit.* p. 68 r.) specially notes about this place "*awake thee*=awake thou, not=awake thyself." We may here compare the following instance of the same intransitive used absolutely in the imperative: "*Awake, deere hart awake, thou hast slept well, Awake* (*Temp.* I. ii. 305)." *Breake of* (=break off) in example 26a means, according to Schmidt, "discontinue to speak," and is used without a reflexive dative eight times; the quotation above is the only one combined with the reflexive dative. We may surmise that this use has been influenced by the transitive use of *break off* (=discontinue, leave off, cut short), e. g.: *Breake off* thy song,...—*Meas. for M.* IV. i. 7. *Breake* in example 26b is also an intransitive verb, meaning "burst"; and the attendant *thou* can justly be understood as a subject with affective emphasis. Similar force may be felt in *thou* in "Take *thou* that" of example 28b, though the verb is transitive here. On the other hand, *take* in example 28a means "hold," and *thee* is added as a kind of reflexive indirect object. We can easily perceive that the tone is much lighter in *thee* of 28a than in *thou* of 28b. Here, as elsewhere, metrical consideration is out of place. Both in *thee* of "hold *thee*" in example 27a and in *you* of "hold *you*" in example 27b, we may recognize the similar tone that characterizes a reflexive dative.

As already mentioned, the type "imperative+reflexive dative" came into disuse in the

⁴² E. g.: *Ecce tibi* exortus est Isocrates.—Cicero (quoted from *Cassell's New Latin Dictionary*, p. 206 l.) (=Behold thee, Isocrates has stood up.).

standard style of Late Modern English. But even then we can still find occasional instances in some writers whose style is characteristically archaic or poetic. Below I shall give a few instances from Walter Scott as representative of such style in Late Modern English.

- (29) *Mount thee* on wightest steed; —*The Lay of the Last Minstrel* I. xxii.
- (30) O *haste thee*, Allan, to the kern, —*The Lady of the Lake* IV. 393.
- (31) And *speed thee* forth, like Duncan's son! —*ibid.* III. 419.
- (32) *Hush thee*, poor maiden, and be still! —*ibid.* IV. 572.
- (33) *Sit thee* down, then, and fill thy cup;... —*Ivanhoe* XVI.
- (34) ...*avoid thee*, in the name of God! —*ibid.* XLIII.

VI. Conclusion

In concluding this cursory survey, I should like to summarize it in the following way. The English structure of the imperative expanded with the second personal pronoun has been developed on the two main lines, symbolized respectively by the VS type and the SV type. Though the present-day type as "*You hear me*" formally corresponds to the SV type, the intrinsic nature as an emphatic or affective expression should more properly be perceived in the VS type, which continued to be prevalent in the standard literature up to the end of the seventeenth century. The summit of the prevalence was reached at the period of Elizabethan English represented by Shakespeare. There the traditional idiom with the reflexive dative *thee* or *you* participated in the expanded emphatic structure. In consequence we might say that the VS type of imperative expression has been reinforced by the subsidiary type of the imperative in conjunction with the second personal pronoun as reflexive dative. Subsidiary though it is as an imperative expression, we can recognize in the reflexive dative the fundamental characteristic of the pronoun that is appended to the imperative in general. Indeed, the modern colloquial idiom "*Mind you*" and some kindred expressions have been handed down on the line of the most straightforward and so characteristic category belonging to that type with the reflexive dative pronoun which was established by Shakespeare.

Now comparing the Shakespearean "*Sit thee* down" with the modern "*You sit* down," we can see that the stress of the dative *thee* in the former has been weakened, while the emphasis of *you* in the latter is indicative of the original function of the accompanying pronoun in the expanded imperative expression. There is evidently a tendency of the reflexive dative becoming phonetically weakened and sometimes even enclitic with regard to the preceding imperative. Although this suggests the general decay of this type with a reflexive dative in the standard style of Modern English, we should still observe the semantic or functional feature of the pronoun in "*Sit thee* down," "*Hear thee*," or "*Mind you*" remaining unchanged, just as in the VS type represented by Middle English "*Heere 3e*." Especially we should like to notice that the reflexive dative in this type is outwardly symbolic of the intrinsic adverbial nature of every pronoun in the second person, in whatever case it may appear, which is used with a verb in the imperative mood.