



University
of Glasgow

Head, George (1997) *Studies in the language, palaeography and codicology of MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates'* 19.2.2. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2989/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE, PALAEOGRAPHY AND
CODICOLOGY OF MEDINBURGH, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF
SCOTLAND, ADVOCATES' 19. 2. 2

George Head

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Department of English Language
UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

November 1997

© George Head 1997

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

**PAGE NUMBERING
AS FOUND IN
THE ORIGINAL
THESIS**

FOR MY PARENTS, MY WIFE, AND MY CHILDREN

Abstract

This thesis is an investigation into scribal method in the Older Scots period. It centres upon the practice of a single scribe, John Ramsay, and his work in a single manuscript, MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 19. 2. 2 compiled between 1488 and 1489. This manuscript contains the oldest extant copy of *Bruce* by the late fourteenth-century poet John Barbour and a copy of the fifteenth-century poem *Wallace* attributed to Blin' Hary.

In the first chapter, the reasons for the choice of this manuscript are given and its historical context is outlined. This is done through a brief description of the manuscript, an account of the lives of the authors of the texts and an outline history of the Older Scots Language. In chapter two, an alternative context for the manuscript is suggested through a discussion of prototype theories of categorisation and how they articulate with current theories of linguistic investigation. In particular, the notions of inclusiveness, fuzziness, and focus and fixity are highlighted as being of particular importance in the study of language which is the subject of the chapter which follows. Chapter 3 is a commentary on the language of the manuscript, working from data presented in the appendices. This enables the various current methods of manuscript investigation to be studied for what they reveal of scribal practice. In particular, the concepts of variation and constraint are highlighted.

Chapter 4 is an examination of the handwriting in the manuscript. Again working from data presented in the

appendices. Ramsay's range of letter forms and the contexts in which he uses them are investigated. Variation and constraint are again important concepts and the value of the study of handwriting as an aid to the identification of the work of a scribe is assessed.

In Chapter 5 the codicology of the manuscript is considered. The watermarks in the paper are described and, as far as possible, identified. A collation of the quires of the texts, based on the pattern of watermarks and chain-line indentations, is suggested. Ramsay's methods of correction and abbreviation are then examined for what they reveal of his scribal practice.

In the final chapter, the linguistic, palaeographical and codicological evidence is drawn together and the relationships among them discussed.

The thesis is accompanied by four sets of appendices which reproduce the linguistic, palaeographical and codicological data collected for the study.

Contents

Abstract	3
Contents	5
Preface	6
Abbreviations and conventions	8
PART ONE: THE TEXT	
1. Introduction	11
2. Prototypes and the Older Scots Language	34
3. Language	74
4. Handwriting	136
5. Codicology	220
6. Conclusions	266
Bibliography	277
PART TWO: THE APPENDICES	
Appendix 1: The Linguistic Profiles	288
Appendix 2: The Written Language Profile	395
Appendix 3: The Graphetic Profiles	399
Appendix 4: The Codicological Profiles	449

Preface

The writing of this thesis has depended on the kindness and generosity of many people. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Jeremy Smith. He has always been available for me, well in excess of the duties of a supervisor. His suggestions and guidance have been instrumental in the shaping of this thesis. His personal and professional advice encouraged me to persevere with this work when otherwise I might have faltered for either intellectual or personal reasons. It was Jeremy's suggestions which provided the inspiration for the exploration of the palaeographical and codicological aspects of the manuscript.

I am also grateful to Liz Reay who first convinced me of the pleasure to be gained from the study of medieval English Language, and to Caroline Macafee and Anne King who introduced me to Older Scots. In addition I am grateful to Christian Kay, Graham Caie and Jane Stuart-Smith of the Department of English Language at Glasgow University for their advice and encouragement.

I am also grateful to John Durkan for his correspondence and to Rod Lyall for his time, advice and for allowing me access to unpublished materials.

I am grateful to the staff of the National Library of Scotland for allowing me access to Adv. 19. 2. 2, and for preparing a microfilm of the manuscript for me. I am especially thankful to Elspeth Yeo and Ian C. Cunningham for their correspondence

and comments on my observations of the watermarks and suggested collation of the manuscript.

I am extremely grateful to Delia Bain for typing my appendices. Her patience, diligence and good humour were both necessary and welcome.

I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Scottish Education Department for my first year of study.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents George and Sarah Head, and my family. My mother and father believed in me when there were little grounds for doing so and their faith was a constant source of encouragement. My wife, Flora, has been unstintingly patient and her tolerance of the long hours which I have spent with my thesis to the exclusion of herself and our children has been admirable. My children, Brian, Islay and Alasdair have also suffered from my selfish absorption in my research and I can only hope that the dedication of this thesis is some small recompense.

Abbreviations and conventions

The following abbreviations are commonly used in this thesis:

AmEng	American English
AusEng	Australian English
B	<i>Bruce</i> in Adv. 19. 2. 2. as in folio B4r.
CSD	<i>The Concise Scots Dictionary</i> (see bibliography)
ESc	Early Scots
f(f)	folio(s)
GP	Graphetic Profile
LALME	<i>Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> (see Bibliography)
LP	Linguistic Profile
ME	Middle English
modSc	modern Scots
MSc	Middle Scots
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
nME	northern Middle English
Œ	Old English
OSc	Older Scots
PDE	Present-Day English
r	recto, as in f4r
SSE	The Southern Standardised English contemporary with OSc
SH	<i>Scottish Handwriting</i> (see Bibliography)
SLP	Spoken Language Profile
v	verso, as in f4v
W	<i>Wallace</i> in Adv. 19. 2. 2. as in folio W118r
WLP	Written Language Profile

For the convenience of the reader I have differentiated between entries in a volume and the author or editor's unique contribution. Thus CSD: 117 refers to a lexical entry on page 117 of the dictionary, whilst Robinson (1985: xiii) refers to the editor's own words in her introduction. Similarly, SH plate 12 refers to an illustration, whilst Simpson (1973: 1) refers to the author's own words on that page.

Items which are a matter of spelling are enclosed in angled brackets < >, whilst those which are presented as they appear in the MS (or other source) are underlined.

Where a term is defined or explained for the first time, it is **emboldened**.

When a letter shape is referred to as an abstract notion, it is **emboldened**.

The titles of books are *italicised*.

PART ONE: TEXT

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 In recent years there has been increasing interest in an interdisciplinary approach to the study of manuscripts. This interest has been expressed in part through the work of palaeographers who have found it increasingly useful to identify the dialect of a language as well as the script used, as an aid to determining provenance. Equally it has grown out of the philologists' desire to dig around in 'the messiness and complexity of real language' (Smith 1994b: 99), which has necessitated engagement with the setting of the linguistic forms in question. Of particular significance in this development has been the recognition, primarily by Professor McIntosh, that identification of a scribe can often require more than overtly linguistic criteria (spelling, word choice) and that, in particular, the identification of word and/or letter shapes used by a scribe can be vital identification criteria.

1.2 The value of considering both graphetic and linguistic scribal profiles was exemplified by Professor McIntosh in his discussion of the Ellesmere Chaucer (McIntosh 1989a: 36-37):

... a purely linguistic profile made from the text of a modern transcript of the Ellesmere Chaucer would in effect be one, not of the scholar who made it, but of the Ellesmere scribe. It would necessarily of course characterise that scribe only in a one-sided way since it would contain little or no *graphetic* information. On the other hand, a purely graphetic profile derived from this same modern transcript would correspond closely ... to a similar profile derived from a specimen of the transcriber's everyday

handwriting habits: again it would necessarily be one-sided, this time because it contained no information about his everyday *linguistic* habits.

It follows that only a [graphetic profile] type of analysis would be of use in establishing (or denying) the identity of the maker of the transcript of the Ellesmere manuscript...

1.3 The pinpointing of scribal idiosyncrasies by linguistic interrogators of a text is not, of course, new. There has been a longstanding tradition of scholarly concern with the identification of scribal behaviour in order to identify accurately those places in a manuscript where one scribe replaces another for the purposes of then separating out dialectal features of the different tranches of the text. Unfortunately, however accurate and based on long years of experience poring over a range of manuscripts, sometimes these judgments have been largely intuitive (McIntosh 1989a: 37-38; and see 2.25 below). In addition, by considering, for example, the linguistic evidence alone, scholars have at times constructed arguments which were less well-informed than they might have been had all the evidence which a manuscript provides been taken into account (see Smith 1997: 75 and references there cited). The complexity of the layers of language in a text has also presented editors with difficulties which they have been unable to overcome (see, for example, the discussion of Atkins' edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* at 3.34 below).

1.4 One result of the increased activity at the interface between the disciplines of philology and palaeography is the realisation that 'investigation of the manuscript context has

come to be felt the most promising way to advance our knowledge of Middle English literature' (Doyle 1981: 142). Thus for instance the assistance of paleographers has proven crucial in the development of the Edinburgh Middle English Dialect Survey, which has in turn contributed to the understanding of the palaeography and codicology of the medieval English period. The work of the Survey will be returned to at several points in this thesis, notably in chapter 3.

1.5 As a result of such scholarly activity, 'a new respect for the evidential value of the exact spelling of every copy of a text has converged with growing consciousness of the benefits of precise codicological and palaeographical analysis of each manuscript' (Doyle 1981: 143), although it is important to bear in mind Doyle's warning that '...a temptation to jump the slow steps we need to take if we are to build up a firm reconstruction...' (Doyle 1981: 145) of scribal activity.

1.6 Keeping Doyle's warning in mind, the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the methods by which linguists and palaeographers interrogate their manuscripts. An attempt will be made to test and refine these methods by examining the linguistic, paleographical and codicological practices of a named scribe within a single manuscript containing two texts.

1.7 An apparent problem in establishing scribal practice is the existence of scribal variation, both in language and in handwriting. It has been suggested by some scholars in the past that it may be possible for scribes to be identified by 'fingerprints', i.e. idiosyncratic use in handwriting or language. It is therefore sometimes argued that variation in

linguistic forms and in letter shapes point to the activity of several scribes in a single manuscript.

1.8 A recent example shows the dangers inherent in not recognising scribal variation. By allowing for a degree of variation which has led others to postulate separate scribes for the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts of Chaucer, Smith (1997: 75-79; see also Smith 1988 and references there cited) has been able to illustrate how the same scribe differed in his treatment of the 'Northern speech in the language of the Reeve's Tale and in the variation between the two manuscripts in their reflection of Chaucer's metrical practice', presumably in response to the different exemplar(s) which he used in each case.

1.9 This approach to scribal behaviour has not really been extended to Older Scots texts, which provide complex problems of setting and linguistic/paleographical development distinct from that found in Middle English manuscripts. I have chosen to examine the work of a single known scribe for whom variation is a highly significant factor and whose entire extant output, as far as is known, exists in two texts, at one time bound together in a single volume. The scribe is John Ramsay, and the manuscript is Edinburgh MS. National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library 19. 2. 2 (Adv. 19. 2. 2).

1.10 A task of this thesis will be to attempt to create a scribal profile of Ramsay as far as it can be deduced from his practice over two texts in the manuscript. This profile will include aspects of the language and handwriting as envisaged by McIntosh (1989b) and, in addition, details of how the manuscript was put together. It is taken as axiomatic in this thesis that

linguistic form is affected by codicological function. It is therefore important to set linguistic information in the context of book production in late- fifteenth-century Scotland.

1.11 In order to achieve this profile, I first of all look at the language of the manuscript. Initially, I place it within the general category of Older Scots by considering what might be prototypical Older Scots language as it is found in the writings of the mediaeval scribes and makars, and considering how the language of Adv. 19. 2. 2 relates to this prototypical usage.

1.12 Thereafter, I will consider the various methods of scrutinising the language of a manuscript, paying particular attention to the methods used by the authors of the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (hence LALME). The purpose of this section will be to examine the efficacy of the various methods and assess how far (if at all) it is possible to determine the distinct linguistic features of Ramsay and each of his exemplars of *Bruce and Wallace*.

1.13 Having considered the linguistic features, I will then look at the palaeographical features of Adv. 19. 2. 2. I will do this by compiling a catalogue of letter shapes as they are found in the manuscript. I will then consider the degree of variation found among these letter shapes and the implications this variation has for our understanding of scribal behaviour.

1.14 Following on from these aspects, I will then consider the codicology of the manuscript. I will do this by identifying the watermarks in the paper, considering what may have been the original collation of the manuscript and considering the

implications of these for such aspects of manuscript production as the supply of paper, methods of folding, and Ramsay's attitude towards his manuscript.

1.15 Finally, I extract the salient features from each of the aspects investigated and in so doing compile a description of Ramsay's response to his exemplars which would allow one to develop a characterisation of Ramsay's idiosyncratic usage.

Manuscript production in fifteenth-century Scotland

1.16 Before proceeding with these matters, it is appropriate to say something of the socio-historical context within which Adv. 19. 2. 2 was produced.

1.17 Unfortunately none of the libraries belonging to fifteenth-century Scottish individuals or institutions has survived intact (Lyall 1989b: 239). However, inventories and those parts of collections which have survived indicate that fifteenth-century Scottish readers were at least aware of contemporary European culture (Lyall 1989b: 239), and their interests included Scottish and Roman history, science and medicine, law, and astronomy (Lyall 1989b: 246, 248).

1.18 During the fourteenth century, there had emerged a steadily increasing number of 'general' readers throughout Europe (Parkes 1973: 563). Increased demand led in turn to a more organised book trade (Parkes 1973: 563) including a bespoke book trade in which patrons and commissioners employed scribes to copy particular works (Griffiths and Pearsall 1989: 5).

1.19 There is good evidence that at least some Scots in the fifteenth century were active participants in this general European movement towards a 'general' readership. It is possible for instance that printed books from the press of William Caxton at Westminster found their way to Scotland (McQueen 1967: 209). Moreover, some manuscripts appear to have found their way to Scotland by way of Europe and England (Lyall 1989b: 240). However, whilst English and European manuscripts appear to have been the products of religious houses or an elaborate book industry (Parkes 1973: 564 and passim) manuscript production in Scotland would appear to have been somewhat different.

1.20 At the beginning of the fifteenth century there would appear to have been comparatively little demand for manuscripts in Scotland. However, by the last quarter of the century, this situation had altered dramatically (Lyall 1989b: 241). Once begun, this was a self-perpetuating process so that the increase in demand for manuscripts led to an increase in professionalism among scribes which in turn leads to an even greater demand for manuscripts (Lyall 1989b: 241).

1.21 The stimulus for this increase may have been two-fold; the availability of paper (Lyall 1989b: 241; Parkes 1973: 564) and the emergence in Scotland of a particular class of professional who used writing in his everyday work:

...there was in the course of the fifteenth century a remarkable growth in the scribal profession, which ultimately had its effect upon the copying of literary texts. The key to this process was the emergence, towards the end of the fourteenth century, of a cadre of highly skilled

notaries public, who came to assume a much greater significance in the legal and economic life of Scotland than was ever enjoyed by their English counterparts... There does not seem to have been a formal organisation of notaries public, comparable for example with the Scriveners' Company in London, but there is a good deal of evidence of the existence of something like an apprenticeship system which enabled prospective members of the profession to acquire the necessary skills.

(Lyal 1989b: 242)

1.22 Another prolific area of scribal activity in Scotland was the royal court (Durkan 1953: passim and references there cited). Much is known of the careers of these clerks (see Durkan and Ross 1961: 134-5 for details of one such individual, Patrick Paniter); some of them such as Archibald Whitelaw, who served as secretary to James III (Durkan 1953: 5), were responsible for the collections mentioned at 1.17 above.

1.23 The consequences of this different method of book-production were again two-fold: the production of manuscripts in Scotland 'remained rudimentary' (Lyal 1989b: 242), and Scottish scribal traditions were in many respects distinct (Lyal 1989b: 243). In the case of Adv. 19. 2. 2 the first of these is evident from the look of the manuscript. The extent to which Scottish scribal tradition was distinct, at least in Ramsay's practice, is a concern of the chapters which follow.

1.24 Whether or not Ramsay was a notary public, a clerk at the royal court, an ecclesiastic, or involved with writing in some other way, we must place him within this milieu of manuscript

production. In doing so, we can expect the multifariousness of his activities to be reflected in this manuscript (McQueen 1967: 215).

The manuscript: Adv. 19. 2. 2

1.25 In his preface to the Scottish Text Society edition of *Bruce* Skeat (1894) tells us that the two parts of Adv. 19. 2. 2, *Bruce* and *Wallace* have been transposed in the binding. Whilst the colophons confirm that *Bruce* was copied in 1489, a year later than *Wallace*, which appeared behind it in the manuscript, Skeat's statement infers that the texts had nevertheless been bound as a single volume. This would appear to have happened when the manuscript came into the possession of the National Library of Scotland (see ch 4).

1.26 The colophon of *Wallace* is brief, telling us simply that the manuscript was written by the scribe John Ramsay in 1488. The *Bruce* colophon is longer and much more detailed:

ffinitur codicellus de v *irtutib us* et actibus
bellicosus viz d *omi* Roberti broys qu *ndam*
scottorum reg *is* illustrissimi raptim sc *ript us*
p *er* me Joha *m* Ramsay ex iussu
ven *er*abilis & circumspecti viri vz mag *is* *tri*
Symonis lochmaloney de oucht *e* *m*unsye
vicarij b *en* *e* digni anno d *omi* millesimo
quadringentesimo octuagesimo nono.

(B. folio 70r; McDiarmid & Stevenson 1980: vol 3, page 264)

1.27 Skeat refers to Jamieson's *History of Fife* which identifies Lochmaloney as a family name belonging to Fife, and locates Auchtermunsey two miles north west of Cupar. The questions of

exactly who Simon Lochmaloney was, his relationship to Ramsay, and why he would wish a copy of the *Bruce* made, remain unanswered.

1.28 Throughout his introduction, Skeat assumes that Ramsay was also the scribe of the St. John's College, Cambridge G23 MS of *Bruce* and this leads him to make certain other assumptions about Ramsay's behaviour in producing this manuscript (Skeat 1889: vol. 1: lxxiii). However, McDiarmid (1968) refutes this on the grounds that the script and spelling in the St. John's manuscript are very different from those in the Adv. manuscript. It is hoped that the short questionnaire which I intend to produce as a result of this study will help to shed some light on this question.

1.29 In his introduction to his edition of *Wallace* (McDiarmid 1968) Matthew McDiarmid dates the composition of Hary's *Wallace* to sometime between 1476 and 1478, with the latter date his preference (McDiarmid 1968: xvi). This being the case, then Ramsay's exemplar could well have been the original and in any case, his manuscript is no more than ten years younger than the original. It is unlikely, therefore, that the language of the original and that of Ramsay's manuscript would be separated by any diachronic developments in the language. Any significant linguistic differences are, therefore, likely to illustrate features of the dialects of Hary, Ramsay and any intervening exemplar scribe as they were in late fifteenth-century Scotland.

1.30 On what is now the verso of folio 70 of *Bruce*, originally the outermost folio of the manuscript, we find the signatures of five presumed owners. Each of these had the surname Burnett, and

Skeat accepts the deduction of a previous editor (John Jamieson, D. D., Edinburgh, 1820) that this places the manuscript in the possession of the Burnetts of Aberdeenshire, one of whom, presumably, gave the manuscript to the Advocates Library, from whence it came to be part of the collection of the National Library of Scotland.

John Barbour

1.31 Fortunately, some details about the author of *Bruce* are available to us and these were documented by Skeat in the preface to his edition. The fact that Barbour was the author of the poem comes to us in the first instance by courtesy of the fifteenth-century author Andrew of Wyntoun who in his *Original Cronykill of Scotland* (completed circa 1420) makes several references to Barbour and his works (Skeat 1894: xxxvi - xxxviii) including the following:

Quhat that folwyd efftyrwert,
How Robert oure kyng recoweryd his land
That occupyid wyth his fays he fand,
And it restoryd in all fredwme
Qwhyt tillhys ayris off all threldwme.
Quha that lykis that for to wyt,
To that Buke I tham remyt,
Quhare Maystere IHON BARBERE, of Abbyrdene
Archeden, as mony has sene,
Hys dedis dytyd mare wertusly
Than I can thynk in all study,
Haldand in all lele suthfastnes,
Set all he wrat noucht his prowes.

Wyntoun, 'Chron.' viii. 970

Laing's edition, from Skeat.

1.32 Indeed, Wynthoun cites around two hundred and eighty lines of *Bruce* in his *Cronykil* and, although we do not know of his exemplar and how much he may have altered it, if at all, this passage nevertheless predates Adv. 19. 2. 2 by almost seventy years.

1.33 In all, Skeat compiled fifty-two references to Barbour, mainly taken from *Rymer's Foedra. Rotuli Scotiae. The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (edited in 1845 for The Spalding Club by C. Innes) and the *Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland* (Skeat 1894: xv - xxviii). Although Skeat describes the data contained in these sources as meagre, they nevertheless enable us to build a fairly detailed picture of Barbour. Skeat places the date of Barbour's birth around 1320 (Skeat 1894: xxix) and, whilst he makes no claim for the exactness of this date, it would seem sensible to adopt his reasoning since it concurs with what else we know of Barbour's life. He was Archdeacon of Aberdeen for at least thirty-eight years between August 13th 1357 (the time when his name is first mentioned in official documents) and his death on 13th March, 1395. Skeat's dating would make the author archdeacon by his late thirties, to have finished *Bruce* at the age of fifty-five, and to have been seventy-five years old at his death (Skeat 1894: xxix).

1.34 This first appearance of Barbour's name is in a grant of safe conduct made by Edward III of England to allow 'Johannem Barber, archidiaconum de Abredene' to travel with three others and study at the University of Oxford. This makes it clear that Barbour was already archdeacon, therefore qualified in theology and, although the exact purpose of his journey is not

known, it is reasonable to assume that he wished to further his theological studies. This would concur with other documents of October 1365 (Skeat 1894: xvi, no. 4) and November 1368 (Skeat, 1894: xvi, no. 5) granting him safe conduct through England and France, the second explicitly for 'causa studentii'.

1.35 To Skeat, the fact that Barbour continued to study long after his appointment as archdeacon, and the fact that he died without further elevation in the hierarchy of the Church, suggests that Barbour's learning was undertaken, not for any career-motivated reasons, but for love of learning itself. This would correlate with the type of intellectual background one would expect in the author of such a substantial work as *Bruce*.

1.36 That the Barbour of the official records is the same person referred to by Wyntoun, is borne out by the fact that on March 14th 1377 he was granted £10 'per literam ostensam' possibly *Bruce* itself (Skeat 1894: xviii, no.9). Skeat also argues the possibility that a grant of twenty shillings sterling per annum made to Barbour and his heirs and assigns for ever by Robert II on 24th June 1380 (Skeat 1894: xix, no. 13) could also have been payment for the poem. Indeed, an entry in the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* for April 30th 1428 granting payment to the cathedral church of Aberdeen upon the anniversary of 'Johannis Barbare, archidiacono principis quondam domini regis ROBERTI BRUYS...' (Skeat 1894: xxvii, no. 49) would appear to verify this.

1.37 Other data collected by Skeat show Barbour employed in various ecclesiastical and royal assignments. No.2 indicates that he was one of the Archbishop of Aberdeen's commissioners

arranging to pay ransom to the English for King David II, held prisoner in England in 1357. Others (No.s 6, 7, 9, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23) grant Barbour various payments for acting as an auditor in the king's household and others still (No.s 24, 26 etc.) granting him royal gifts of money for unstated reasons.

1.38 From this information, we can reconstruct Barbour as an intelligent, hard-working and perhaps favourite servant of his archbishop and king. Such favour would probably have allowed him access to those sources, both royal and ecclesiastical, which he would require for the background to *Bruce*. Moreover, his travels and studies in England and France would have exposed him to the literature of western Europe at that time, including, of course, the works of Chaucer. Indeed Skeat goes on to detail Barbour's knowledge and other works as it can be deduced from references to him by Wyntoun and from literary allusions within *Bruce*. Since the motivation for this study is linguistic rather than literary, I need not detail these here. Though one must not forget the importance of the literary function for the contextualisation of linguistic forms, my purpose in reconstructing Barbour's background has been to place the language of his poem in a socio-historical context, notwithstanding scribal alterations at the hands of Ramsay (see also Duncan 1997: 2-4 and references there cited).

1.39 From the foregoing, it is reasonable to assume that the vernacular employed by Barbour was that of a well-educated, professional fourteenth-century Scottish male. From his social standing, it is likely that he shared this language with his ecclesiastical and noble superiors. We can reasonably assume, then, that Barbour's language was the language of the

professional, noble and royal classes of late fourteenth century Scotland. How Scottish this language is perceived to be will be examined later when it is compared to the prototype of Older Scots which will be suggested in the next chapter.

Blin Hary

1.40 Wyntoun was not the only writer to credit Barbour with authorship of *Bruce*. He is also mentioned in this capacity by the author of *Wallace* Blin Hary.

1.41 The first reference in literature to Hary as author of *Wallace* is recorded in 1518 by John Mair in his *Historia Majoris Britanniae*. It is also Mair who first describes Hary as an itinerant story-teller, and blind from birth. This portrait of Hary as a blind raconteur of outstanding ability was perpetuated by various commentators and editors who were otherwise content to criticise only his (lack of) historical accuracy. This is understandable since the author's name, with its definitive soubriquet and tone of couthiness suggests such a description. Furthermore, the notion of an uneducated or semi-educated wandering poet is something that perhaps no-one has wished to investigate more closely as it lends an air of romantic mystery to his work. In addition, McDiarmid lists extracts from *The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* which detail payments to 'Blind(e) Hary' on five occasions between April 1490 and January 1492 (McDiarmid, xxviii).

1.42 However, McDiarmid also points out that there is much in the poem to suggest a less romantic picture of the poet's background, and he sets out a long and convincing argument which refutes the established tradition. Firstly, he argues that

the accuracy of many of the descriptive passages, especially those which entail images of light and dark, space and movement, topographical detail and the references to blinding as a form of torture employed in warfare, provide evidence to the point that '*Wallace* is patently not the work of a blind-born man' (McDiarmid, xxxiv). He argues further that the detailed construction of the poem, with its many references to, and comments on, various sources and literary models can only be the work of someone who had these texts available for scrutiny at the time of composition.

1.43 The plausibility of McDiarmid's argument is strengthened by the fact that the first mention of Hary in the *Accounts* comes some twelve years or so after composition of the poem: ample time for him to have lost his sight and acquired his sobriquet. McDiarmid also tells us that 'Blynd Hary' was the name of a mythical comic creature in *The Manere of Crying of ane Play* and as such could easily have been adopted as a nom de plume by anyone wishing to remain anonymous after suffering blindness. McDiarmid concludes, therefore, that the author of the poem, far from being a poor blind beggar, had been well-educated, probably at a burgh grammar school.

1.44 In addition, McDiarmid argues that much of the detail of the poem indicates first-hand knowledge of foreign travel, probably for military purposes, on the part of the author. He goes on to suggest that such a degree of learning and military experience would have given Hary considerable social standing and made him a welcome visitor in noble households, where he could recount his tales among friends.

1.45 In the course of the poem, Hary mentions criticism from two of his contemporaries, Sir William Wallace, and Sir James Liddale. McDiarmid analyses these references to show their participation in the genesis of the poem. Indeed, it is likely that Wallace provided Hary with material on the background of his ancestor.

1.46 By his marriage to Margaret Dunbar, Wallace had control of properties in the east of Scotland, including Auchtermunsey in north-west Fife. The fact that the extant manuscript of *Wallace*, Adv. 19. 2. 2 was copied by the scribe John Ramsay, and contains his copy of *Bruce*, commissioned by Simon Lochmaloney of Auchtermunsey, suggests, perhaps, a closer relationship between author and scribe than has hitherto been thought. Moreover, in book vii, there is a long eulogy to a Ramsay, who also is given a prominent role elsewhere in the poem.

1.47 Given his association with the nobility and notable families of Fife, it is possible that Hary knew John Ramsay of Colluthie in Auchtermoonzie parish, who in turn would probably have claimed descent from the Sir John Ramsay mentioned by Barbour in *Bruce*. He could, of course, also have been related to the scribe John Ramsay, thus giving an intriguing network of family and friendship relationships which connect the two tales contained in the manuscript.

The Older Scots Language

1.48 The history of what today we call the Older Scots Language (OSc) has its origins in the Germanic invasions of Britain in the sixth and seventh centuries (Templeton 1973: 4; Robinson 1985:

ix). The most northerly settlement stretched from the Humber in central northern England to the Forth in what is now south-eastern Scotland (Templeton 1973: 4). It is the language of this settlement which is the direct ancestor of the English which is spoken in Scotland.

1.49 Its introduction into Scotland and subsequent development can be explained by the invasion just mentioned, by immigration to other parts of Scotland, and by political events. Instrumental among these was the marriage of Malcolm Canmore, the eleventh-century Celtic king of the Scots, to the English princess Margaret. Malcolm's kingdom was (with the obvious exception in the south-east) Celtic-speaking but his reign saw the beginnings of the spread of the Anglo-Saxon language current in contemporary England. Following the Norman invasions of England, Malcolm welcomed Anglo-Saxon refugees to Scotland (Templeton 1973: 4). This began a political process which facilitated the introduction of the burgh system into Scotland by his son David I, possibly the most significant event in the development of OSc (Templeton 1973: 5; McClure 1988:11).

1.50 These events resulted in considerable migration to Scotland of people whose native language was Anglo-Saxon (Templeton 1973: 5). In their wake came others who through settlement adopted it since it was more closely related to their own language than the Gaelic which they found in Scotland (McClure 1988: 11). It was these people who conducted the day to day business of the fairs and markets held in the burghs and their language gained prestige by association with the 'attractive new developments in trade and commerce, with enterprise and with prosperity'

which followed the flowering of the burgh system. Consequently, the 'Inglis' (McClure 1988: 13; Templeton 1973: 6) of these speakers gained precedence over the Celtic languages in the burghs of lowland Scotland.

1.51 The acceptance of this variety of English as the prestige language of Scotland was completed with the demise of the Celtic royal line and the passing of the throne to Lowland families in the Wars of Independence (McClure 1988: 12). Although it has been argued that language had little or no political significance in the middle ages (Chaytor 1945: 22), politics as we have seen did have an influence on linguistic diffusion. 'Inglis' was now the principal language of an independent Scotland, and was spoken in an area stretching from Aberdeen in the north to south of the Forth and Clyde -- the area traditionally called Lowland Scotland.

1.52 Thereafter, its usage increased. It became the literary language of Lowland Scotland with the composition of Barbour's *Bruce* in the late fourteenth century, and was to flourish at the hands of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century makars in particular (McClure 1988: 12). Similarly, it began to replace French as the language of administration in the early fifteenth century (McClure 1988: 12). The Acts of the Scottish Parliaments are recorded in Scots from 1424 on and from 1434 'Inglis' was used as the language of local records (Templeton 1973: 6). With this increase in function came a development different from that in closely related dialects (Devitt 1989: 9). The extent of this difference was great enough to prompt remarks from foreign visitors (Templeton 1973: 6) and in the late fifteenth century the language of lowland Scotland was first referred to as 'Scottis', suggesting the perception of a language distinct from the

varieties of English found in England.

1.53 By this time, OSc was the language of all sections of society from the peasantry to royalty (Robinson 1985: 9). Communications between Scots kings and nobles and from Scottish nobles to their English counterparts were conducted in OSc (see Slater 1952 for evidence).

1.54 These developments led to important changes in the language which mark it out as distinctively OSc. Some of these were the result of borrowing from other languages to add to the existing word stock (Robinson 1985: xv-xvi). Others were due to sound changes which took place within the language during the OSc period (Templeton 1973: 7). The most significant of these are detailed in the following chapter.

1.55 Traditionally, the OSc period has been divided into the following sub-periods which reflect the developments indicated above plus the subsequent progress towards its present condition. These are: Pre-Literary Scots, the period up to 1375, the date of composition of Barbour's *Bruce*, the Early Scots period from 1375 - 1450 when Scots took on the increase in function described at 1.43 above; and the Middle Scots period from 1450 - 1700. This last segment can be further broken down into the Early Middle Scots period 1450 - 1550 in which the language reached its peak of prestige and elaboration of use, and the Late Middle Scots period 1550 - 1700, in which the language changed in the direction of the prestigious standard of southern England.

Variational space and plasticity

1.56 Before proceeding to investigate the 'messiness and complexity' of Adv. 19. 2. 2, two concepts require explaining: **variational space and plasticity**. These notions will be returned to on a number of occasions in what follows: it is therefore appropriate to supply definitions here.

1.57 The first of these can be defined as the sets of variations (phonological, morphological, orthographical, grammatical and lexical) which when taken together constitute the potential for change within a language system (Smith 1996: 7). It can be illustrated by the number of different realisations for a single phoneme which exist within the speakers of a common dialect; by the existence of the forms you and yous to indicate the second person plural in some dialects of PDE (including the urban Scots of modern Glasgow); and by the range of spellings which existed for most words in the Middle English and Older Scots periods (see Smith 1996: 44-47 for a full explication). In terms of this study variational space will apply in particular to the range of spellings and letter-shapes which the scribe was prepared to tolerate in his exemplars. In other words, it is the extent of Ramsay's variational space which determines his attitude towards his exemplars.

1.58 The second, plasticity, is closely related to variational space and describes the scribe's reaction to the forms he met in his exemplars. In other words Ramsay's degree of plasticity will be reflected in his willingness to reproduce the forms which he sees in his exemplars in addition to those which he might well spontaneously use. It refers, therefore, to both the range of forms which he has at his disposal, and his usage among those

forms. The term 'plastic' has been used to describe the Lallans invented by the Scots poet Hugh MacDiarmid and others (Smith 1996: 169). This attempt at a prestigious language for the writing of Scots is a 'synthetic mixture of Scots varieties' and includes features of the Scots language taken from different stages in its development from OSc to the present day. This willingness to actively employ a wide range of forms is the example *par excellence* of plasticity.

1.59 The relationship between them can possibly be described in the case of the person who leaves home to live for a time in another dialect area. At first he hears local forms but he does not understand them and does not respond to them. In this instance his variational space would be very narrow. After a while, however, he not only responds to them but begins to use these new items in his own speech. Now he has a wide variational space, and in this instance is also highly plastic. However, if he were to hear and respond to local forms but not repeat them in his own speech, his variational space, his potential for change, will still have increased, but he is displaying low plasticity.

Summary

1.60 In this chapter I have outlined the background to Ramsay's manuscript. I have placed it within a fifteenth-century context by giving details of the authors of the texts, the language of the texts, and the conditions in which they were produced. Having established the context, I have suggested that the most fruitful method of interrogating the texts is to examine each of the elements of their production and to draw together any conclusions which can be reached concerning the

relationships among them. As 'every text has its own history' (Smith 1994b: 100) so every manuscript has its own story over and above that related in its text: the story of the manuscript itself.

1.61 In the next chapter, I will begin to uncover that story by suggesting a way of examining the language of the manuscript that allows for wide variational space and a high degree of plasticity, within its own peculiar setting of the manuscript. To do this will require a more flexible notion of the variety 'Older Scots' than it has been customary to allow for in the scholarly literature. This notion entails engaging with recent theories of linguistic categorization, i.e. 'prototype theory'.

Chapter 2

Prototypes and the Older Scots Language

The notion 'prototype'

2.1 The use of prototypes as a means of linguistic description derives from the work in the early 1970s of psychologists who examined the empirical evidence concerning the way people categorized things in their environment (Taylor 1989:173). In particular, it relates to the ability 'to see similarity in diversity' (Taylor 1989:viii), a notion with which students of language in general, and those aware of the extent of variation in OSc in particular, will be familiar. This approach, because it arrives at its results through reasoning and intuition, can be termed a cognitive approach. I have chosen to adopt it here in my characterisation of the Older Scots language because of its inclusive nature and its ability to deal with fuzziness. In order to illustrate this notion, it is possibly best to describe the differences between the cognitive and what might be called the classical (Taylor 1989:21-37) approaches to categorisation.

2.2 Taylor (1989:2-8) examines the categorisation (by structuralists and cognitivists) of colour in English to show how this works. Structuralist theory argues that the spectrum from a prism is a diffuse continuum of light and that its separation into discrete categories of colour is a matter of cultural imposition through language. Furthermore, the allocation of names to these colours is a matter of arbitrariness on two counts. Firstly, the phonetic string allocated to a colour is arbitrary: the form [rɛd] carries nothing of the meaning of RED, but is a convenient and accepted sound-sequence used to denote that colour among

English speakers. In addition, it is arbitrary in the sense that it is a matter of convention exactly where on the spectrum RED begins and ends. Another culture with different conventions might choose other parameters for the same category.

2.3 The cognitive approach, however, argues that categorisation of colour may not be as arbitrary as explained here (Taylor 1989:15). The cognitive approach looks not solely to the language itself, but to its interaction with other cognitive forces. In other words, it allows for perception: in this instance that colour categories have a centre and a periphery and that at the centre one would find the most typical example of RED with increasingly less typical examples being found near the periphery. Moreover, the names of colours do not form a system in as much as the lexicalisation of RED does not depend on the lexicalisation of ORANGE or YELLOW (Taylor 1989:15). The effect, then, is not one of arbitrariness, but rather one of gradualness created by the admixture of underlying cognitive factors which we use to form linguistic categories.

2.4 By allowing membership of a category to less typical instances of an entity, the cognitive approach generates inclusive categories in contrast to the exclusive, binary nature of classical categories. Under the Aristotelian approach (Taylor 1989:23) categories have clear boundaries marked by necessary features of the entity. If an entity has all of these features, then it is a member of the category. It is distinguished from all members of all other categories through containing these features in unique combination. If it does not contain all of the features, it cannot be a member. It follows, therefore, that since all members contain all the necessary features, then all have

equal status within the category. For example, if the category MAN entails the characteristics [HUMAN, ADULT, MALE] then any entity comprising all of these characteristics would automatically be classified as a man and all men would be equally entitled to claim membership of the category. They would be distinguished from any other category not containing this combination e.g. WOMAN [HUMAN, ADULT, FEMALE] or BOY [HUMAN, CHILD, MALE].

2.5 However, cognitive linguists would argue that whilst the classical approach produces the core features of a category, it does not take adequate account of the deviation which we perceive in reality. Studies carried out by psychologists (Taylor 1989:42) indicate that prototypes are identified through a set of recognition features which exist alongside the core. For example, whilst the core characteristics of WOMAN (Taylor 1989:69) might refer solely to something to do with the human reproductive system, each instance of a woman is identified through features such as body shape, voice pitch and (possibly) hair length or style.

2.6 In this way, the cognitive approach is essentially different from the classical. Whereas the latter laid down boundaries, the former looks for patterns which allow entities to be included. An example of how this works might be the pinpointing of someone's origins from features of their speech. Thus the attempts of a native English-speaking ham-actor to speak French may be clearly non-French in most features, but may be identified as conventionally French by a non-French audience by the adoption of selected prototypical French features.

2.7 Members of categories can, of course, be further categorised hierarchically. In the examples concerning MAN and WOMAN, these can be looked upon as base-level categories of the superordinate entity HUMAN. In turn, MAN could become the superordinate of other categories such as YOUNG MAN, OLD MAN, WHITE MAN or BLACK MAN, all of which share the same core features, but which have widely differing recognition features. Some features can be shared with other base-level categories. For example, MAN and WOMAN share many physical features such as hair, arms and legs. The point is that the inclusive nature of the cognitive approach encompasses this reality. This is fairly straightforward when dealing with obvious categories such as MAN and WOMAN, but, when considering languages, there is a tendency to view items as belonging exclusively to one language or dialect, to its exclusion elsewhere, or its categorisation elsewhere as a loan word, at least for some time. Would one now consider SPAGHETTI to be an Italian loan-word or a fully assimilated member of English? I would suspect the latter to be the case. Indeed, there are probably many, especially younger native English-speakers who have no sense of SPAGHETTI being in any way an Italian word. Such folk would not have been born when the word was originally borrowed into English.

Prototypes and varieties of English

2.8 So it is with the varieties of English itself. Chronologically, beginning with Old English as the first superordinate category, its immediate descendants would form its base categories which in turn become superordinates of their own descendants. At the same time, however, whilst each variety develops in its own way it nevertheless inherits characteristics from its superordinate

antecedents which render it closely related to other varieties of the same language. Since, in addition, such varieties tend to be closely related geographically, there is a great deal of language contact which leads to the borrowing of forms between the varieties. Thus the process of linguistic evolution can be said to develop through both inheritance and borrowing (Smith 1996a: 50).

2.9 Traditionally, separate models have been used to describe each process: tree models for inheritance, and wave models for borrowing. Smith (1996: 50) explains:

Both models derive from nineteenth-century scholarship, and stem from comparisons with what were (and in some quarters still are) perceived to be more 'mature' sciences: the tree model relates to the phylogenetic tree used in evolutionary biology, and the wave model relates to theories of action and reaction developed for the discipline of physics. At one time the two models were seen as mutually exclusive, but most linguists since the end of the nineteenth century have considered them to be complementary.

The process of inheritance, therefore, can be modelled as follows:

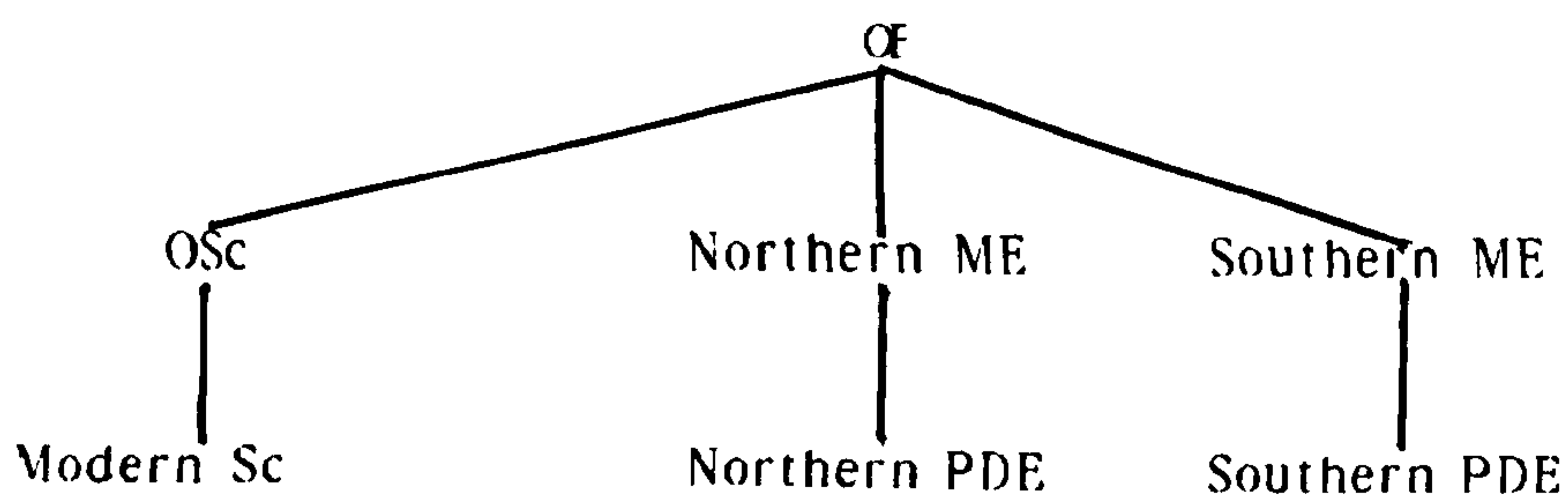


fig. 2.1

whilst borrowing among, say, the Middle English varieties can be represented thus:

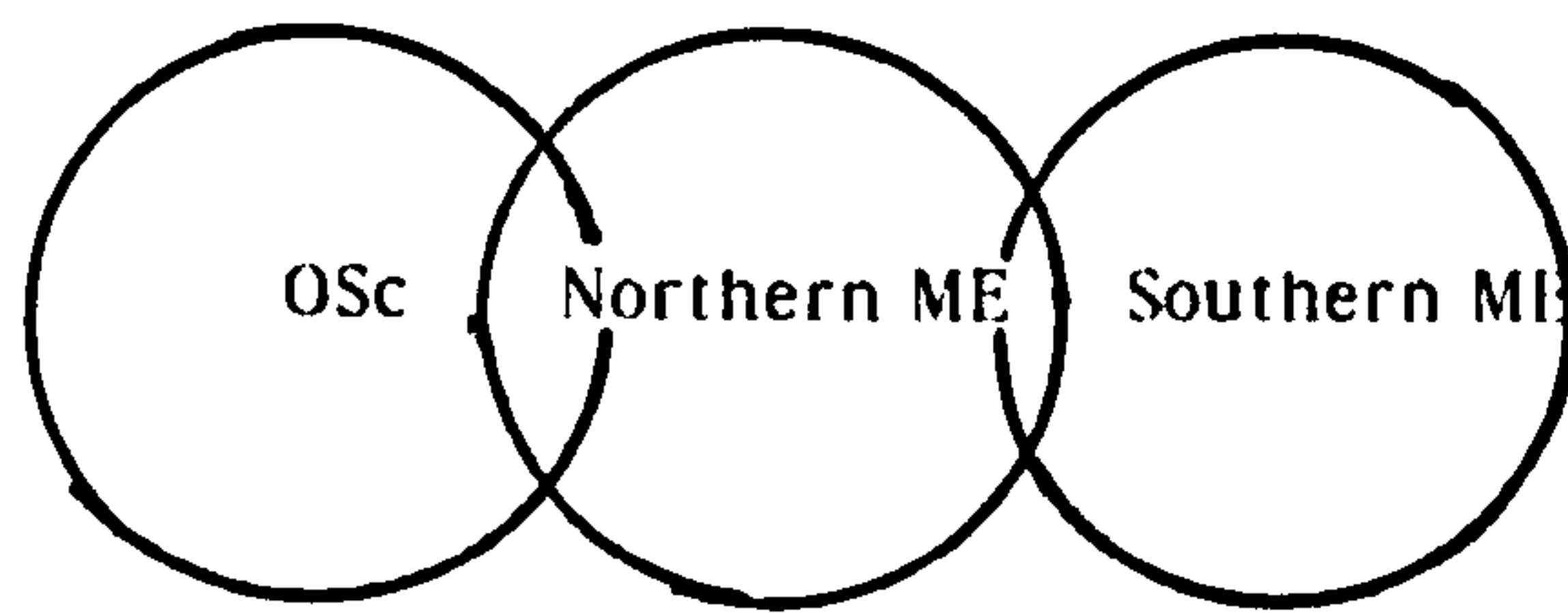


fig. 2.2

2.10 The difference in perspective inherent in these two diagrams illustrates neatly the advantages of adopting a prototype model for linguistic investigation:

Linguists who operate with classical categorisation models instinctively look for clear-cut principles, not least in their study of language. A prototype mind-set, on the other hand, leads one to accept, even to expect, fuzziness and gradualness. (Taylor 1989: 121)

2.11 We might consider, for example, the item EACH in the survey of this manuscript which lies behind the analytical chapters below (appendix 1, item 12). From the perspective of PDE, including all possible dialectal realisations, <each> represents a prototypical realisation of the item EACH. From this viewpoint, <ilk> is a peripheral example of how EACH can be realised. However, from the perspective of a fifteenth-century Scot, <ilk> itself was prototypical in his linguistic model. Looking at language in this way, its development ceases to be linear but becomes a question of pools which overlap:

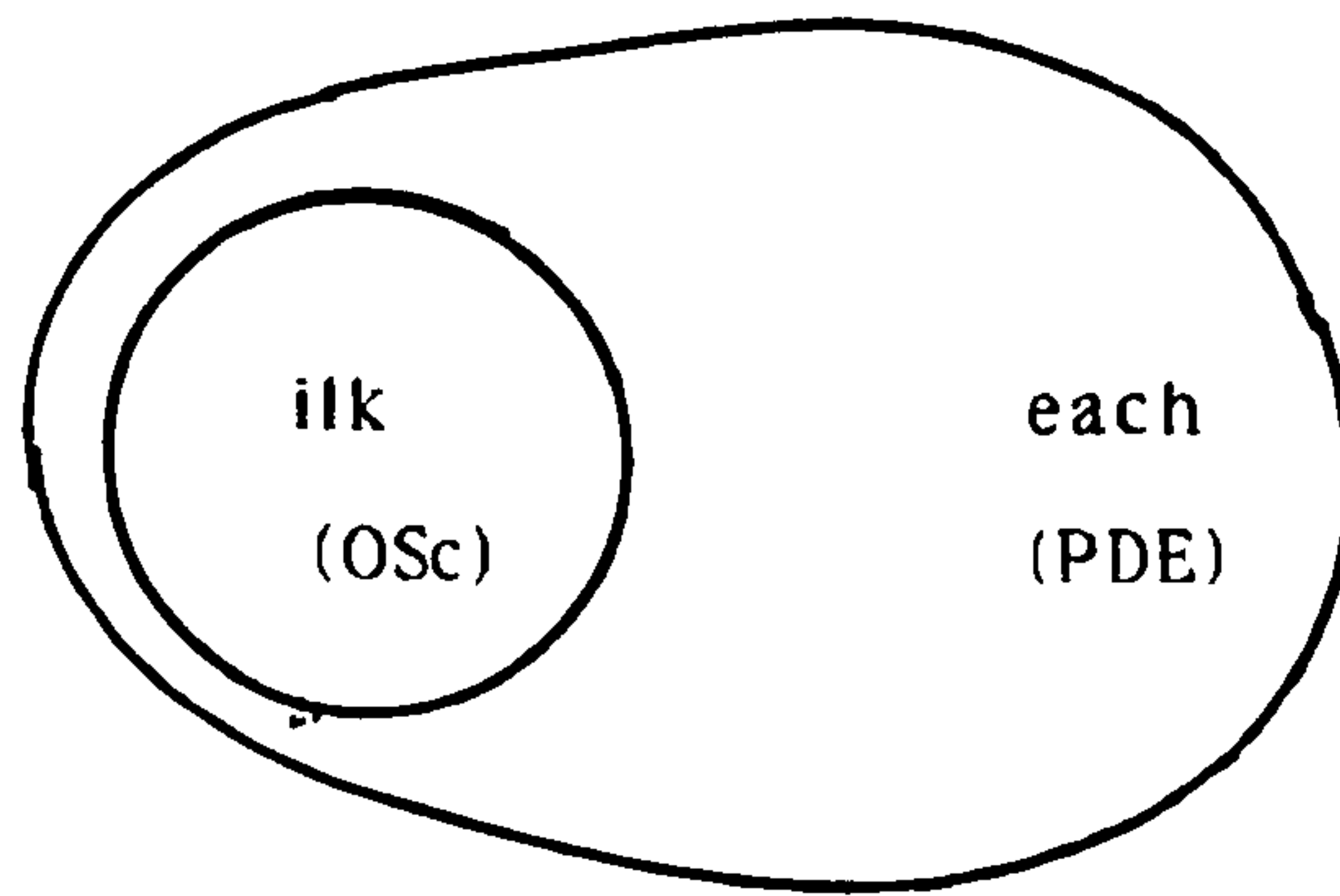


fig. 2.3

Thus whilst OSc contains many features inherited from OE (some of which it will share with Northern ME particularly), it will also borrow items which are the result of different processes of language contact or functional adaptation.

2.12 A consequence of this interactivity between languages and dialects is that language can be said to be in a state of persistent change, 'whereby the complex interaction of changing systems produces yet further change' (Smith 1996a:51) to produce a 'dynamic open system':

Dynamic open systems have the property that they are metastable: that is, they persist only through constant change; and this change takes place through interactive exchanges with their environment. In the course of such interaction, the system exports disorder; and in the process of exporting disorder, and so increasing the entropy of its environment, the system renews itself, gains information, imports or rather creates order and in this way continues to function.

(Halliday, 1987, quoted in Smith 1996a: 51)

2.13 It follows then, that a dialect such as OSc can be regarded as being constantly in a state of ordered chaos since 'Chaos theory holds that order comes from the complex interaction of

apparently random factors' (Smith 1996a: 52). The processes of language evolution are thus open and dynamic and any model of OSc must take account of this. For the historiographer, the situation is further complicated by the passage of time producing a point of view for the modern observer, which would be different from that of the contemporary user. It appears, therefore, that the investigation of a dialect such as OSc requires an appreciation of ordered complexity. Users of OSc undoubtedly constituted a linguistic community but the nature of that community was constantly shifting to take account of the dynamic processes of linguistic change. It is therefore necessary to identify not so much the boundaries of OSc, but rather that behaviour which may be regarded as prototypically OSc.

2.14 Taylor (1989:174) adopts the position that a speech community can be regarded as a prototype category. Here, the larger community could be seen as an abstract entity, ENGLISH, whose superordinate would, perhaps, be LANGUAGE. If we accept this, then the base level categories of ENGLISH would be all those varieties which exist today, and have existed in the past. Obviously, a modern student looking at these would place PDE at the centre of his prototype category. Close to that might be modern non-British varieties such as Am Eng, Aus Eng, or rural mod Sc. Further from the centre would be OSc, ME, and northern ME, some of which would be barely recognisable to most modern speakers. Furthest from the centre (perhaps not even admitted by some) would be OE.

2.15 Traditionally, OSc has been described in terms of its relationship with its contemporary southern ME, the kind of

view encouraged by tree diagrams. This manner of description has had the effect of rendering many items and features exclusive to ME and therefore not considered to be Scots at all. It is my contention, however, that a more inclusive approach, as illustrated by wave diagrams, in which members of the category can be described in terms of their closeness to the centre of a prototype, would be more appropriate.

2.16 As yet, to my knowledge, no-one has scanned the entire corpus of OSc in order to form a prototype, although, perhaps, the computerised work of Dr Williamson (forthcoming) will prove valuable here. However, there are several seminal works describing OSc which can be consulted in order to construct a prototype, against which I will compare the language of Adv 19.2.2.

2.17 Traditionally, descriptions of a language have been based on its grammar. In Scots, this has been done most recently by Dr Macafee (1993) and this work provides the core features of OSc. However, in keeping with the cognitive approach I will begin with the recognition features, those aspects of language which we perceive on coming into contact with it.

2.18 Depending on whether we encounter a language as speech or in its written form, the recognition features will be either how it sounds or what it looks like. In the case of Adv 19. 2. 2., because it is a written text, its recognition features will be what one sees on the page: letter-forms, spelling patterns, and morphology.

2.19 The first of these, the letter-forms, immediately identify the language of OSc. as alphabetic. It therefore shares these letter shapes with other languages which use the same alphabet (i.e. all western European languages) but differentiates it from other alphabetical languages which employ different symbols (e.g. Arabic and Urdu) and from all ideographic languages (e.g. Chinese). Letter-forms of course fall into the realm of palaeography. Traditionally, although not perhaps entirely legitimately (see Smith 1996: chapter 4. passim), this discipline has been seen as distinct from philological or linguistic study. Nevertheless, it is for this reason that issues to do with letter-form are pursued separately in chapter 4 below. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the relevance of prototype-theory for the study of orthography and morphology with reference to the distinctive recognition features of Adv 19.2.2. to be pursued further in chapter 3.

Orthography

2.20 The principal works of this century which set out the characteristic (i.e. in terms of the above, prototypical) OSc spelling system are G. Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots* (Smith 1902) and Sir James Wilson's *The Dialects of Central Scotland*. (Wilson 1926). Thereafter, Aitken (1971) and Agutter (1987) have detailed the variation found within this basic system and its relationship to sound changes which took place before and during the OSc period. Other scholars referred to in this chapter derive their work, at least in part, from these sources.

2.21 The extent of the variation within the OSc spelling system is so great that it has been described as an 'extreme example of a common European type in which free variation was a prominent

and important feature' (Aitken 1971: 181). There were three basic forces pressurising scribes and authors towards variation in the spelling system.

2.22 The first of these is simply to do with the availability in OSc of orthographic variation. Some orthographic variation was inherited from ME (Aitken 1971: 182) and, as such, implies only that in OSc, as in other dialects of English, there was 'no single regular representation' for, say, the unstressed vowel in <browstare / browsteris> (Agutter 1987: 77). Other spellings in this category are phonologically significant, in that they are used consistently to represent a phoneme which by the OSc period was either lost in southern English, or had consistently different orthographical representations in both dialects (see, for example, 'x/', referred to in 2.29 below).

2.23 The second motivation for variation was a desire to represent in writing those sound changes which took place within the OSc period (Agutter 1987: 79-80). These include items discussed in 2.32, 2.33, and 2.34 below.

2.24 The third pressure was stylistic (Aitken 1983: 44; Agutter 1987: 80). Thus, in low style literature such as flytings and narrative verse, typically Scots spellings were found, whereas in high style texts, the level of formality was enhanced by the use of spellings copied from the works of contemporary English writers whose spelling was becoming increasingly standardised (Samuels 1972) and therefore possibly regarded as more prestigious -- especially in high-status genres such as art-poetry.

2.25 Aitken's views on OSc orthography are largely impressionistic (a term which he regularly employs throughout 'Variation...') and, although his conclusion is at odds with Smith in his *Specimens*, he largely shares the same perception of what is representative of OSc orthography. Given my cognitive approach to this topic, I regard these impressions as having cognitive validity, and I therefore base my account of prototypical OSc on them.

2.26 In the examples which follow, I employ the standard linguistic conventions as far as is practicable. As a result, angled brackets, < >, enclose items of orthographical interest. A colon immediately following such an item indicates that the spelling contained within the brackets seems to have been used to represent the phonemic item which immediately follows the colon. Items contained in sloping lines, / /, are the said phonemic items, following IPA practice, and the modern translation of any item under consideration is encapsulated within single inverted commas. Examples quoted from the questionnaire (appendix 1) or directly from the MS are underlined. The rounded brackets immediately following such an example contain either a B or W, or both, indicating in which of the texts of Adv 19. 2. 2 it can be found.

2.27 <sch>: /ʃ/

According to Agutter (1987: 77) this spelling was present in Scots from the beginning of the OSc period and would have been distinctive of OSc in the fifteenth century because of its large-scale disappearance, by that time, in the south. This spelling, then, may be taken to form part of any prototype of OSc.

Examples of this feature found in Adv 19. 2. 2 are:

item 4 scho (B;W) 'she'

item 213 worschip (B;W) 'worship'

2.28 <quh->: /xw/

Although this is the accepted norm for Middle Scots (MSc) texts (Wilson 1926: 170, *passim*) the spelling of the same phoneme pre c1450 (i.e. in the Early Scots period) was <qwh-> (see e.g. Smith 1902: xxv, 19, (b)). This item also carries some phonological significance for the prototype of OSc in that the Southern reflex of this item was probably simply /w/ at this date. Examples of this feature found in Adv 19. 2. 2 are:

item 40 quhill (B;W) 'while'

item 43 quh- (B;W) 'wh-'

item 51 quhar (B;W) 'where'

item 54 quhen (B;W) 'when'

2.29 <ch>: /x/

After c1500, the phoneme /x/, which this spelling seems to reflect, gradually became less frequent in southern varieties of English, giving the present day zero reflex. In OSc, this phoneme appears to have had two allophones, [ç] and [x] depending on the preceding vowel (Grant 1930: xiv, 20) but this had no effect on the orthography. Examples of this feature found in Adv 19. 2. 2 are:

item 44 nocht (B;W) 'not'

item 55 mycht (B;W) 'might'

The most frequent forms for these items are actually no^l and my^l respectively and I am assuming at this stage in my argument

that the abbreviation in no way implies any alteration to the phonology (and hence orthography) of these forms.

2.30 <-ff>: /v/

Alongside <u, v, w> interchange and the long vowel patterns below (Wilson 1926: 173; Aitken 1971: 182) this item constitutes an important part of OSc orthography in that it is a distinctively Scots representation of a phoneme which it shared with its SSE contemporary. Since there appears to be no phonological explanation for this difference, then it can be assumed to be an example of Scottish orthographical preference. This could, in turn, infer some notion of conformity to some established orthographical system and these items would again be central to any prototype of OSc. Examples of this feature found in Adv 19. 2. 2 are:

item 64 abuff (W) 'above'

item 121 giff (B,W) 'give'

item 124 haiff (W) 'have'

item 142 leiff (W) 'live'

item 144 luff (B) luff (W) 'love(-)'

2.31 The following spellings, again typically OSc, occur as a result of sound changes which took place either before or during the OSc period.

2.32 Consonant Cluster Reduction

This phenomenon is often referred to as Word-Final Consonant Loss because of its most frequent manifestation in items such as <sen> 'send' (CSD: 600) and <effeck> 'effect' (CSD: 171) and in the loss of final <-d> following the nasal consonant of the present participle ending <-and> (Macafee 1993: 22, 8.5; Kuipers 1964: 79-

80). However, it was also observable within a word where a consonant reduction environment existed. For example, the loss of OE post-nasal /g/ (Kuipers 1964: 80) and any consequent effects on spelling, could, by analogy, account for the loss of <-g-> in item 41 <strenth>. The appearance of such instances here and throughout the OSc canon suggest that consonant cluster reduction is a more appropriate term (Agutter 1987: 78).

2.33 v-deletion

The disappearance of /v/ intervocalically (Agutter, 1987: 78) led to distinctive OSc spellings such as <deil> 'devil' (CSD:140). There is no evidence for this sound change in the questionnaire, or in my reading of the MS to date. In this respect, therefore, Adv 19. 2. 2 is less central to the prototype of OSc.

2.34 l-vocalisation

This major sound change affected <l> preceded by any one of the three short back vowels /a/, /o/ or /u/ followed by a single consonant or a morpheme boundary (Kuipers 1964: 84). Robinson (1985: xiv) notes the replacement of <-l-> by <-u -> as an early-fifteenth-century phenomenon and one would, therefore, expect it to be present in Adv 19. 2. 2. However, opportunities such as item 86 CALL and the forms of the auxiliary verbs at items 21 - 24 have not been taken. Kuipers (1964) does note that the <-l-> was often retained in spelling. Moreover, *Bruce* was composed before Robinson's date for the manifestation of this phenomenon and these circumstances combine to explain, perhaps, the non-appearance of this feature in this MS. Once again, however, the MS is near to but not at the centre of prototypical OSc realisation.

2.35 <u, v, w> interchange

The operation of this feature is once again said to be distinctive of OSc. Grant (1929: xiv, 20) asserts that these items could be used indifferently to represent the phonemes /u, v, w/ but my own impression, formed in compiling the evidence below and in the compilation of my undergraduate dissertation (Head unpublished), was that, at least for the scribe of this MS, interchangeability was more constrained. Nevertheless, this feature would again constitute one of the recognition features to any reader of an OSc MS (Kuipers 1964: 87). Examples found in Adv 19. 2. 2 include:

B4r1.6 rewardyt | <w>: /w/

W4r.1 Wallace |

B4r1.10 brwce 'Bruce' | <w>: /u/

W4r.34 owtrage |

B4r1.37 preserwyt | <w>: /v/

W4v.10 awance |

B4r1.11 fulis 'foolish' | <u>: /u/

W4r8. gud |

B4v1.16 duelt | <u>: /w/

W4r.11 duelt |

B4r1.32 p ræue 'secret' | <u>: /v/

W4r.33 sauage 'savage' |

motivation may have been phonological, by the time they appeared in OSc, their usage was orthographical and not representative of any sound changes which had taken place within OSc. Furthermore, she suggests that <i> digraphs are salient in OSc texts but sometimes overlooked by students of northern ME texts because traditionally they have not been considered a salient feature of that dialect of ME. This, naturally, has implications for any prototype theory of OSc, and perhaps caution would have to be exercised when considering the centrality of this feature. Examples from Adv 19. 2. 2 include:

item 74 bein (B) beyn (W) 'been' alongside bene (B)

and beyne (W)

item 125 -heid (B) heid (W) 'head' alongside hede (W)

item 187 steid (B:W) 'stead' alongside sted (B:W) and stede (W)

item 205 weill (B:W) alongside infrequent wele

In addition to the above examples, the following items from the MS provide further evidence of this phenomenon. The location of each is indicated by a B or W dependent upon the text in which it appears, followed by a folio number (including recto or verso side) column number (*Bruce* only) and line number. Where appropriate, nouns (n) and verbs (v) are indicated to avoid ambiguity:

B4r1.38 dede in rhyming position with B4r1.39 steid

B4r1.40 seile 'seal'

B4r2.37 maid 'made' in rhyming position with B4r2.38 raid 'rode'

W4r.21 taile 'tale'

W4r.23 hayme 'home'

W4r.24 prayde 'prayed'

W4r.32 leyff 'leave' (n)

W4r.37 haile 'whole'

W4v.15 leide 'lead' (v)

Aitken (1971: 182) also notes that with this item one can observe a change in preference over time from <i> to <y>, with the former being more popular during the early period of OSc and the latter becoming more frequent in later works.

Morphology

2.37 The academic authorities for those morphological features of OSc generally accepted as distinctive of that variety are again Smith (1902), Wilson (1926), Aitken (1971), and Agutter (1987).

2.38 As one would expect to find in closely related varieties of the same language, OSc and its contemporary dialects of ME have similar systems of morphology. Nouns inflect for plural and genitive case; verbs are classified as weak, strong, or suppletive; and verbs also inflect for past tense and participles. However, it is the different manifestations of these similar morphologies which constitute the recognition features of the different dialects and thus help to distinguish the prototype of the language written in fourteenth century Scotland from that of the same period in the southern kingdom.

Nouns

2.39 OSc shares with PDE and its contemporary dialects of English the same methods of declension of nouns: some inflect for plural by the addition of a suffix, e.g. rose/roses; some by changing the root vowel e.g. man/men; and others by retaining the same lexical form and indicating plurality grammatically by

the inclusion of another qualifying part of speech e.g. a herd of sheep where herd is a collective noun) or 'the sheep were in the glen' (in which were is the preterite plural form of BE). In addition, plurality can be understood semantically, e.g. 'The sheep ate twenty acres of grass in one day' where the context indicates that more than one sheep was involved. Agutter (1988: 3-4) classifies each of the above as general, mutative, and invariant, respectively.

2.40 However, OSc is distinguished by the fact that although nouns were declined in a familiar way, the classification of some nouns in OSc was different from that in PDE and an individual item could be declined in a characteristically Scots way (Agutter 1988:4). For example, COW in PDE takes the general plural ending <-s> giving <cow(s)>. However, in OSc (and in some modSc dialects) it is mutative, and the plural is <kye>. The most common example of this phenomenon in *Bruce* is hors, 'horse(s)' which is general in PDE, but is invariant in OSc:

<u>And on yar hors lap hastily</u>	(5v2.35: II. 36. 322)
<u>Apon yar hors...</u>	(28r2.30: II. 205. 446)
<u>All apon gud hors...</u>	(31v2.3: II. 231. 573)
<u>Off men off hors...</u>	(44v2.23: III. 63. 338)

2.41 The number of other uninflected plurals found in the tranches of *Bruce* surveyed was very small:

<u>Bot of all thing...</u>	(3v1.42: II. 20. 515)
<u>We kast our thing all in ye se</u>	(10v1.15: II. 67. 615)
<u>...yar face...</u>	(9r1.32: II. 58. 348)
<u>Yaim y^l yai trowit his freynd wer</u>	(11r2.28: II. 73. 11)

(although this last example could be explained as a failure of

number concord. The noun, freynd lacks the inflection -is, the marker of plurality (appendix 1, item 55) and is therefore probably singular. It is not clear which of the preceding pronouns, yaim and yai, is the antecedent of freynd, but they are both plural, thus rendering this concern irrelevant).

2.42 However, an inflected form of THING also appears:

Ye thing /s... (10v1.30: II. 68. 630)

As indicated by the italics, the inflection is made by means of a sign of abbreviation (see below).

2.43 In *Wallace* the most common example of different classification of a noun is, again, hors:

Yar hors he tuk... (5r.27: I. 15. I. 435)

Yan w^l ryth hors ye Scott /s... (39v.19: I. 125. VI. 547)

plus numerous other examples.

2.44 In his edition, McDiarmid includes a plural form, Horsis (II. 99. XII. 707) but the MS clearly has the invariant form hors (117r.25) with no abbreviation or other indicator of inflection. However, some nouns appear in both invariant and general forms:

Off man and wiff vii thousand and fifty

And barnys als... (1v.44-45: I. 4. I. 94) cp

Both wiff /swedowis yai tuk... (2v.8: I. 7. I. 163)

The scribal variation is interesting here. In line 44, an invariant form of both MAN and WIFE appear where one would have expected a mutative, <men>, and a general, <wiffis>. However, in the very next line, a general form, barnys, does appear. Moreover, within a few sides of the paper, roughly

seventy lines of text, a general form, wiff/ʒ also appears.

2.45 The exigencies of rhyme may also have influenced the author's (and subsequently scribe's) choice of form:

He savis nayn for gold nor oyir gud (76b.41: I.234. IX. 215)

Here one would normally expect the general inflection, <gud(d)is>, but the invariant plural is possibly present because of the influence of its rhyming partner flud in the next line.

2.46 Another example of this possibility appears in :

Of prowis prys and off his worthi deid (74v.17: I. 228. IX. 3)

where deid is coupled in rhyming position with heid in the following line.

2.47 Finally, although the normal plural of 'Scot' in the MS is <Scottis>, the following also appears:

Till mony scot yai did full gret suppris (5v.19: I. 17. II. 26)

It is possible that the invariant form is used here to maintain a line of ten syllables (the norm for this section of the poem). However, there are many irregular lines surrounding this one and such an explanation must remain speculative.

2.48 The different classification of nouns in Adv 19. 2. 2 was limited to the non-inflection of some nouns which normally the contemporary SSE would inflect. Moreover, it would appear that a degree of variation was acceptable to this scribe, perhaps especially to meet the needs of rhyme or metre, or, alternatively, as a feature of authorial or scribal idiolect.

2.49 At no point in my limited survey did I find a noun classified as mutative in the MS whose SSE equivalent would have been

general, or vice-versa.

2.50 The substantive plural ending

item 55 -is, -ys (B:W) (Smith 1902: xxi, 1; Agutter 1988: 3-4)

This item may or may not represent a difference in pronunciation between OSc, its contemporaries, and PDE. Although we have no way of knowing how the ending was precisely pronounced in everyday speech (which itself may have varied from area to area) we can argue for a syllabic pronunciation in poetry, where sometimes the realisation had to be something like /ɪs/ in order to provide the necessary number of syllables to satisfy the requirements of metre:

Off his freynd /s A gret menzhe (B5r1.38) where there are eight syllables required to satisfy the octosyllabic metre of the poem.

Elsewhere, however, the realisation may simply have been /s/:

ye barownys of his reawte (B4r1.22) where, again, eight syllables are necessary.

2.51 The evidence of the nouns in this MS, therefore, tends to suggest that a great degree of flexibility was acceptable and that the scribes and authors could move freely away from and towards the centre of the prototype as it suited their needs.

Verbs

2.52 In common with its southern contemporaries and PDE, verbs in OSc had only present and past tense forms, and were conjugated as weak, strong, or suppletive. Weak verbs normally inflected for past tense by the addition of a suffix, <-yt> or <-it> (Agutter, 1988: 3-4). As in PDE, strong verbs changed the root

vowel (e.g. sing/sang) and suppletives employed a completely different form (e.g. go/went). However, typically, the classification of verbs in OSc could be different (Agutter 1988: 4).

Bruce

2.53 The following examples are noted as they appeared in the survey:

have haldyn... (1v1.28: II. 5. 117)

where an inflected form is used but PDE would employ <held>.

2.54 Similarly, a weak form of the verb KNOW is used in contrast to the PDE strong form, <knew>:

Na yar wes nane y^l eu ir kend (2v1.38: II. 13. 320)

2.55 In the following example, a normally weak form, dred, possibly remained uninflected, in order that the line contain only eight syllables to comply with the others around it:

ffor he dred sayr his felouny (3r2.14: II. 17. 440)

dred could, of course, simply be an older strong form.

2.56 The next example indicates that the verb LEAP was classified weak in OSc. If it had been a strong verb, the vowel could have been changed without detriment to the number of syllables in the line. However, the fact that the form here is the same as the present tense, and the line has eight syllables, suggests that, similar to the item above, it is a weak form which has remained uninflected in order that the line should have the correct number of syllables:

And lap on hym delyuerty (5r1.3: II. 29. 142)

2.57 Other examples of differently classified verbs found in *Bruce* were:

gede (7v2.30: II. 50. 112) here strong cp suppletive. 'went'

gauld (13r1.11: II. 85. 317) here strong cp weak 'yielded'

schap (16v1.27: II. 114. 219) here strong cp weak 'shipped'

chesyt(17v2.1: II. 112. 426) here weak cp strong 'chose'

and finally,

Yan Wilzame Fransoys...

Clamb in crykes... (35v2.19-20: II. 262. 606-7)

where a strong version appears instead of the expected weak. <climbed>.

2.58 Again the examples, derived from an analysis of Hary's *Wallace*, are listed as they appear in the survey discussed in chapter 3 below, and no significance is implied from their order.

...he stekyt him to dede (3r.21: I. 9. I. 226) weak, cp
strong. <stuck>

...law yai crap... (40v.8: I. 128. VI. 627) strong, cp
weak. <crept>

Yai chesd... (42r.11: I. 132. VI. 768) weak, cp strong.
<chose> [(see *Bruce*)]

The capdane sone lap in... (77r.43: I. 236. IX. 265) [(see *Bruce*)]

2.59 However, the appearance of lappyt (110v.21: II. 81. XII. 96) suggests that perhaps more than one conjugation was available to the author and/or scribe in much the same way that more than one declension of a noun was possible. In this instance it looks likely that the weak form was used to create a tenth syllable but the presence of a numerical abbreviation in the line obscures this.

2.60 In this MS by far the majority of verbs were conjugated similarly in both contemporary vernaculars -- prototypical OSc and contemporary southern Middle English -- and the examples above demonstrating distinct forms represent a tiny percentage of the verbs used.

2.61 The present participle

item 56 <-and> (Grant, 1930: xiv, 20; Wilson, 1926: 176)

The presence of the verbal substantive ending, item 57 <-ing>, helps to make the participial ending distinctively OSc. PDE and many contemporary dialects employed <-ing> for both the verbal substantive and the present participial endings.

2.62 The presence of this feature suggests that, in spoken OSc there was a definite distinction made between noun and participle, whilst no such distinction was maintained in Southern ME, as is the case with both PDE and mod Sc.

2.63 The 3rd person singular present tense ending

item 58 <-is>

This item appears to indicate a voiceless, alveolar fricative ending, /ɪs/, in OSc as opposed to a voiceless, dental fricative in its southern equivalent. Its common variants, <-ys> and <-s>, do not appear in the sample surveys of Adv 19. 2. 2 which I have carried out.

2.64 The weak preterite ending

item 60 <-yt> (Wilson 1926: 186; Smith 1902: xxxvii, 6. iv)

This form is usually reckoned to be interchangeable in OSc with

<-it> (Agutter 1988: 3-4) but in this MS <-yt> is more frequent than <-it> by a factor of almost two in *Wallace* and almost five in *Bruce*.

2.65 The weak past participle ending

item 61 <-yt>, <-it> (Wilson 1926: 175; Smith 1902: xxxvii, 6, iv, passim)

This item is similar to that above in the way in which it differs from its contemporary and modern equivalents. Smith states that the ESc form would be <-id> or -yd, neither of which appears in *Bruce* or *Wallace*. This would again tend to indicate that the language found in Adv 19. 2. 2 is the Scots of the late fifteenth century and matches the prototype exactly in this case.

2.66 The form of the indefinite article

Osc had two forms of the indefinite article, <a> and <ane>. During the early MSc period, their usage was similar to that of their modern counterparts, i.e. <a> before a consonant, and <ane> before a vowel or h. However, by circa 1500, we find <ane> being used as the sole form of the indefinite article in Scottish texts, regardless of context (Smith 1902: xxxiii, 3).

2.67 In this MS, therefore, since Ramsay's MS dates from only a dozen or so years before 1500, we would expect to find the beginnings of the universal usage of <ane>, at least in the text of *Wallace*, the original of which is only a little more than a decade older.

2.68 In the results below, I have excluded any instances of <ane> where its meaning was ambiguous, and could have been either AN or ONE. The folio and line number where the example may be found is given as in previous descriptions, and in this instance is

followed by a reference to the volume, page, and line number of the same example as it is found in McDiarmid and Stevenson's edition of *Barbour's Bruce* (e.g. II. 70. 681) or the volume, page, book, and line number in McDiarmid's edition of *Hary's Wallace* (e.g. I. 4. I. 77).

Bruce:

<ane> before a vowel

<u>y^l is ane ile in ye se</u>	(10v2.31: II. 70. 681)
<u>...ane ewy ming</u>	(16v2.33: II. 116. 272)
<u>Is ane wpgang a narow pas</u>	(26r1.39: II. 190. 38)

<ane> before h

<u>...ane hart...</u>	(24v1.7: II. 177. 363)
-----------------------	------------------------

<a> before a consonant

<u>...a strak...</u>	(19v2.26: II. 140. 166)
<u>...a busk...</u>	(22v2.44: II. 165. 71)
<u>...a quhile...</u>	(25r2.4: II. 182. 501)
<u>...a myle...</u>	(25r2.35: II. 184. 532)
<u>...a cry</u>	(28v1.9: II. 206. 472)

2.69 Where an adjective appears between the article and its governing noun, then the form of the article is affected by the initial letter of the adjective and not the noun:

Betuix ane hey crag & ye se (20r1.23: II. 142. 213)

In this example, crag would normally be preceded by <a> but the initial h in hey attracts ane.

2.72 However, in my survey I found two instances of <ane> before a consonant which would tend to confirm that the move towards universality of <ane> was indeed underway and known to Ramsay:

...ane quhile (17v.2.15: II. 123. 440; 34r1.2: II. 248. 242)

cp:

a quhile (25r2.4: II. 182. 501)

2.73 Perhaps unexpectedly, given the date of composition of *Wallace* and Ramsay's MS, we find a situation similar to that in *Bruce*.

<ane> before a vowel

Ane Abbot... (1v.27: I. 4. I. 77)

Ane inbasset... (35r.22: I. 112. VI. 136)

...ane end (7r.15: I. 23. II. 179)

...ane ayk (115v.30: II. 95. XII. 572)

Ane ayth... (119v.37: II. 107. XII. 952)

<ane> before h

...ane hour (123r.7: II. 116. XII. 1264)

<a> before a consonant

...a quhill (33v.43: I. 108. VI. 21)

A woma n... (82r.32: I. 251. IX. 740)

A brankstewat... (82r.46: I. 251. IX. 754)

A squier guthre... (82v.16: I. 252. IX. 775)

2.74 As was the case with *Bruce*, the intervention of an adjective affects the form of the article:

Ane agyt man... (2r.52: l. 6. l. 154)

Ane Inglis schip... (78r.9: l. 238. IX. 329)

In both cases, the vowel of the intervening adjectives demand the inflected form of the article, whilst the nouns themselves would normally attract the uninflected form.

2.75 The only instance of <ane> before a consonant found in the survey of this work was ambiguous:

Ane Skelton yan kepyt ye careage (82r.45: l. 251. IX. 753)

In this case the ane could be translated as ONE without any detriment to the reader's understanding of the poem. Indeed the consistency of <a> before a noun elsewhere in the MS suggests that ane here is pronominal.

2.76 In this instance, then, the MS is less than central as any prototype of OSc would contain the universal use of <ane> as one of its recognition features.

2.77 This description of prototypically OSc usage presented above has been drawn from all the major authorities on the language covering works of prolonged, general academic research (Smith (1902), Aitken (1971), Agutter (1987) and Macafee (1993) as well as studies of particular areas or works (Deith 1932, Kuipers 1964). As such, it can probably claim to be as representative an account of the recognition features of OSc as can be drawn together in any one MS given the present state of knowledge.

2.78 For the majority of the features, I was able to quote from

Adv 19. 2. 2, thus indicating that it lies somewhere within the range of the prototype. There still remains a question, however, of the extent to which Adv 19. 2. 2 can be considered to be typical of late-fifteenth-century Scottish MSS. The MS is close to the centre of the prototype in orthographically driven spellings, but further from the centre when considering phonologically motivated spellings which reflect sound changes which took place either before or during the OSc period.

2.79 Likewise, the morphology of the MS broadly matches the prototype, but strays from this usage when influenced by the exigencies of rhyme or metre.

2.80 These features exemplify the contrast between types and prototypes and allow us to assess the value of prototypes as a means of examining examples of language. Initially, compiling a catalogue of recognition features provides an easy method of categorising a text without the need to compare it with any other. Thereafter, one can look at the ways in which the text differs from the prototype and to look for explanations for the deviation.

2.81 The prototype model can also help to explain differences between the two texts in the manuscript.

2.82 The foregoing amounts to a description of the form of the language found in Adv. 19. 2. 2, and serves to establish its Scottishness. The remainder of this chapter will seek to examine the status of the language as it was in fifteenth-century Scotland by a consideration of its function at that time. Once again, this requires us to peel away our twentieth-century overview of the

linguistic community of English-speaking Britain, to extricate ourselves from the desire to see OSc in terms of its relationship with its southern contemporaries, and to see it as it might have been seen by a resident of fifteenth-century Scotland.

2.83 Crucial to this view is the argument presented by Smith (1996a) that language is dynamic and that 'in diachronic study it will frequently, if not generally, be found that change in one level of language relates intimately to change in others' (Smith 1996a: 5). Following Smith's reasoning, I will argue that 'extralinguistic pressures affect the linguistic usages of those subjected to those pressures'. From there, I hope to show that it may have been the different pressures, linguistic and extralinguistic, to which Barbour, Hary and Ramsay were subjected, which were responsible for the nature of the levels of language found in the manuscript.

2.84 In the previous chapter, I outlined briefly the history of OSc, and explained how it developed from the English of twelfth-century England following English immigration and the introduction of the burgh system into Scotland. Following the Wars of Independence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, OSc gained the potential to become a fully-fledged language, that is, the language of an independent state, different from, but closely related to, its contemporary neighbours.

2.85 In order to appreciate fully the implications of the subsequent development of OSc, it is perhaps helpful to examine the concepts of focus and fixity, as evolved by Smith (1996a). In his discussion of the term **standard language**, he explains:

In the written mode it refers to the fixity of spelling, lexicon and grammar which derives from the work of the prescriptivist writers of the eighteenth century. To use written Standard English is to signal competence in a set of established rules enforced by a normative educational system... (Smith 1996a: 65)

In other words, the spelling, lexical and grammatical systems of Standard English serve as a model for all users of written English.

2.86 Smith then goes on to explain the differences between this fixed notion which exists in the written language, with the variance among spoken varieties despite the existence of a so-called standard accent, RP.

Although... Received Pronunciation is what linguists call a reference accent... it is even now not fully described. One of its defining characteristics is that it is not a clear-cut set of fixed shiboleths, but rather what the nineteenth-century scholar A. J. Ellis, who first described it, called 'a sort of mean': a kind of prestigious magnet of pronunciation towards which prestige-seeking accents tend.

It is therefore perhaps better to consider Received Pronunciation in terms of focus rather than fixity: in other words, individual speakers tend to a greater or lesser extent to conform to Received Pronunciation usage, but no one of them can be said to demonstrate every characteristic of the accent. Thus Received Pronunciation may be considered to

be *standardised* or focused rather than *standard* or fixed: a centripetal norm towards which speakers tend, rather than a fixed collection of prescribed rules from which any deviation at all is forbidden.

(Smith 1996a: 65-66)

2.87 It is my belief, that the status of OSc can be explained in this way; that it became a standardised language which writers in the fifteenth century sought to emulate. However, since it never gained the fixed status of a standard, no one text will contain all the aspects which had the potential to become fixed as part of that standard. The only place where all features could be found therefore (for they undoubtedly existed) is within the notional prototype of OSc.

2.88 For Barbour, a well-educated and far travelled Scot (see 1.34 - 1.38 above) the pressure may have been to compose for Scotland a romance along the lines of those he could have read in Europe, or a prestigious work similar to that being written in England. The focus for him, therefore, would be those varieties of Middle English in which such works had already been composed, thus attributing to his work the status that was allotted to comparable vernacular literature in England. Whether or not any such works had already been produced in the English spoken in Scotland at that time, we do not know. However, since no variety of Middle English had yet achieved the prestige of a standard, and that consequently the form of English used in much of (at least northern) England was still similar to that used in Scotland, then Barbour's own Scots language could have been felt to be as prestigious a variety as any other in operation at the time. The use of this language for royal and noble

communication across the border tends to support this view (see Slater 1952). The linguistic focus for Barbour, therefore, would have been the language of late-fourteenth-century Scotland. His alternative would not have been any other variety of the vernacular, but rather Latin or French, the high-status languages of his time. The importance of this question of prestige (and consequent focus) can be found two centuries later when the leaders of the Reformation in Scotland considered the language of the southern translation of the bible to be more appropriate than a Scots translation.

2.89 During the course of the fifteenth century, however, the varieties of English in Scotland and England developed in different ways. In the southern country, the administration centred on London and a single variety emerged as a prestige variety. Professor Samuels (1963) named this Chancery Standard.

2.90 Agutter (1987) claims that Middle Scots also gained the status of standard variety in its written form during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is my contention, however, that the four stages through which a language must pass in order to gain the fixity required of a standard were not completed for OSc.

2.91 The process through which a language gains the status of a standard, is illustrated by Smith in his explanation of how Chancery Standard achieved fixity:

Chancery Standard, with its basis in the language used in the capital, was *selected* as power became increasingly

centralised and concentrated in London; it was *codified* and thus *fixed* (... by the enforcement of prescriptive educational norms deriving from widespread reading, associated with the Protestant Reformation, of printed books such as the Bible); it was *elaborated*, in that it became the usage accepted for English in every function; and it was ultimately *accepted* as the only acceptable usage in written discourse. (Smith 1996a: 76-77)

2.92 The stages of selection and acceptance were attained by OSc as the evidence in Slater (1952), MacRae (1975) and at 1.52 above indicates. However, although the third stage, elaboration was undeniably in process, it is arguable that it did not become as widespread as it may have before events conspired to turn the focus of language towards the south (see Agutter 1988 passim, and Devitt 1989 passim). In order to examine this, I will briefly consider how OSc developed in the domains of Law, Scholarship, Religion, and Literature.

2.93 In the domain of Law, Scots began to displace Latin and French in 1425 when the ancient laws of Scotland were translated from Latin. Moreover, from the reign of James II (1437 - 1460) onwards, new statutes were recorded in Scots. In the other domains, however, Scots did not realise its potential as fully.

2.94 Scots was used for a range of scholarly prose (Reeves, 1893), but Latin remained the language of the universities until the late eighteenth century. Moreover, education and literacy remained closely associated with the Church and its main purpose was to produce new churchmen rather than to educate

laymen. In addition, widespread expansion of lay literacy beyond the mercantile and upper landowning classes did not begin until the second half of the fifteenth century. As a result, the demand for reading materials in the vernacular, felt in fifteenth century England, did not really surface in Scotland until the sixteenth century, and printing was consequently later in coming to Scotland.

2.95 Codification, the final stage towards standardisation was not reached by OSc. At the time of compilation of Adv. 19. 2. 2, no attempts had been made to prescribe the written usage of OSc by the production of writing grammars, although it must be stated that this was the case generally among European languages.

2.96 It can be argued, therefore, that although OSc did not gain the fixity of a standard language, it nevertheless attracted the focus that considerable progress along that road accrued.

2.97 By the time that Hary came to write his *Wallace*, the linguistic focus had changed from that a century or so earlier when Barbour was at work. Consequently, one would expect the language of Hary to be closer to the centre of an OSc prototype than that of Barbour since the movement towards standardisation had gained momentum by the time he came to compose his tale. Likewise, Scots texts of later centuries would be further from the centre of an OSc prototype since, by that time, the move towards the standard English of the south was in full flight.

2.98 It follows, therefore, that as a language changes, so the

prototype of that language takes on new features. In other words, like language itself, a prototype is an open dynamic system, constantly influenced by changes within the language and in extralinguistic perceptions of that language, its forms, and its functions.

2.99 Looking at linguistic evolution in this way, we come to see it less as a series of chronologically-aligned synchronic slices which tell us how a language looked; rather, we come to view it more as an organic continuum with features moving closer to and further from the centre as they are influenced by fashion, politics and commerce, as well as developments within the language itself. In other words, the concept that arises out of such a view of historical linguistics is one of plasticity rather than set rules of usage and practice (see also 2. 10 above).

2.100 In order to consider how these linguistic pressures affected the work of a scribe, we need to examine more closely the linguistic features of the MS and consider such phenomena as scribal/authorial practice, the influence which the exemplars may or may not have had upon the scribe, and the effectiveness of current research theories in uncovering such data.

2.101 In this chapter, I have listed those features of the language of fifteenth century Scotland which help to identify it as distinctively Scots. Using these features, I have built up a prototype of what a text containing all of these features might look like. In addition, I have placed Adv. 19. 2. 2 in relation to that prototype. However, by doing so I have catered in my model for the appearance of forms in this MS which might otherwise be considered atypical of OSc. It is the way in which Ramsay

responds to his exemplars, the extent to which he matches or deviates from the prototype, which produces the 'real language' which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Language

3.1 In the previous chapter I have offered a prototype model of the Older Scots language in order to provide a context for the language of Adv 19. 2. 2, which is the focus of this chapter.

3.2 However, I intend not simply to describe the phenomena which I observe, but to question the data which I collect in an attempt to establish the degree to which Ramsay's output was affected by, for instance, his exemplars. In other words, I will present the facts of variation as they are found in this manuscript; I will then offer some interpretations which seem plausible to me as far as they can be arrived at from current methods of linguistic interrogation devised by Benskin and Laing (1981) and by McIntosh (1989b).

3.3 The extent of variation in Older Scots has long been recognised (Aitken 1971) and the degree to which it is found in Adv 19. 2. 2 reflects this. Of necessity I have confined myself to an investigation of the written language system found in the manuscript and make no attempt to establish any graphemic-phonemic correlation along the lines of, say, McLaughlin (1963). That the written system as a discrete entity (regardless of how it is held in relation to the spoken system) is worthy of investigation has been argued elsewhere (Aitken 1971: 186) and I accept this as given. Variation in the written system of Older Scots, therefore, will be a theme of this chapter.

3.4 This emphasis on writing systems as the primary object of enquiry relates of course to the groundbreaking work of the

Middle English Dialect Survey, and it is to relevant aspects of the work of the Survey that I turn next. During the second half of this century, the work of philologists has increasingly consisted of massive surveys of ME dialects and the compilation of dialect maps. This has coincided with similar projects aimed at modern languages and dialects. This latter has informed the former in interesting ways.

3.5 For instance, one aspect to arise out of the compilation of dialect atlases of modern languages is the manifestation of the fact that dialects change gradually and progressively over geographical areas (Benskin 1977: 502). This means that dialect features (or more accurately a combination of features) found in one dialect area will not be found in exactly the same combination in any other dialect area. Once these features have been established, they can be placed on a dialect map according to the area(s) in which they occur. Once this has been done, it is a relatively simple matter of matching the features of the speech or writing of an informant to a particular section of the map by eliminating those areas which do not contain the unique combination of features. This is a relatively speedy process and even the non specialist can accurately place the dialect origins of any informant (Benskin 1977. 502).

3.6 Benskin further argues that the same or a similar procedure can be carried out with the extant evidence of ME MSS and that dialect maps can be built up using datable MSS of known provenance

3.7 Such maps would, naturally, help to eliminate many of the difficulties and disagreements experienced by earlier

philologists (see, e.g. Sisam 1951: 106) and thereby enhance our knowledge of ME through the speedier and more accurate interrogation of MSS.

3.8 Benskin has advocated the construction of dialect maps through the analysis of materials held in local archives which, by their very nature, can confidently be assigned to the area to which the archives belong (Benskin 1977: *passim*, and references there cited). When interrogating individual non-localised MSS thereafter, the investigator would construct a dialect profile of the scribe involved by noting the forms he produces for around 300 items of vocabulary and fitting this profile to a particular area on a dialect map (Benskin 1977: 503). This is a self-refining procedure (Benskin 1977: 503) as the more dialects we fit and map, 'the less room there is for manoeuvre and the more accurate our placings should be' (Benskin 1977: 503). In other words, the more MSS and documents which are interrogated and placed, the easier it becomes to interrogate and place others accurately.

3.9 However, it has long been recognised (e.g. Sisam 1951) that in any single MS it is possible that several layers of dialect may exist. Firstly there is the dialect of the author, followed by that of the compiler(s) of any intermediary exemplar(s) used by the scribe of the manuscript under consideration, and, finally, there is the language of the scribe himself. The extent to which each of these is found in any MS depends upon the behaviour of the scribe(s) involved in its compilation.

3.10 That this is the case has been recognised primarily by McIntosh (1963) and by Benskin and Laing (1981). McIntosh

first explained that a scribe could behave in three different ways whilst going about his work, and these distinct approaches to the exemplar could have a significant effect on the language of his output. In his typology, McIntosh termed these scribal types A, B, and C.

3.11 A type A scribe is one who diligently and meticulously copies his exemplar. As a result, the language of his MS will be almost exactly that of his exemplar depending on the level of accuracy of his transcription. However, this type of scribal behaviour is rare (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56).

3.12 Alternatively, a scribe (type B) could completely translate the language of his exemplar into his own. As such, he would be involved in updating or modernising and regularising the orthography, morphology and, perhaps in some instances, the vocabulary of his exemplar in the direction of his own. This was a frequently used method (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56).

3.13 Thirdly, the scribe could behave somewhere in between these two and this behaviour (type C) was again quite common.

3.14 The degree to which a scribe can be classified as type A, B, or C is variable and is dependent upon many factors. If, for example, the condition of the texts being copied (i.e. its orthography, morphology etc.) is close to that of the scribe's own, he will behave very like a type A scribe. This type of scribal behaviour can be partially explained by the fact that the language of his exemplar can be construed as being largely part of his own active repertoire (Benskin and Laing 1981: 59) - that is, the vocabulary and spelling system which he himself uses

(see 3.23 below).

3.15 If the language of his exemplar were different from his own, but not sufficiently far removed to render it obscure to either himself or his reader, the scribe might include some of the less familiar items since they would still be recognisable though not generally used by him. Such items would be part of his passive repertoire (Benskin and Laing 1981: 59) in much the same way as the language of Dickens, Scott, or Shakespeare is recognisable to most modern readers, but few of us would use it in our daily communications and to do so would probably be considered archaic or an affectation.

3.16 If, of course, the language of the exemplar were sufficiently obscure to be excessively difficult either for himself or for his intended readership the scribe might simply translate all of it completely into his own usage.

3.17 The same scribe could (and often did) behave differently during the course of a single MS (Benskin and Laing 1981: passim). At the beginning of his work, or each stretch of work, he would perhaps, diligently copy his exemplar, taking the time to reproduce accurately what he saw in front of him. As he worked his way into his MS, however, he would become more confident, anxious to finish, or simply copied faster through necessity or desire, and consequently, his own spellings would appear.

3.18 Equally, a scribe could begin by eschewing unfamiliar items, but as he becomes acquainted with them, he gradually includes them in his MS. Similarly, as a scribe comes towards the

end of a stint, he may pay greater attention to what he sees in front of him and again copy more accurately.

3.19 There is also a diachronic question to be faced. If dialects differ gradually and regularly over space, then perhaps it is not too great an assumption to make, that changes over time will follow a similar pattern. Changes in orthography, for example, are unlikely to happen suddenly but are more likely to develop over a period of time. A form, new and unfamiliar, which a scribe encounters (here I use the term scribe to include anyone who writes and not the narrow category of professional compiler of MSS) for the first time, is likely to be eschewed. As he meets it again and again, he may then begin to introduce it into his own writing, perhaps almost inadvertently at times, or as the result of copying exactly what he sees in front of him.

3.20 As the new form becomes more acceptable, so the writer includes it to a greater extent in his repertoire, to the gradual exclusion of other forms.

3.21 In dealing with these issues, Benskin and Laing (1981) established a set of central notions which will be returned to frequently in this thesis. These are as follows:

3.22 Relict : 'A relict is a form not part of a scribe's own dialect, but an exotic that is perpetuated from an exemplar whose dialect differs from that of the copyist' (Benskin and Laing 1981: 58).

3.23 Repertoire: Benskin and Laing distinguish between active and passive repertoires. 'For written language, the *active repertoire* of any scribe is that range of forms he uses in

writing that does not involve copying - in other words, it comprises his spontaneous usage. For most scribes, the active repertoire is not directly known, but deduced... The passive repertoire comprises those forms which are not part of the active repertoire, but which are nevertheless familiar in everyday usage as the forms of other writers, and which the scribe does not balk at reproducing' (Benskin and Laing 1981: 59).

3.24 Although the term *Mischsprache* is not used in this chapter, the concept is helpful in understanding what underlies some of the phenomena which I observe. Benskin and Laing distinguish between apparent and actual mixtures of language in a manuscript.

3.25 **Pseudo-Mischsprachen:** Apparent *Mischsprachen* which 'arise merely as a function of scholarly analysis' (Benskin and Laing 1981: 56). Benskin and Laing examine three kinds of text which may appear mixed but whose mixedness is really the result of insufficient attention by the investigator to particular possibilities (Benskin and Laing 1981: 63-72). Benskin and Laing discuss composite texts, such as the Cotton MS of *The Owl and The Nightingale*, where the scribe copied different parts of the poem from different MSS, and reproduced the linguistic differences between those MSS; progressively translated texts, where the scribe begins to use his own forms more confidently later in the text; and texts where some forms appear in order to maintain the rhyming or alliterative usage of the original.

3.26 **True Mischsprachen:** 'A *Mischsprache* is... what the late

Professor Tolkien aptly described as a “nonce-language”, ‘an “accidental” form of the language, occurring in all its details only in one text’. Its defining characteristic is the persistent co-occurrence of dialect forms whose regional distributions are such that their geographical overlap cannot reasonably be supposed’ (Benskin and Laing 1981: 76).

3.27 Having thus defined a Mischsprache, Benskin and Laing then proceed to describe how the investigator sets about analysing one. In so doing, they make two points of special importance for this thesis:

3.28 The principle of minimising the number of layers. Analysis of a Mischsprache, according to Benskin and Laing, begins by finding a location which accounts for the greatest number of forms; ‘recalcitrant’ forms are sifted out, and then subjected to the same process, in order to find the location which will account for the greatest number of those forms. But as Benskin and Laing point out, ‘only as long as we assume that the number of geographical subsets is small rather than large, does the conclusion [that this is a sound approach] hold. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that multiple contamination is not common: it takes only one scribe, who habitually translates from the dialect of an exemplar into his own, to break the chain of communication, to convert the language of the text into a single and internally consistent dialect... Such scribes seem to have been a majority in the later ME period... Similarly... the more contributions we postulate for which we do not have decisive evidence, the more likely it is that in our reconstruction we shall be mistaken; and, since we wish to be mistaken as seldom as possible, the fewer opportunities that

we give ourselves to make undetectable mistakes, the better' (Benskin and Laing 1981: 83).

3.29 A definition of placing. "The importance of placing is... not that we can say things like 'this contribution belongs to Bedfordshire', but that we can say 'there are attested dialects with which this postulated dialect, this subset of the *Mischsprache*'s total inventory of forms, coheres'" (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 83-4). Unfortunately, the localised dialect evidence necessary to do this for Scots texts is not yet complete.

3.30 *Mischsprachen* as spontaneous usage. "The case *par excellence* of the *Mischsprache* as spontaneous usage is presented by the man who leaves home, settles elsewhere, and replaces part of his native repertoire with the dialect forms of his new abode" (Benskin and Laing 1981: 86) Later in this chapter I will consider the extent to which Ramsay does this as he travels possibly no further than through the pages of his exemplars.

3.31 **Constrained selection:** 'A scribe follows his exemplar in such a way as to suppress altogether some of his habitual forms, and to alter substantially the relative frequencies of forms that are functionally equivalent. Except for the occasional relict, forms alien to the scribal dialect are not reproduced' (Benskin and Laing 1981: 72). This concept is particularly important for this chapter, and is discussed in greater detail below (3.60, 3.64, 3.133ff).

3.32 The principal goal of this area of investigation was to establish the pattern of Ramsay's linguistic behaviour, notably

in relation to his exemplar. This goal, of course, required the amassing of linguistic data, it was therefore necessary to establish a methodology for gathering such material. The most appropriate method to adopt seemed likely to be that of the questionnaire, which had been successfully adopted for the production of LALME

3.33 The principal areas for analysis in any questionnaire, not only when trying to determine the geographical and temporal provenance of a MS but also when simply establishing the scribe's response to his exemplar, are orthography and morphology (Benskin and Laing 1981, 60, 3.3) It is through these features that gradual change and subtle differences will be noticed

3.34 One approach to this problem is that exemplified by Atkins (1922) when preparing his edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. Atkins was working with two MS copies of the text, MS Cotton Caligula A ix in the British Museum (C text) and MS Jesus Coll. Oxon 29 housed in the Bodleian Library (J text). From the handwriting alone it was obvious that both texts were independent in that they were written by different scribes (Atkins 1922, xxv). However, on investigating the orthographies of each text, Atkins was able to show that there were two scribes at work in C, one of whom may have behaved as a type A scribe as described above, and a single scribe responsible for the J text (Atkins 1922: xxix)

3.35 In order to illustrate this, Atkins compiled a table of twelve items consisting of original OE features (Atkins 1922, xxix). He then recorded how the reflexes of these features were dealt with

by each of the scribes, and then provided examples which illustrated them. Using this method, Atkins was able to show that the second scribe of the C text probably produced language which was more accurately that of his exemplar, and therefore more likely to reflect the author's original.

3.36 Indeed, Atkins' described his principal aim as to reconstruct the behaviour of the author rather than of the scribe (Atkins 1922: xxv) -- something which in practice Atkins did not do, but which successor "critical" editions, such as that of Stanley (1972), did attempt. Notwithstanding the dangers with which Stanley's method is fraught, given the behaviour of scribes (see 3.9 - 3.18 above), his task was to produce a consistently normalised text. Having uncovered what he considered to be the more original language, he could, if he so wished, relegate or ignore the other forms found in the two texts and normalise the entire edition in the direction of his chosen language. This edition met with considerable criticism when it first appeared, however (see for instance the copious review of Stanley's 1959 edition of the poem by Dobson 1961).

3.37 A different approach is one in which, instead of establishing general criteria and analysing different reflexes as a single set, one chooses items of vocabulary which are liable to contain these criteria and to observe scribal behaviour for each item in accordance with the general dialectological principle: every word has its own history (see McIntosh et al 1986: 8. 2. 1. 5. and references there cited). This approach allows the enquirer to ask not only how the scribe(s) treats broad categories of phenomena, but also whether their treatment differs in different contexts.

3.38 This latter approach is particularly fruitful for a dialect survey since scribes from different areas may indeed employ the same graphological form for any phenomenon but their distributions (whether word-initial, medial or final) or preference in any context may well differ from area to area, or across time. McIntosh (1974: 49), for example, argues that the "falling together" of <y> and <þ> in "such text oppositions of the type *þe* 'thee' and *ye* 'ye' [so that] each word may appear as *ye*" took place in Scotland and the greater part of the north of England before the end of the fourteenth century, a hundred years or so before its manifestation in more southerly dialects. Thus a fifteenth-century text in which there remained a distinction between <þe> and <ye>, can be allocated a southern provenance, whilst one in which both forms appear as <ye> can, on this basis, be said to be a northern or possibly Scottish text. The preservation of this same opposition of <þ> and <y> was later shown to be less a matter of date, but "that the main determinant...was...place of origin" (Benskin 1982: 14). Benskin examined the writing of 1500 different scribes and observed three types of usage: one in which <þ> and <y> were seen as the "opposite members of a cline" and in which some intermediate forms were difficult to classify as either <þ> or <y>; a second type in which <þ> and <y> are "discretely distinct symbols, and there are no intermediate letter-shapes which defy classification as *either* <þ> *or* <y> but their functions are confused"; and finally a third type in which <þ> and <y> are discretely distinct symbols, there are no intermediate shapes, and they are used in their historically regular functions" (Benskin 1982: 14). Since Benskin's sources were "chronologically diverse" then the "geographical cooccurrence" which emerged when these types

were placed on dialect maps made it clear that time was not the main factor influencing this consistency. There is, of course, merit in both McIntosh's and Benskin's arguments and, if one is to maintain an open-minded cognitive approach to linguistic study as described in the previous chapter, then one must take cognizance of both points-of-view.

3.39 The choice of the LALME questionnaire made it possible for me to take account of both the geographical and diachronic elements by allowing direct comparison between Ramsay's repertoire as far as it can be deduced from the MS, and the Scots material already collected for LALME, which provided a convenient control.

3.40 The LALME questionnaire consisted of two hundred and eighty items which I reduced to two hundred and eighteen by the removal of those which were designated as peculiarly southern (LALME vol. 1).

3.41 There are two factors governing the inclusion of an item in the questionnaire. Firstly, an item should be capable of displaying regional variation in its orthography, morphology, phonology (reflected in the orthography) or its lexicology. Secondly, it should be likely to turn up reasonably frequently to be attestable as a feature in a wide range of texts (McIntosh et al 1986: 7. 2. 1. 1). If an item fulfils these criteria, it should provide adequate information for the making of decisions on provenance, the number of scribes involved, the layers of language, and dialect contained in a single text.

3.42 The categories of evidence so produced are not, of course,

discrete: there will be much cross-over and multiple categorisation.

3.43 In order to use the questionnaire, it is not necessary to scour every single folio of the MS for all two hundred and eighteen items. Instead, when dealing with large texts such as *Bruce* and *Wallace* McIntosh (1986: 9. 2. 2. 3) advocates limiting the survey to tranches of several folios taken from the beginning, middle and end of the MSS. Each of these tranches can then be treated as separate scribal texts which, whilst being of manageable proportions, are nevertheless extensive enough to render worthwhile results.

3.44 The amount of detail to be recorded may be limited according to purpose. For some tasks, it may be necessary to compile an ORDERED PROFILE (Benskin and Laing 1981: 61. 3.6) in which each occurrence of a form of an item is indicated by recording the folio number in which it appears, followed by a tick for each subsequent instance of the item on that folio. For other purposes, PARTIALLY ORDERED or SEQUENTIAL PROFILES may be sufficient (Benskin and Laing 1981).

3.45 However, for most purposes an UNORDERED PROFILE (McIntosh et al 1986: 9. 2. 2. 3) may be adequate, at least initially. This involves the recording of each different form of an item, and ticking each occurrence of that form within the tranche. It should be noted, of course, that arraying a sequence of tranches in the manner adopted in this thesis will produce overall a partially-ordered profile, in that differences between tranches will be noted.

3.46 If the profiles so compiled prove to be identical, they can be merged to form a single linguistic profile of the scribe (Benskin and Laing 1981: 64, 4. 1. 6). Such a judgement would initially be tentative and would require the support of further evidence from the handwriting and possibly other, non-linguistic, sources (e.g. the colophon). However, if the profiles are significantly different, then the MS must be more closely interrogated (McIntosh et al 1986: 9, 2. 2. 4)

3.47 In deciding whether or not there is a significant difference between profiles, it is not only the obvious orthographical features which should be considered, but differences in preference for and distribution of these features may well be crucial. Thus if an item has two forms and both appear in each text, but in one text there is a distinct preference for one form over the other, then that is a matter worthy of investigation (Benskin and Laing 1981: 3, 4. 1. 1).

The Written-Language Profile (WLP)

3.48 Although the language of the MS as analysed by the above method clearly identifies it as Scots and tends to confirm the date of compilation as that given in the colophons, it seems to me that any study of a text within its MS setting (as opposed to an edition) is obliged to do more. In other words, although the above method establishes that the scribe or scribes of the MS were Scots, or familiar enough with OSc to be able to copy it faithfully, as it stands it gives limited information on the number of scribes involved, whether more than one dialect of Scots was used, or how much of the language of Adv 19, 2, 2 is derived from the exemplars which the scribe(s) copied (McIntosh, 1974: 47).

3.49 More information may be gained by taking a slightly different skew on the process of linguistic analysis, along lines suggested by McIntosh (1974). This procedure will entail supplementing the material gathered by the initial questionnaire with material of what might be termed graphemic significance.

3.50 McIntosh (1974) has argued that the existence of different dialects and scribes can be uncovered through the discrimination of features of the spoken language, written language, and the handwriting itself, as they appear in the MS. These can be compiled in a series of questionnaires which produce a spoken language profile (SLP), written language profile (WLP), and graphetic profile (GP) respectively (McIntosh 1974: 46).

3.51 The evidence uncovered by the questionnaire and cited in the appendices more or less constitutes an SLP: it indicates that the language of the scribe(s) was OSc. (See Chapter 2 above, passim.) However, as one would expect with an enquiry at that level, it does not differentiate among the scribes or identify uniquely the work of a single scribe.

3.52 Likewise, an examination of the handwriting (or the graphetic behaviour of a scribe) may not uncover sufficient degrees of contrast to identify the hand of more than one scribe in a MS (McIntosh 1974: 49-50).

3.53 However, McIntosh argues that scribes whose SLPs and GPs exhibit similar features are likely to differ in some of their

graphemic conventions' (1974: 50). In other words, an interrogation of contrasting written-language features which do not reflect any underlying phonological differences is liable to reveal the involvement of more than one scribe, or, additionally, indicate items which more properly belong to the exemplar (Benskin and Laing 1981). Naturally, the converse is also the case: if no differences arise, this could constitute evidence that the MS was compiled by a single scribe.

3.54 In order to test his hypothesis, McIntosh proposes the compilation of a questionnaire. The purpose of the WLP questionnaire is 'the eliciting of information about some of the graphemic characteristics' of a text (McIntosh 1974: 50). In order for this to be done effectively and efficiently, the questionnaire must be highly discriminatory and quick to highlight differences between any two scribes. As a result, questions which are likely to produce the same answers over a number of texts by different scribes should not be included. An example of this might be to interrogate the spellings of the reflexes of original Old English long vowels, a method which has, incidentally, been used elsewhere to examine Middle English texts (Hoad 1994: 202).

3.55 Instead, we should be more concerned to '...investigate a particular set of symbols with overlapping functions...' in those contexts in which they are likely to '...reveal differences of practice among scribes...' (McIntosh 1974: 51). In other words, as McIntosh himself exemplifies (1974: 50) we should not be concerned to investigate <ch-> /tʃ/ because there are no other symbols generally used to represent this phoneme in word

initial position in ME. More properly, we should be interested in whether <-ch-> , <-gh-> or <-ȝ-> is used to represent /x/ as the contrast between, say, <micht> in one section of a text and <might> in another would indicate a difference in graphemic practice worthy of investigation.

3.56 McIntosh also recognises that there are positional and contextual constraints which might also affect scribal behaviour. Positional constraints would be those in which the same phoneme is represented by different symbols in word-initial, medial and final positions. For example, /ð/ could be represented by <þ> in word-initial position, but by <-th(-)> in medial and final positions. An example of a contextual constraint, would be the rejection of <w> - /w/ and its replacement by <u> following a consonant (McIntosh, 1974: 52).

3.57 McIntosh (1974: 52) then lists nine 'problems' which he considers to be most appropriate for graphemic investigation. In summary form, these represent the uses of and constraints upon those groups of graphemes and grapheme clusters likely to produce the information desired:

1 <þ>, <y>, <th>

2 <ȝ>, <gh>, <yh>, <y>, <ch>

3 <y>, <i>

4 <u>, <w> - /w/ and as alternatives in words like 'out' and 'how'.

5 <c>, <k> - /k/

6 <sh>, <sch> - /S/

7 <v>, <u>

8 Concerning the use of single and geminate graphs to designate final consonants.

9 Concerning the alternative use of single and double letters to designate long vowels.

fig. 3.1

3.58 Having established his preferred items for investigation, he then ask a series of questions of these items as they appear in individual words within the text, supplemented by information on their usage in other lexical items in cases where the questionnaire proves ineffective (McIntosh 1974: 53). In light of their central role in this part of my investigation of Adv 19. 2. 2, I reproduce these questions in full:

What symbol(s) is/are used to designate:

1. the initial consonant in (a) 'the' (b) 'this' (c) 'that'?
Supplementary information (e.g. 'these', 'those')
2. the medial consonant in (a) 'other' (b) 'brother'?
Supplementary information (e.g. 'either', 'neither')
3. the initial consonant in (a) 'think' (b) 'three'?
Supplementary information
4. the final consonant in (a) 'with' (b) 'doth' (where relevant) (c) 'hath' (where relevant)
Supplementary information
5. the initial consonant in (a) 'yet' (b) 'ye' (c) 'you'?
6. the penultimate consonant in (a) 'might' (b) 'thought'?
7. the vowel in 'it'?
8. the vowel in 'five'?
9. the vowel in (a) 'my' (b) 'thy'
10. the second consonant in (a) 'two' (b) '(-)sw-' words (e.g. 'sweet', 'answer')?
11. the vowel in (a) 'how' (b) 'now'?
12. the initial consonant in 'can'?

13. the same consonant in '-ck(-)' words (e.g. 'back(-)')?
14. the initial consonant in 'sh-' words (e.g. 'ship')?
15. the medial consonant in '-sh-' words?
16. the final consonant in '-sh' words?
17. the initial consonant in 'v-' words (e.g. 'vile')?
18. the medial consonant in (a) 'over' (b) 'seven'?
19. the initial vowel in 'upon'?
20. the initial consonant in 'if'?
21. the final consonant in (a) 'shall' (b) 'will'?
22. the final consonant in (a) 'at' (b) 'it'?
23. the medial vowel in '-oo-' words (e.g. 'fool', 'took', 'book', 'noon')?
24. the final vowel in 'too'?

fig. 3.2

3.59 The application of the questionnaire has the potential to elicit thirty-nine pieces of information (not counting that gained through supplementary questions) sufficient to allow for significant discriminatory factors to appear.

The constrained usage approach

3.60 A third approach to the language of the MS involves the examination of the effects of constraint (see 3.31 above), and determining what can be learned from them about Adv. 19. 2. 2, the exemplars used in its compilation, and Ramsay himself.

3.61 The degree of regularity in Adv. 19. 2. 2 (see appendix 1 and my discussion below) indicates that Ramsay was not a literatim copyist. If there were any forms in his exemplars which were alien to his own dialect, we do not know what they may have

been since, with the possible exception of the odd relict, he avoided them in his MS. Indeed, these relicts tend to confirm his translating behaviour as they could be the result of Ramsay succumbing to the pressure placed upon him by their continued appearance in his exemplar

3.62 The amount of variation elsewhere, however, indicates that there was considerable overlap between Ramsay's own repertoire and the language of his exemplars. The fact that an item appears at all in Adv. 19.2. 2 guarantees its place in Ramsay's repertoire, active or passive. However, the frequency with which an item and its variants appear seems in all likelihood to be the result of exemplar influence which produces constrained usage

3.63 This notion is detailed fully in Benskin and Laing (1981: 72ff) and the following explanation relies entirely upon their work

3.64 Constrained usage is the term used by Benskin and Laing (see 3.31 above) to describe the language found in a text where a scribe's active repertoire can be increased as he encounters exemplar forms which are part of his passive repertoire and which subsequently become temporarily active, can be decreased as he fails to reproduce a form from his active repertoire because it does not appear in his exemplar, or is altered because the exemplar frequency is different from that of his own preference, thus effecting a change in his performance for as long as the scribe he is copying is at work. Benskin illustrates this in tabular form in which the work of a scribe C is placed alongside the forms of five items as they are found in two

MSS X and Y. Initially, therefore we have three repertoires:

ITEM	C	X	Y
it	it, itt	itt	it, hit
they	pai, pei, pay	pai, pay	pei, hi
much	moch	mykel	moch
which	wych ((wilk))	wych, wilk	wych
each	iche, ech	iche, ilke, ylk-a	ech ((iche))

fig 3.3

3.65 If we consider each of these items in turn, we can predict the outcome as the scribe C works on MS X and MS Y. With the first item *it*, only itt will appear in the scribe's copy of X, his variant form, it being suppressed by virtue of non-appearance in X. In his copy of Y, only the form it will appear and the Y-form hit eschewed as alien. For *THEY*, pei will be suppressed in C's copy of X, and again the unfamiliar Y-form, hi, will be omitted. Similarly, the mykel of MS X will not be used. The next item, *WHICH*, is interesting because of the change of frequency of usage which may occur. The scribe's preference is for wych, but he uses wilk as a minor variant. However, in MS X, both forms appear with equal frequency and this is bound to affect C's output. It is possible, therefore, to predict that C's usage in his copy of X will alter in the direction of equality for the variants of this item which belong within his active repertoire.

In his copy of Y, however, wilk would go in the opposite direction and once again be redundant as a result of non-appearance in the exemplar. Finally, whilst iche and eche are spontaneously equal variants for C, in his copy of X ech is suppressed and the exemplar forms ilke, and ylk-a are translated. In his copy of Y, iche becomes a minor form under the influence of the exemplar in which ech is a dominant form, and iche a minor form.

3.66 Again this is possibly best illustrated in tabular form:

ITEM	C	X-constrained C	Y-constrained C
it	it, itt	itt	it
they	pai, pei, pay	pai, pay	pei
much	moch	moch	moch
which	wych ((wilk))	wych, wilk	wych
each	iche, ech	iche	ech ((iche))

fig. 3.4

3.67 Benskin and Laing(1981: 73. 5.3) point out that in some cases, and indeed if these five items are considered as a whole, the results of C's constrained usage in his copies of X and Y are so different as to obscure the fact that (judged by linguistic criteria alone) they were written by the same scribe.

The operation of Linguistic Profiles in Adv. 19. 2. 2

3.68 Of the two hundred and eighteen items surveyed, a total of twenty-two items did not appear in any of the eight profiles. This amounts to only ten percent of the survey and suggests that, if Adv. 19. 2. 2 is typical, then the LALME items are well-chosen and fruitful.

3.69 However, there were another forty-five items which appeared so infrequently that their significance is somewhat limited. The set of realisations of these items potentially includes some of the features considered to be prototypically OSc and would thus affect one's judgement of the proximity of Adv 19. 2. 2 to the prototypical centre of the OSc language. However, their paucity qualifies any statement which one might wish to make, based upon them, about the Scottishness of the language of the MS.

3.70 Moreover, the fact that these items appear so infrequently means that they cannot be used as statistically meaningful points of linguistic or scribal comparison either between the texts or among the tranches of one or both texts. Indeed, some of these appear only once in the entire eight-tranche survey of the MS.

Consistency

3.71 Another forty-seven items showed either total or near-total consistency of form realisation across all those tranches in which they were present. Of these, I have chosen four which are of particular interest:

	<u>Bruce</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
item 1 THE	ye	ye (((The)))
item 2 THESE	yir	yir
item 11 WHICH	-	quhilk
item 194 THITHER	yidd ^e	yidd ^e

fig 3.5

3.72 Item 1 THE is significant on three counts. Firstly, at a time when variation was a significant feature of spelling, such consistency may indicate the work of a single scribe. In items 1 and 2 in the above table, <y-> is the scribal choice to represent /ð/, whilst item 194 is an example of <y-> representing /θ/ in initial position in each case (for the process whereby /ð/ and /θ/ are contextually distinguished, see 3.76 below. Of course, it might be argued that the distribution of voiced and voiceless dental consonants in Ramsay's time cannot be known. However, since the distribution of written forms seems to correspond to the distribution of voiced/voiceless dental fricatives in PD English and Scots, it can be fairly safely assumed that the voiced/voiceless distribution also obtained in Older Scots -- although, no doubt, the precise realisations were somewhat different.) This is worthy of comparison with items 7, 8, 9, 29, 30, 31 (confined to *Wallace*) 48, 50, 53, 193, 194, 195, and 196 in which the phonemes /ð/ and /θ/ are also found in initial position. In

these thirteen examples. initial /ð/ is consistently represented by <y-> (items 7, 8, 9, 29, and 30), the only exceptions being item 31 THOUGH which was found realised as thouch in *Bruce* (though <y-> was retained in *Wallace*), and an occurrence, sporadic in *Bruce* of thar, item 50 THERE, both of which forms were therefore probably exemplar-conditioned.

3.73 Likewise the realisation of initial /θ/ is consistently <th-> (items 48, 53, 195, and 196). The sole exception is item 194 in which the initial phoneme /θ/ in THITHER is written <y->, yidder.

3.74 In medial position, <-y-> is used for /ð/ in item 82, broy^ʃ BROTHER, item 155, noy^ʃ... nor, NEITHER... NOR, and item 207 quheyir, WHETHER. The only questionnaire item in which the PDE spelling leads one to expect a medial /θ/ was item 211 WITHOUT. However, item 102 EITHER is interesting here since the forms athyr and ayir / ayir appear in both texts. In *Bruce* the medial consonant is represented by a superscript <^l> but in *Wallace* infrequent occurrences of <-th-> are also found.

3.75 Similarly the exponent of word-final /θ/ is consistently <-th> in items 41 strenth, 78 benewth, 81 bath(e), 134 hundreth, 149 moneth, and 160 north, with an infrequent superscript <^l> used in item 81 ba^l.

3.76 What is beginning to emerge here is that Ramsay is working to a system of representation as follows:

<u>Sound</u>	<u>Symbol</u>		
	<u>initial</u>	<u>medial</u>	<u>final</u>
/ð/	<y->	<-y->	-
/θ/	<th->	< th >	th>

fig 3.6

3.77 However, this was an open system and, as such, allowed for variation of the kind found in item 102 EITHER (see appendix 1). A consideration of this item sheds some light on the extent of the variation which Ramsay allowed himself.

3.78 In item 102 EITHER, in which both spellings are permissible, /ð/ is followed by a vowel or an abbreviation. Moreover, all other instances of <y-> representing initial or medial /ð/ are followed by a vowel or an abbreviation in which the first element of the extended version is a vowel. Similarly the only instance of <y-> used to represent initial /θ/ is item 194 THITHER, in which the initial phoneme is followed by a vowel. In the other items in which initial /θ/ occurs, < th > is followed by either a vowel (item 195 thousand) or a consonant (item 196 thre). A further constraint on Ramsay's variation between <y-> and < th >, therefore, would appear to be that < th > is permissible in all contexts regardless of the following element, whereas <y-> is not permissible if the following element is a consonant.

3.79 The overwhelming weight of the evidence of this item supports the theory that the choice in orthography for many scribes may be influenced by phonology (Benskin 1977: 507).

3.80 Rather more interesting is item 11 WHICH. The form is consistently <quhilk> in *Wallace* and the fact that there are no recorded instances in *Bruce* makes one curious as to the form of the demonstrative pronoun in that text. On closer examination, it would appear that, in *Bruce*, the absence of WHICH forms is explicable by a wider use of <y^l>.

3.81 The first two examples show <y^l> used as a direct alternative to <quhilk>:

And sych thing /sy^l ar likand
tyl man /mys heryng ar plesand (B1r. 1.14-15)

Till perth yen went yai in A lout
y^l yen wes wallit all about (B5r. 2.31-32)

3.82 Indeed <y^l> is much more versatile in *Bruce*, standing as appropriate in this next example for either WHAT or THAT WHICH with the WHICH element taken as understood:

And he tuk alsua full gud hed
To y^l [WH]CH ye byschop had said (B4v. 2.3-4)

3.83 <y^l> was also used to represent the relative pronoun

And he y^lhad na p^e/sawing (B4r. 1.25)

To frennd /sapon ilk sid

y^lcome to w^l yar menze (B4v. 1. 33-34)

3.84 This is interesting in a manuscript of this date. The <quhilk> form is recorded in LALME (vol. 4:19) for the districts of Berwick, East Lothian and Peebles only, with all other districts surveyed showing "the -quilk" forms. This would tend to localise this particular form to the south and east of Scotland, an area with which McDiarmid (1968: xxviff) claims that Hary would be familiar. THAT is not covered by the LALME questionnaire but CSD (711) indicates that its elaboration for the range of uses just cited is traceable back to the late fourteenth century, the time of composition of *Bruce*.

3.85 This leaves a total of one hundred and four items, almost half the survey, which displayed some degree of variation or were important in some other way. In the remainder of this chapter I will choose from among these items those which appear to be of most interest either because of some general feature of the MS which they illustrate or because they are indicative of some point of more general linguistic importance. I will describe how each of these behaves within the MS and offer some possible explanations for the behaviour observed. Thereafter I will consider the question of levels of language in

so far as they can be determined from the evidence of the MS using the methods devised by the makers of LALME.

Frequency

3.86 The source of interest for some of these items lies in the frequency with which the different forms appear.

	<u>Bruce</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
item 5 HER	hyr	hyr. hir (((her)))
item 8 THEM	yaim ((yai)) (((gaim)) (((yame)))	yaim (((yai))) (((paim)))
item 10 SUCH	sic (swilk) (((sik)))	sic
item 39 YET	geit (zete) (geyt) etc.	geit (((git))) (((get)))
item 45 NOR	na	nor
item 50 THERE	y (yar) (((y -)))	y . yar ((yair)) (((thar)))

fig 3.7

3.87 Item 5 HER, <hyr>, appears only once in *Bruce* but the presence of the form <her> in the first two tranches of *Wallace* is interesting. In numerical terms it appears once in W1 and twice in W2. This compares with five occurrences of <hyr> and six of <hir> in W1 and seven of <hir> and eleven of <hyr> in W2. Since <her> appears so infrequently in comparison with the others it can be said to be an exotic and therefore interesting. Moreover, <her> is the later form. In LALME, the earlier Scottish texts all contain medial <-i-> or <-y-> forms for this item. For example, the *Ayr Burgh Court Book, 1428 - 1478* (LALME, vol3:682, LP 1361) has

hir>, as do letters dated 1400 and 1388 (LALME Vol. 3. 684, LP 407 and LP 1357 respectively, and the late fourteenth century letters of the Earl of March (LALME vol. 3:684, LP 401) all show <hyrre>. It is only in the *Burgh Court Book of Selkirk* 1503-31 that <her> appears as a sporadic form, and in equal distribution with <hir> in the *Wigton Burgh Court Book* 1512-15. It seems arguable at least, therefore, that <her> was not an exemplar form and its appearance here could be an indication that Ramsay used it in his work outside the MS. If this is indeed the source, then it is a possible indication that the gradual expansion of OSc to include southern English forms had already begun by the late fifteenth century. It is also a possible indicator that the southernness of much of the language in *Bruce and Wallace* is down to Ramsay.

3.88 Item 8 THEM is interesting for a similar reason. The general consistency of the forms <yaim> and <yai> throughout both texts again makes the appearance of occasional forms notable. In W1, for example, there were three occurrences of þaim. Since thorn was gradually replaced by y, and Ramsay elsewhere consistently uses y, it could possibly be the case that in these instances, he was copying from his exemplar exactly what he saw in front of him. There is the suggestion here that just as a scribe can be constrained orthographically, his choice of graph can also be constrained by the influence of his exemplar. Perhaps, then, this was an instance of Ramsay working in to his exemplar, and we can postulate, therefore, that thorn was a feature at least of the initial folios of his exemplar of *Wallace*.

3.89 The presence of <swilk> within item 10 SUCH once in tranche B2 and three times in tranche B4 is noteworthy. This is

the older form, appearing in the older documents surveyed by LALME including the Earl of March Letters (LALME vol 3:684, LP 401) and an indenture of 1387 (LALME vol. 3:687, LP 1356). It survives as a minor form in texts originating in the east of Scotland, well into the fifteenth-century (LALME Vol. 3.682, LP 394 from Berwickshire, 1438-42) but was not recorded at all in any of the texts from the west of Scotland. This posits two possibilities. either <swilk> was the form found in the original composition and has survived all intervening copies as a relict and was copied into Adv. 19. 2. 2 by Ramsay as part of his passive repertoire; or secondly that Ramsay's exemplar of *Bruce* was either an old copy (i.e. one written at a time nearer the date of composition of the poem than 1489) and Ramsay, behaving as a type B scribe translated it as <sic> with the exception of these four cases (plus one of <sik> in B2).

3.90 The mixture of consistency and variation in item 39 YET is both interesting and potentially confusing. The most common form throughout the MS is *zeit* and in *Wallace* perhaps *git* and *get* can be assumed to be exemplar forms and / or relicts. However, the second of these also appears in B3, in which *zeit* was not found

3.91 Equally interesting for this item is the appearance in B1 only of *yheit* and *yheyt*. Together, these suggest that, at least for these items in these tranches Ramsay copied what he saw rather than introduce his own forms

3.92 Item 50 is also interesting for what it tells us about Ramsay. Firstly, the movement between the full and abbreviated forms is indicative of the extent of variation which Ramsay allowed


himself and tolerated in his exemplars. Also noteworthy is the appearance of a single instance of thar at f65v1 13. Since <th> replaced <y> in this context, it could be the case that thar is a late addition, possibly even by a later hand. However, on checking the MS, there are no signs of correction, and the flourish with which the word ends matches others on this folio. It follows, therefore, that the form was probably written by Ramsay and this is a further indication of the amount of orthographic variation which this scribe allowed himself.

Preference

3.93 The reason for variation among other items appears to be a change in preference among forms

	<u>Bruce</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
item 9 THEIR	y ((yar)) ((yair)) ((yair)) ((y)) ((ya))	y , yair
item 84 BUT	bot (but)	bot ((but))
item 85 BY	by ((be))	be ((by))
item 120 GAR	ger, gert	gar, gert ((gart)) ((gerre)) ((ger))

fig. 3.8

3.94 Item 9 THEIR displays a change in preference of forms between the two texts in Adv. 19. 2. 2. In *Wallace* there is a preference for the full form <yair> over the abbreviated form 

In *Bruce*, however, there is a pronounced preference for the abbreviated form. Benskin (1977: 502) argues that it is not enough to say that when the scribe used an abbreviated form he actually had in mind the full form. Indeed, he states the case for the abbreviated form to be treated as a variation on the lexeme in its own right. In other words, when, say, Ramsay wrote <ȝ> he had in mind not <yar> but the concept of THEIR and <ȝ> deserves to be treated as a lexeme of THEIR in the same way that graphemes and phonemes are considered as unique realisations of a particular letter shape or sound. If this is the case then each of the different forms has to be treated as a distinct lexeme and the abbreviations cannot be thought of as instances of the scribe choosing shortened forms to relieve boredom or monotony. Consequently, it may be argued, the frequency of usage ceases to be a matter of caprice and becomes an indicator of scribal behaviour, or even a marker of the work of a particular scribe.

3.95 The behaviour of this item in Adv 19. 2. 2 suggests that both forms were part of Ramsay's repertoire but that the exemplar influenced his preference in each text. This, in turn, perhaps suggests that although both texts in Adv. 19. 2. 2 were transcribed by Ramsay, his exemplars had different scribes.

3.96 Alternatively, of course, if both his exemplars were the work of one scribe, then he in turn was constrained by his exemplars, an influence which could extend back to the originals.

3.97 The fact that <bot> is the preferred form of item 84 BUT in both texts is indicative that it is probably Ramsay's own

preferred form. However, the difference in frequency of usage of <but> between the texts is potentially interesting. If it is assumed that he were acting in a constrained manner, Ramsay, it could be argued, reacted to the frequency with which he encountered a familiar form by copying it directly into his MS. Given the greater ratio of <but> . <bot> in *Bruce* therefore, we can hypothesise that <but> appeared more frequently in proportion to <bot> in *Bruce* than it did in *Wallace*. This would tend to support the evidence of 3.68 above that Ramsay was liable to change his preference between alternative forms, and suggests that this was the result of exemplar influence and not caprice.

3.98 This is reinforced by the change in preference from <be> over <by> in *Wallace* to <by> over <be> or equality in *Bruce*

3.99 However, also interesting in these last two is the fact that <but> and <by> appear to the extent to which they do in both texts. The evidence in LALME (vol 4. 139) is that these were minor forms in ESc. The spelling <but> appears as the sole form in one profile only – a communication of the Earl of Fife dated 1388 (LALME vol 3:683, LP 1357). It also appears as a minor form in a mid fifteenth century document relating to the priory of Coldingham (LALME vol 3. 682, LP 394). In the majority of the other profiles <bot> is the only form found (the exception being <bwt> found at Ayr, LALME vol. 4. 139). In *Bruce* however, of the seventy instances of BUT which I found (appendix 1, item 84), twenty were realised as <but>, giving a ratio of 2/5. This compares with thirteen instances of <but> and seventy two of <bot> in my profile of *Wallace*. Similarly, the <by> spelling of BY is a minor form in two profiles (LALME vol. 4. 140) and the sole form in one profile only (LALME Vol. 3. 688, LP 428). Elsewhere

in the LALME profiles the form is <be> (LALME Vol. 4: 139-140). Given this information, it is, perhaps surprising enough that the ratio of <by>:<be> in *Wallace* is in the region of 1.3 (five out of twenty-three occurrences) but even more so that in *Bruce* <by> becomes the dominant form. Furthermore, since <by> and <but> were common throughout England (LALME vol. 4: 139-140) it seems reasonable to assume that, as far as OSc is concerned, these were 'later' forms which did not become more widespread in OSc until the process of 'anglicisation' gained momentum in the Late Middle Scots period (see 1.55 above). Perhaps it was the case, therefore, that the *Bruce* exemplar was copied at a time close to the date of Adv. 19. 2. 2, and that the scribe substituted his own forms for the older ones, whereas the scribe of the *Wallace* exemplar preferred to copy what he saw in front of him. It is unlikely that the difference is due to Ramsay without some influence from his exemplars.

3.100 However, the concept of a shift in focus raised in the previous chapter (see 2.85 – 2.96 above) provides for two other explanations. Firstly, as argued above, Barbour's linguistic focus was different from Hary's, being more southerly in orientation, and this could explain the apparently early appearance of otherwise 'later' forms.

3.101 Alternatively, during the year between the completion of *Wallace* and the commencement of *Bruce* it is possible that Ramsay had been using forms which were less prototypically Scots in whatever other work he undertook at that time. Consequently he may, having learned these forms during the interim period, have introduced them into his MS at the expense of the exemplar forms more so than he did the previous

year when copying *Wallace* Ramsay, as we have already seen, was constrained by his exemplars and it could be argued, therefore, that the stimulus for the growth in strength of <but> and <by> in *Bruce* is likely to have been their greater frequency in the *Bruce* exemplar, possibly reinforced by a change in linguistic focus on the part of the scribe.

3.102 The extent of Ramsay's constraint is also visible in item 120 GAR. In all but W2, the preferred form of the medial vowel is <-e->. However, in W2, <-a-> is much more prominent. In ten instances of GAR or one of its derivatives, there are five with <-a-> and five with <-e->. Of these, there are four each of <gart> and <gert>, and one each of <gar> and <ger>. Immediately, one suspects that the difference can be explained by what Ramsay saw in front of him. In other words, in that section of his *Wallace* exemplar which includes W2, there was a greater preference for <-a-> than there was in each of the other tranches in both texts.

3.103 One possible explanation for this is that there was more than one scribe at work in the *Wallace* exemplar. If this were the case, one would expect other items in W2 to show significant differences from other tranches in *Wallace*. Indeed, this would appear to be the case in item 129 HIGH, item 216 YOUR (in which W2 contains the form *ger* found elsewhere only in neighbouring W3), item 13 MANY where the forms *feyll* and *feill* are unique to W2, item 17, where *art* appears only in W2, item 22 where *sulde* is again unique to W2, and item 29 where again the abbreviated form *ya* was not found in any of the other tranches in *Wallace*. This may be an adequate number of items (see Benskin 1977, 510, 513 for examples) in order to

difference significant enough to deduce that another scribe was at work in this stretch of text. The high degree of consistency shown elsewhere in this tranche could then be attributed to Ramsay, once again behaving largely as a type B scribe.

3.104 However, whilst it is extremely dangerous to make any over-firm deductions based on so little evidence (Samuels 1981: 47), the above explanation appears to me to be at least plausible and worthy of further investigation, even though beyond the scope of this thesis.

Variation with potentially diatopic/diachronic significance

3.105 The variation in the remainder of the items which I will consider in this section is interesting for what it tells us of the dialectal differences either between the different places of origin of Ramsay and his exemplars, or for the diachronic changes which may have taken place between the compilation of the exemplars and the date of Ramsay's use of them.

3.106 Item 13 MANY is interesting because of the occurrence in W2 of <feyll> and <feill>. These are older forms, direct descendants of Old English *fe/a* (LALME vol. 4: xvi, item 118) and not collected in Scots texts. Perhaps, then, they are items directly attributable to Hary or the scribe of the exemplar, as Ramsay's preferred form throughout both texts is <mony>. Alternatively, they could be dialectal in the geographical sense, indicating that an earlier scribe of this section of the text (in another MS, possibly Ramsay's exemplar) originated from, or was employed in a dialect area in which <feyll> or <feill> was the common form. LALME (vol. 4: xvi, 118) collected the descendants of OE *fe/a* only

for southern texts. Moreover, neither of the forms found in W2 is listed in LALME (vol. 4: 166-167) and, consequently, any explanation of their appearance in this tranche of *Wallace* must remain a matter of conjecture. It may be possible to come to firmer conclusions about these forms once the proposed *Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots* is available.

3.107 Item 17 ARE is also dialectally informative because of the subordinate <er> forms found in B3 and B4. According to LALME (vol. 4: 34) this form was not surveyed in Scotland. If we consider that Ramsay was here possibly finishing his copying of his MS, then these can again be considered as exemplar forms. Likewise item 18 WERE in *Bruce* has a subordinate <-e-> form which compares with a dominant <-a-> form and no <-e-> forms whatsoever in *Wallace*. One could be tempted at this point to extrapolate that <-e-> forms were a dialectal feature of either Barbour or the *Bruce* exemplar scribe. However, item 20 throws some doubt on such an assumption.

3.108 Certainly in *Bruce* there is a predominance of <-e-> forms over <-a-> forms, but also there are subordinate <-e-> forms in all tranches of *Wallace*, with the exception of W1. One could legitimately ask why a scribe or author who on two occasions has shown a distinct preference for one form has suddenly changed that preference, and another scribe, who up until now has eschewed a particular form suddenly introduces it into his work.

3.109 These are tricky questions to answer but if we begin by observing Ramsay's behaviour, perhaps this will enlighten us. Firstly, it must be the case that both <-a-> and <-e-> forms, as

alternatives, were part of his repertoire. It may be, of course, that prior to 1487 (the copy date of *Wallace*) this variation was not the case and that he may have used either <-a-> forms alone or indeed only <-e-> forms. Whichever is the case, he could have acquired the alternative form through encountering it in *Wallace*. However, there still appears to be a greater preference for <-e-> forms in *Bruce* and this is potentially suggestive of different geographical origins of the *Bruce* and *Wallace* exemplars: the <-e-> forms are Middle English but the <-a-> forms are more prototypically Scottish. (see also 3.112 below).

3.110 Items 25 and 26, the differing contexts for the various forms of TO, perhaps reinforce this theory. There is a change in preference frequency between the texts, and it is easy to assume that both forms were familiar to Ramsay and that the variation is exemplar influenced. However, to assume therefrom that the difference is the consequence of there being different writing practices in different geographical areas is perhaps presumptuous.

3.111 Item 28 AFTER illustrates nicely the danger inherent in reaching too hastily any firm decision concerning possible provenance. In *Wallace* the abbreviated form is universal whilst the full form is either found solely or alongside the abbreviated form in *Bruce*. One could be tempted here to assume again that the difference in preference could be explained by different geographical origins (hence dialectal practices) of the exemplar scribes. However, on consulting LALME (vol. 4: 52) it is immediately apparent that both forms were common throughout southern Scotland, so such an assumption cannot underlie this phenomenon.

3.112 A similar situation is observed with item 29 THEN where in *Wallace* there is a preference for <-a-> as the medial vowel whereas in *Bruce*, the preference in the first two tranches is for <-e->, the third tranche displays equality between <-e-> and <-a-> forms, and only in the fourth tranche is the <-a-> form dominant (appendix 1). However, LALME (vol. 4: 52-53) shows that whereas medial <-e-> forms were found in Ayr and Roxburgh, medial <-a-> forms were not found at all in the Scottish material there analysed.

3.113 However, perhaps a consideration of other forms for this item will shed light. Throughout W1-W4 and B1-B2, the form of THEN has been either one or other version of <syn> or <syne> or a <y-> form. However, in B3 and B4, we see the emergence of <gen>. Since this form does not appear anywhere else, perhaps we can make several assumptions concerning it. Firstly, we can presume that it was part of Ramsay's passive repertoire. Secondly, and following from the first, it can be assumed to be an exemplar form, otherwise Ramsay would have used it spontaneously elsewhere in his MS. Thirdly, since <gen> appears only in the last two tranches of *Bruce*, we can hypothesise that there was more than one scribe at work in Ramsay's exemplar of *Bruce*. However, we cannot be completely certain of this since the scribe of the exemplar may have found himself working out of his MS and copied more accurately, the form which he found in his exemplar. However, the predominance of <y-> forms, the change in preference of the medial vowel in B3 and B4 plus the appearance in B4 of other sporadic forms suggests to me that a different scribe is the more likely explanation, although once again it has to be stated that further evidence is required before

such statements can be made with any satisfactory degree of certainty.

3.114 Item 32 IF typifies the dilemma facing the paleographer/linguist. On the surface there is an opposition between *Wallace* and *Bruce* in the choice of <-y-> and <-i-> respectively. However, in B1, the number of <-y-> forms equals exactly the number of <-i-> forms (three each) and in W1 the <-i-> forms are the sole recorded versions for that tranche.

3.115 One obvious explanation would be that the <-i-> form was both the predominant form in the *Bruce* exemplar, and Ramsay's preferred form. The <-i-> form in W1 then, can be explained as Ramsay's translation which he came to eschew by tranche 2 as he increasingly encountered the <-y-> forms of his exemplar, became more familiar with them and consequently copied rather than translated.

3.116 Item 38 SINCE also produces variation in *Wallace* which hints at different dialectal origins of the two texts. <sen> is clearly the major form in *Wallace* and the sole form in *Bruce*. The only Scottish location for this form is Berwick, the vast majority of occurrences being found in England (LALME vol. 4: 70). However, the <syne> and <sensyn(e)> found in W1 and W3 look like possible relicts from the exemplar. LALME (vol. 4: 70) locates <syne> in south-east Scotland.

3.117 In item 121 GIVE we have examples of both the extent of Ramsay's repertoire and the constraints upon it. The amount of variation in medial vowels for preterite forms is three: <-a-> (W1, B1, B2, B3, B4); <-ai-> (W1, W2, W3, B1); and <-e-> (B3). Here, it is

clear that Ramsay's choice is exemplar influenced: <-ai-> being a *Wallace* exemplar form and <-a-> a *Bruce* exemplar form. This difference again points to different scribes at work in these exemplars. Where the medial vowel in the preterite form is singular, the ending is <-Ce>, gawe, gave, or <-ff>, gaff. However, where there is a double vowel, the ending is always <-ff>, gaiff. LALME (vol. 4: 182) cites instances of each of these forms in the south of Scotland. Once more, a difference in scribal practice in the exemplars would appear to be the simplest explanation for the change in Ramsay's choice of spelling.

3.118 There is an obvious difference between the texts again with item 129 HIGH. In *Bruce* by far the dominant form is <hy> whereas in *Wallace* it is <hie>, with <hye> a close second, and prevalent in W2. It is easy to assume, therefore that <hie> is the *Wallace* exemplar form, and <hy> the *Bruce* exemplar form. This leaves the exotic or partially exotic forms <houch> and <heich> in *Wallace* as deeper level forms.

3.119 Item 134 HUNDRED, although infrequent, is again interesting for what it reveals of Ramsay and his exemplars. The only recorded form in *Wallace* is the full form, <hundreth>, whereas the form found in three tranches of *Bruce* is abbreviated to <hund^h>. Again, these can be said to be exemplar forms and that they act as constraints on what Ramsay produces in his MS.

3.120 Item 135 KNOW is enlightening for the forms found in B1. Elsewhere in both texts, we find variations on <ken> and <know>, but in B1 we find the forms descended from Old English *witan*: <wate>, <wyt>, and <wat>. Surprisingly, only <knaw> and <knaw->

of the first type were collected for Scots texts by LALME. Moreover, none of the <witan> forms as they appear here were collected for Scotland either, though very similar realisations appear in East Lothian and Mid-Lothian only. Again one is left with little evidence from outside the manuscript on which to base any conclusions. From a consideration of the MS evidence alone, one could hypothesise that the <w-> forms belonged, perhaps, to the original of *Bruce*. If they do indeed belong here, however, one could reasonably expect them to appear in other tranches of *Bruce*. However, their survival in B1 only can be explained.

3.121 One possibility is that all three, <witan>, <ken>, and <know> forms appeared in the *Bruce* original, and that the <w-> form had been lost as successive scribes used the more familiar alternatives. The survival of the <witan> form in B1, however, can be explained by these same scribes (including Ramsay) working themselves into their MSS and copying exactly what they saw in front of them in the early stages.

3.122 Finally, item 218 YOUNG again shows a similar phenomenon. In *Bruce*, <goung> is predominant, whereas in *Wallace* there are five forms of this item. Interestingly, LALME records the exact dominant form in *Bruce* only for Norfolk (LALME vol. 4: 299) and its subordinate *Bruce* form, <ging> for Lincoln and Norfolk only. The predominant *Wallace* form <gong> is recorded for Wigton (LALME vol. 4: 299) as well as numerous English counties.

3.123 In this last section, the degree of consistency of linguistic forms indicates that there was indeed a single scribe at work

throughout both texts in the manuscript. However, variation is a feature of the scribe's language. This suggests that his own repertoire of forms was extensive, and that he was tolerant of a range of forms for some items .

3.124 Following on from this, it has also become clear that there are underlying constraints on Ramsay's linguistic behaviour. It is likely, for example, that there was more than one scribe at work in each of Ramsay's exemplars, and it is possible that the language which Ramsay encountered in his work outside the MS has also been influential. In the remainder of this chapter, therefore, I will examine these matters further.

The operation of the WLP in Adv. 19. 2. 2

3.125 I began by applying the WLP questionnaire to the results of my linguistic profile of the MS, and the results are recorded in appendix 2.

3.126 Immediately striking is the large number of consistent similarities among the realisations of items in each text.

3.127 There are, however, some results which attract attention. For example, the appearance of <th>, alongside <y> - /ð/ in THE, OTHER and EITHER in the first tranche of *Wallace* invites curiosity. There are several possible explanations for the appearance of both forms: the scribe who copied this section of the exemplar was different from the scribe(s) of the remainder of the texts (although further evidence would need to be produced for this to be convincing); both forms are present in Adv 19. 2. 2 as a result of exemplar influence, as the scribe at the beginning of his task of copying *Wallace*, was more diligent in

beginning of his task of copying *Wallace* was more diligent in reproducing exactly what was before him (though again one would expect to find more evidence of exemplar influence); or perhaps they appear here because they were part of Ramsay's active repertoire, and he had been using them in the work in which he was involved immediately prior to beginning this stint.

3.128 If the first were the case, and if the WLP is an efficient means of interrogating a MS, one would expect there to be other significant differences. However, the interplay of ⟨y, ȝ, yh⟩ is spread throughout both texts, and only the appearance of a single consonant ⟨gif⟩, although again alongside the more common geminate ⟨giff/gyff⟩ in IF (appendix 1 item 32) is confined to tranche 1 in *Wallace*

3.129 Again, although this supports the possibility of another scribe, two forms are very little evidence on which to base any such conclusion. Moreover, one must be mindful that 'the more contributions we postulate for which we do not have decisive evidence, the more likely it is that in our reconstruction we shall be mistaken...' (Benskin and Laing 1981, 83, 6. 3. 5). I shall, however, return to this possibility in the next chapter, where I consider if there is any palaeographical evidence to confirm or refute this theory

3.130 If the second explanation were the case (at this stage in his work the single scribe of the MS was allowing his exemplar to influence what he produced to a greater degree than he did at other times) I would have expected there to be more evidence of this

3.131 It is possible, of course that <th> was commonly employed in vernacular texts produced in Scotland by the time of composition of *Wallace* (see Benskin 1982: 18), which would account for its presence in this text. But again, if this were the case, one would have expected to find this form throughout the text. It could also be, of course, that <th> appears only in this part of the exemplar, and that this explains why it is in this section only of Adv 19. 2. 2. However, the fact that it also appears sporadically in *Bruce*, suggests that it is not the case.

3.132 That leaves the possibility that the use of <th> in these circumstances represents Ramsay's own special contribution to the language of the text. Firstly, it has been argued that the interchange of functionally similar forms may be a matter of dialect (Hudson 1966: 367). Secondly, if, as indicated above, Ramsay was indeed a notary by profession, he would presumably be accustomed to using <th> in at least some of his work which was necessarily Latin-based and it is possible that he had been using the digraph prior to writing those sections of the MS in which it appears (see Benskin 1982: 18-19). Furthermore, since variation is a feature of Ramsay's graphology (see further chapter 4 below, passim) there is no reason to doubt that it was also a feature of his written language.

Constrained usage in Ramsay

3.133 In the case of Adv 19. 2. 2 Ramsay, fortunately, identifies himself as the scribe of both texts. With this knowledge, it becomes possible to set aside the notion of more than one scribe at work in Adv. 19. 2. 2, and use Benskin's process of examining the constrained output of a scribe, a process exemplified by Smith (1996b).

3.134 Recently, Smith (1996b) has shown how the work of McIntosh (1963) and Benskin and Laing (1981), discussed above, can be used to identify some items which could be said to belong to the core repertoire of the sixteenth century scribe Thomas Chetham. This short paper is instructive in two ways: it exemplifies what can be achieved in the interpretation of scribal practice as a result of recent developments; and it warns us of the dangers of just such an undertaking.

3.135 Smith examined the work of Thomas Chetham in two manuscripts: MS Manchester, Chetham's Library A. 6. 11 (6696) which contains a copy of John Gower's late-fourteenth-century poem, the *Confessio Amantis*, and MS Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian V.2.8, a copy of the alliterative *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy*. Furthermore, he compared the language found in these texts with that of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 3, 'another copy of the *Confessio Amantis* whose language has been shown to be as good as that of an authorial holograph' (Smith 1996b: 462).

3.136 Smith compiled a group of spellings in the Chetham Gower which differed from the equivalent forms in the Glasgow *Gest*, and was able to show that the Gower forms were 'accommodations... to the kind of language represented by the Fairfax manuscript...' (Smith 1996b: 463). At the same time he compiled a second group of items in which Chetham's Gower and *Gest* forms were identical (Smith 1996b: 463, fig. 1). This latter, Smith argues, 'would represent Chetham's core repertoire of forms' whilst the former 'shows the activation of one of two possible variables in his repertoire when one of them appears in

his exemplar' (Smith 1996b: 463).

3.137 Smith's paper demonstrates how an examination of the processes of constrained practice can be used to uncover the layers of language in a text and attribute the forms of individual items to either scribe or exemplar (Smith 1996b: 464). At the same time it serves to warn us of the dangers of coming too hastily to firm decisions based on the limited evidence which lies before us. 'if the Chetham Gower had not survived, then we would not be aware that Chetham's repertoire of possible variation covered such a comparatively wide spectrum of forms' (Smith 1996b: 463). In other words, without the evidence of the Fairfax manuscript, it would be tempting to conclude that the differences between the Chetham Gower and the Glasgow *Gest* were sufficient to suggest that different scribes were at work in these manuscripts. This last point, that a scribe may have a surprisingly wide variational space, is one which is crucial to the understanding of the concept of scribal plasticity which is at the heart of this thesis

3.138 With Adv. 19.2.2, we have a similar starting point. We do not know the extent of Ramsay's repertoire, we are unaware of any of his spontaneous forms which may have been suppressed. Likewise, relicts and exotics apart, we are unaware of any exemplar forms which he found alien and did not replicate. However, we are able to compare the variations found in *Bruce* with those found in *Wallace* and from these deduce what was probably Ramsay's spontaneous choice and which forms may have belonged to his passive repertoire and which can then be more properly assigned to his exemplars. In doing this, one produces not only a prediction of Ramsay's active repertoire, but

also linguistic features which would help to identify his exemplars (should candidates for these categories ever appear) and, in addition, the beginnings of linguistic profiles for Ramsay and each of his exemplars.

3.139 In order to test this theory, twenty-four items were chosen for the amount of variation which they showed and again the evidence is presented in tabular form. The entire range of forms found in the MS is listed in appendix 1 and are not replicated here. However, using the reasoning employed in the above explanation of constrained usage, the following results were recorded:

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>R-active</u>	<u>W variants</u>	<u>B variants</u>
5. HER	hyr, hir	her (W1, W2)	
8. THEM	yaim ((yaD))paim		ɣaim, yame (B1: yaD) B2)
9. THEIR	yar, yʔ	yair	yair yaD
10. SUCH	sic		swɪk (B2, B4) sɪk (B2)
13. MANY	mony	feyII, feɪII (W2)	
17. ARE	ar	arɪ (W1, W2)	er (B3, B4)
18. WERE	war		wer, weɪr (B4)
20. WAS	was, wes		wais

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>R-active</u>	<u>W variants</u>	<u>B variants</u>
22 SHOULD	suld	sulde (W2)	
23 WILL	will	wyll (W3)	
25 TO	till, to	tyll (W4)	
28 AFTER	ef ^ɔ		eftyr, eftir, eftre
29 THEN	yan, yen	yin (W1) syn (W1, W3, W4) syne (W2, W4) ya ^ɔ (W2)	yane (B4) syn (B1) syne (B1) ya ^ɔ (B3, B4) y ^ɔ (B2) zen (B3, B4)
38 SINCE	sen	syne (W1) sensyne (W1, W3)	
60 wk. pt	-yt, -it	-d (W1, W3, W4) t td, -yd (W4) de (W1) -ed (W1, W4)	d (B4) t (B2) yd (B1)
61 wk. ppl.	it, -yt	t d (W3, W4) ed (W4)	t d (B4)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>R-active</u>	<u>W variants</u>	<u>B variants</u>
65 AFTERWARDS syn. syne			eftwart (B1)
75 BEFORE	befor	beforn	ere. air (B3)
81 BOTH	bathe. bath	baith (W1) ba ^t (W3)	ba ^t (B1)
98 DOWN	doun. doune	adoun (W3) down (W4)	doin (B4) doyne (B4)
129 HIGH	hie. hye. hy	houch (W1) heich (W2)	
130 HIM	him. hym	hy ² (W1)	h ² (B1, B3, B4) hy ² (B2)
163 ONE	ane	one (W3)	
165 OTHER	oyr. oy	toy ² (W1, W4) toy ir (W4) athir (W1)	toy ² (B1, B3, B4) other (B4) othyr (B4)

fig 3.9

3.140 Column 1 represents speculation on Ramsay's preferred usage as it can be deduced from the MS. This probably amounts to his active repertoire when accompanied by all the other items in the questionnaire which showed consistency of form in both

texts. They also represent the linguistic features one would be looking for in any other text supposedly written by Ramsay.

3.141 Columns 2 and 3 represent Ramsay's passive repertoire as far as it can be reconstructed from the questionnaire. As such, these items can be more properly said to belong to the exemplars.

3.142 As they stand, they are interesting enough because they highlight differences in scribal practice which may give us insight into the different exemplars of each text. The consistency in *Wallace* of say, <-ing> as the verbal substantive ending in comparison to <-ing> in *Bruce* (appendix 1, item 5⁷) suggests that the differences may be dialectal. By this I mean that in the written dialect of the *Wallace* exemplar scribe (or the scribe of the MS he was copying if he was here behaving as type A) <-yng> was the common form. Similarly, the common form in the written dialect of the *Bruce* scribe was <-ing>.

3.143 LALME (vol. 4: 107-108) cites both forms as common throughout all the areas surveyed in Scotland. However, the Linguistic Profiles (LALME vol. 3) suggest that the different practices in the exemplars may be explicable on geographical grounds. Profiles for Ayr (p682: LP 1361); Berwick (p682: LP 394); Perthshire (p688: LP 428); Roxburgh (p689: LP 400) and Selkirkshire (p689: LP 1360) all show <-ing> forms as either the sole or dominant realisations of this item. In contrast, only a few geographically close areas showed <-yng> forms as the sole or dominant realisation. These were East Lothian (vol. 3, 684: LP 401), Midlothian (vol. 3, 685: LP 402; 687: LP 1359) and Peebles (vol. 3, 688: LP 395). It may be possible to extrapolate from this

information that the scribe of Ramsay's exemplar of *Wallace* either originated from, or formed his writing practices in or near Edinburgh.

3.144 In order to ascertain fully the significance of the data yielded by this examination of Ramsay's constrained usage, it will be necessary to harness the forthcoming work of Dr Williamson at Edinburgh, namely the proposed Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots. (The new Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots became available towards the end of my period of research, but its skew towards syntactic and lexical issues did not make its use in this context fully appropriate.) However, in the meantime, I was able to consult LALME, which for four of the items in the constrained profile, proved particularly informative.

3.145 Item 8, THEM. The interest here lies in the choice of graph to represent the initial consonant. Throughout both texts, Ramsay's preferred form is <y>. However, in tranche W I we find a sporadic use of <þ> and in *Bruce* <ȝ> replaces <y> in seven out of seventeen occurrences of THEM in B2.

3.146 The first point to note is that in Scotland and northern England, <þ> and <y> became indistinguishable in writing to the extent that the former was replaced by the latter some time before a similar development took place in more southern dialects of English.

3.147 This can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

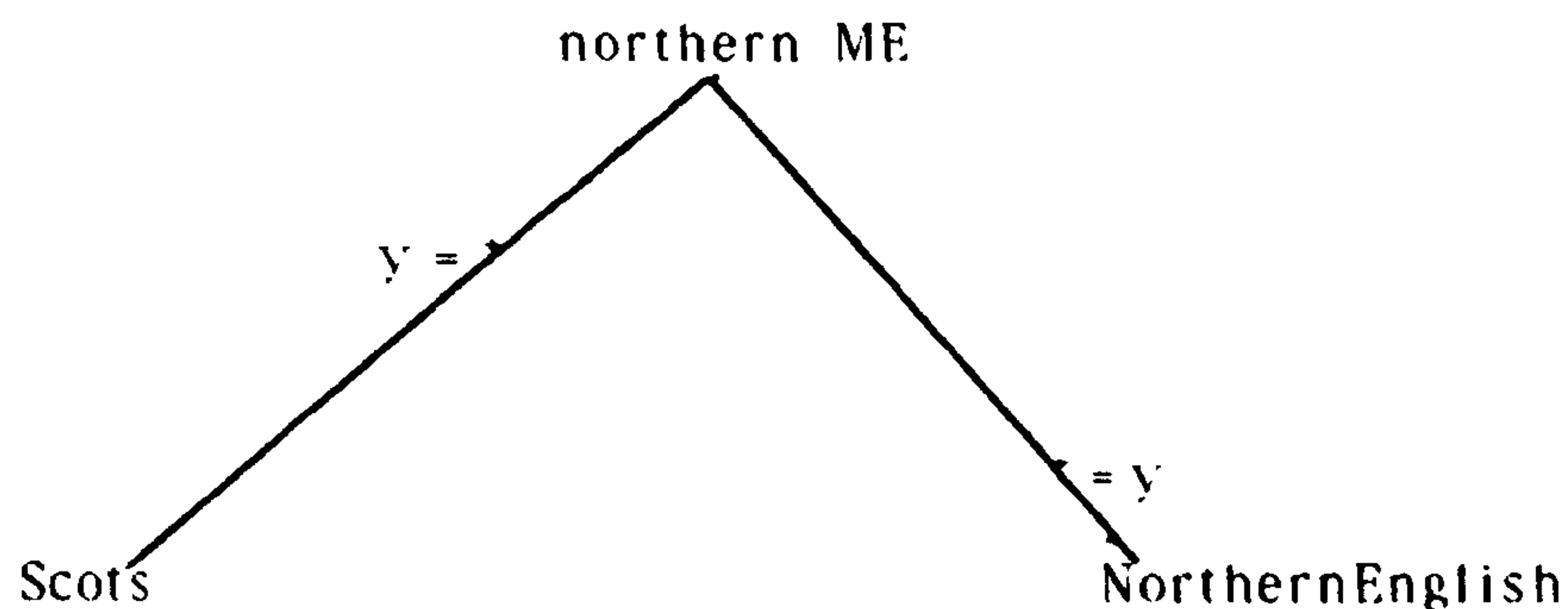


fig. 3.10

3.148 Here the apex represents that form of Northern Middle English which grew out of Northumbrian Old English. The left branch leads to the Older Scots, and the right branch to the Northern English which developed thence. The points marked on the branches indicate the stage in their development at which <y> replaced <þ>. Thus it can be seen that although in two such closely related dialects both forms would be familiar, the near-universal use of <y> would have been more widespread in OSc text, and would, consequently be held to be a differentiating feature of OSc and northern ME texts. The constrained profile also shows, therefore, that in preferring to use <y > to represent θ . Ramsay behaves in exactly the way we would expect a late-fifteenth-century Scottish scribe to go about his business, given what we know of the OSc language at that time

3.149 LALME (vol. iii: 681ff) shows that the use of <g> for θ or δ was fairly common in early Scottish texts. If we then consider the early composition date of *Bruce* (late fourteenth century), we can postulate that the use of <g> for δ (also found in item 29 THEN) dates back to that time and is possibly a feature

of Barbour's own orthography which has survived in Adv. 19. 2. 2 as a relict.

3.150 Another possibility is that <g> appears in *Bruce* (and <þ> in *Wallace*) as a result of confusion on the part of Ramsay or one of his predecessors. A useful parallel might be the confusion between þ, ȝ and y which resulted in the appearance of the unexpected form <athen>, 'again' in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Arch. Selden B.11, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Smith, 1994: 100-101). It is likely that Gower wrote <agein>. However, a copyist, who writes <y> and <þ> identically, and for whom the graph <y> had the phonemic value of both /θ/ and /j/, then substituted <-y-> for <-ȝ-> and rendered the word as <ayen>. It is possible that the Selden scribe, copying from such a manuscript confused the graphs and read <aþen>. He then replaced <-þ-> with his own preferred digraph form <-th-> and produced the odd-looking <athen>.

3.151 In the case of *Bruce*, it is possible that Ramsay or one of his predecessors, encountering <g> where he might have expected <y> (see possibly items 214-218) misread the distribution when copying mechanically. Thus, occasionally, he wrote aberrant forms such as <ȝaim> 'them' and <ȝen> 'then'.

3.152 It is also possible, of course, that the substitution of <g> for <y> was a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe to make his manuscript look older and possibly more authentic and prestigious. However, the infrequency of the substitution suggests that this is not the case.

3.153 Moreover, the weight of evidence in LALME renders the historical explanation the more plausible, and indicates that the use of <g> for <p> predates its replacement by <y>. This then could be an item which dates back to Barbour, and has survived the transition from him to Ramsay, by way of intermediary scribe(s). The evidence of item 18 WERE and item 20 WAS supports this theory.

3.154 In the case of item 18, Ramsay consistently writes <war> in both texts. LALME (see Vol. 1, Dot Map 131) tells us that this was the typically Scots form, again showing Ramsay behaving in an expected way. However, in *Bruce* we find some instances of the form <wer> and LALME (see Vol. 1, Dot Map 132) shows this to be the more usual form found in northern ME counties rather than in Scots. However, it is worth bearing in mind that the Scots material in LALME is comparatively sparse, and does not deal with the complex interactions between Scots and English during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As with the use of <g>, it is possible that <wer> was Barbour's own version.

3.155 Likewise, with item 20, we find Ramsay using both <was> and <wes>, but his frequency of preference being influenced by his exemplar. Consequently, in *Wallace* the dominant form is <was>, whilst in *Bruce* it is <wes>.

3.156 This difference in the texts can be explained as a consequence of the development of the nME-OSc continuum. The continuum was begun in large part as the result of royal initiative at the time of David I (1124-1153). However, the continuum was cut by the creation of a political border and the establishment of a new royal court and administration in

Scotland following the Wars of Independence in the fourteenth century.

3.157 Smith (1996a: 177-186) explains that the establishment of the burgh system by David I encouraged an influx of population from that area of northern England which, as a consequence of Viking invasion, may be termed the Great Scandinavian Belt. The English of this area was 'so heavily affected by contact with Scandinavian that some controversialists have gone so far as to call it an English-Norse creole' (Smith, 1996a: 178). This Norse influence, naturally, continued into Scotland, though the resultant distance from its epicentre appears to have had a subsequent weakening effect (Smith, 1996a: 180).

3.158 Following the political separation of the two countries, the new geographical border increasingly served as a barrier to the diffusion of linguistic developments which took place in more southern varieties of English. In particular the 'Southern focused standardisation' (Smith, 1996a: 185) which affected Northern English, had less influence on Scots. Smith (1996a: 186) illustrates this schematically as follows:

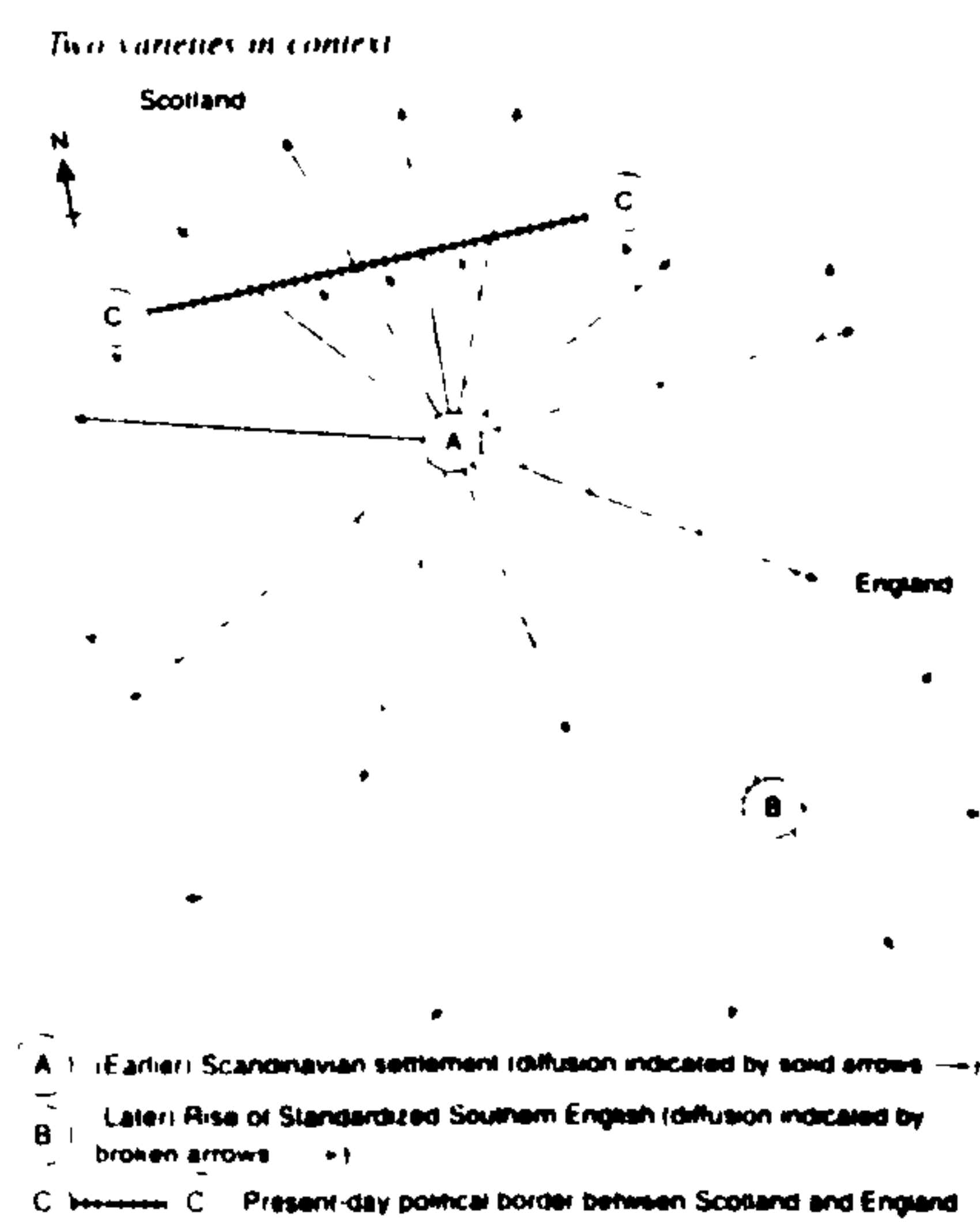


fig. 3.11

3.159 The above explains the differences found in the constrained profiles and is a pointer towards their value for future study. It becomes clear that Barbour, writing at a time a little more than fifty years after the Declaration of Arbroath, is linguistically, still part of the nME - OSc continuum, and produces the forms detailed above. A hundred years or so later, Ramsay is less influenced by the language of Northern England, and produces what were to become recognised as the more distinctively Scots forms. Furthermore, since the *Wallace* was composed a century after the *Bruce* it may be supposed to have constrained Ramsay's behaviour in distinct ways.

3.160 Item 17 further illustrates the divergence between the Scots and southern forms of English through the explanation of a classical philological problem. The opposition this time is between Ramsay's preference, <ar> and the *Bruce* form, <er>. Smith (1996a: 180, fig. 8.2) again shows that these are typically Scots and Northern English forms respectively. Once more, the difference is explicable in historiographical terms:

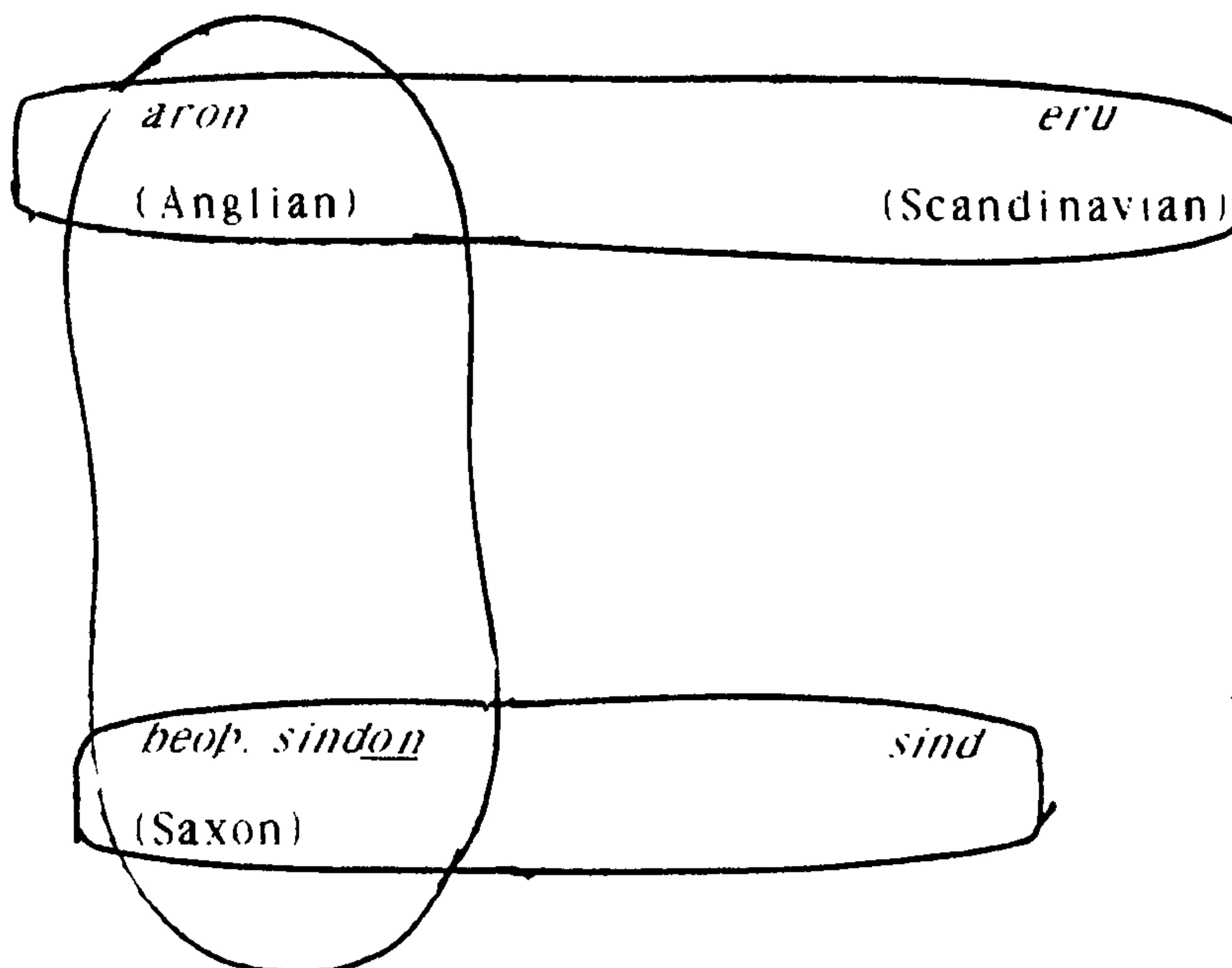


fig. 3.12

3.161 The Germanic form of ARE was <sind>. Following the invasion of Britain by the Germanic tribes, different dialectal differences arose in the geographically discrete settlements of the various peoples. Thus the Saxon forms, <beop> and <sind(on)> are found in the southern areas. Further north the Anglian <aron> is found, and this form is the direct ancestor of OSc <ar>.

3.162 However, the Viking invasion led to the introduction of the Scandinavian form <eru> in the Great Scandinavian Belt. By the processes of diffusion described above, once more we find the Scandinavian influenced form in *Bruce*, and the more distinctively Scots form as part of Ramsay's active repertoire.

3.163 The evidence of constrained usage, therefore, serves to expand our knowledge of Ramsay and Barbour and the language which they used in so far as it can be ascertained from the texts in Adv. 19. 2. 2. Firstly, the constrained profile indicates that the level of fifteenth century forms found in Adv. is due, at least in part, to Ramsay, and that he was probably very much a translator scribe. A contributory factor to this may be that Ramsay was someone who wrote for a living, which, combined with a sense of urgency (admitted to in the *Bruce* colophon) would encourage him to translate (Benskin and Laing, 1981: 88, 7. 0. 2; 90, 7. 1. 6). Secondly, the profile suggests that the persistent minor variants found in *Bruce* but not in *Wallace* possibly belong to Barbour, and that these are features which should be taken into consideration in the discussion concerning other texts which may have been written by him.

3.164 It is important to remember, however, that when trying to identify other works copied by Ramsay, that looking for items

within his active repertoire is itself likely to prove insufficient. One need only consider some of the differences between the texts in Adv. (and indeed between tranches in the same text) to see how Ramsay's linguistic practice has changed according to influence.' This has been recognised by Smith (forthcoming) and he argues that linguistic support for the identification of scribal hands 'is to be found not so much in the use of identical sets of forms but rather in the identification of similar behaviour in reaction to exemplars.' Furthermore, Smith argues that paleographical information may be required to determine whether the scribe of more than one MS is the same. This is dealt with to some extent in the following chapters.

3.165 In this chapter, I have considered the various approaches to the language in the MS and justified my choice of that adopted in the making of LALME and its associated projects. Thereafter, I have given an overview of the language and uncovered some possibilities concerning the layers of language found in Adv. 19. 2. 2. I pursued this further by applying McIntosh's criteria for a Written Language Profile, but could find no conclusive evidence which would lead me to question the implication of the colophons: namely, that Ramsay was the sole scribe of Adv. 19. 2. 2. In order to investigate the levels of language further, however, I pursued the notion of constraint as developed by Benskin and Laing (1981). Applying this reasoning to the evidence found in the MS, I have been able to separate out some details of individual questionnaire items and to suggest a possible provenance for them covering either Ramsay or one or other of his exemplars. Extrapolating from this, I have suggested that the results of this separation could possibly be used as sets of recognition features which would help to identify other works

by Ramsay, or the exemplars which he used in compiling Adv.
19.2.2.

3.166 It will be clear from the preceding study of the language that Ramsay, a highly plastic scribe in his linguistic reaction to his exemplars, cannot be uniquely characterised by some supposed "linguistic fingerprint". This plasticity will also become evident in the following chapter, in which Ramsay's handwriting practices are subjected to analysis.

Chapter 4

The Handwriting

4.1 Traditionally, palaeography has been viewed by the linguist and historian largely as a device for retrieving important details of fact, dialect, and provenance (see Smith 1988 ed. for examples). However, the publication of Professor McIntosh's articles (1956, 1974, 1978 [1989]) marks a turning point in graphological study in which the written language has come to be perceived as a discrete entity different from, but closely related to, the spoken language.

4.2 McIntosh (1974: 84) argues that a study of the work of individual scribes can yield important information for the study of the written language, in the same way that the study of individual speakers forms the basis for the dialectological study of speech. He advocates the drawing up of profiles based on '... as many distinguishing traits...as turn out to be sufficient in their totality, to characterise any given scribe uniquely' (McIntosh, 1975: 34). He has refined this task in a questionnaire of fourteen items designed to elicit the necessary information required 'about the presence or absence in a given text of certain letter shapes and about any positional and contextual rules which govern, for a particular scribe, the choice of those which he uses' (McIntosh 1974: 54).

4.3 This greatly refines and simplifies the work of W. Nelson Francis (1962) who, like McIntosh, wished to develop a technique of discriminating among and classifying the letter shapes contained in a MS as a writing system in its own right, 'without immediate regard to such matters as dialect, style or even meaning of the underlying text.' (Francis 1962: 32).

4.4 Francis' starting point is to disregard all assumptions about the meaning of a letter, but to recognise only shapes, which, for reasons of similarity, are assigned to a category of grapheme. A grapheme, as defined by Francis, is the written equivalent in a writing system of a phoneme in a spoken system (Francis 1962: 37).

4.5 The various letter-shapes, or graphs, are then studied in their environments or transition from one graph to another within the text in order to observe their relationships with other graphs. Francis terms these transitions **junctions**. Junctions can be either internal or external and Francis recognises five types:

- i. line end
- ii. wide space
- iii. narrow space
- iv. zero normal (graphs joined by a single point of contact
i.e. the unmarked).
- v. ligature (or as is more properly understood here,
biting).

4.6 Since, in practice, there is no structural difference among the narrow space, the normal, and the ligature types, they can be classed together as allographs of a single grapheme of internal juncture. However, because wide space and line end have differing effects on the distribution of capitals, they must be recognised as distinct from the others and as types of external juncture. This categorisation offers the study of graphs in three positions: initial (following external juncture) final (preceding external juncture) and medial (both following and preceding internal juncture). (See further paragraphs 4.57-4.60 below.)

4.7 This raises the question of the nature and function of writing, on which topic there are opposing points of view. There are those (see McLaughlin, 1963: 21) who would claim that writing forms a linguistic system in its own right, completely independent of any spoken system for which it is used, despite the fact that it may from time to time also provide a phonological representation of that spoken system. In this argument, the letters of the alphabet represent the parts of words which, when put together in certain strings, form words which record or transmit ideas, or ideas and sounds which are understood in the language. More specifically, perhaps, the sounds referred to here are perceived sounds rather than actual sounds since the words are not a phonological transcription of the noise which the speaker (real or imaginary, as in the case of fiction) made when he uttered the words. The logic behind this point of view can be seen in the fact that a number of present-day speakers of English from around Britain would produce the same text in

exact detail if it were dictated to them and they were to record it by the same mechanical means. However, the written text does not allow for differences of dialect which would arise if the same people were to repeat the same text in speech. In this way, the letters do not represent the sounds which a speaker makes in the course of an utterance, but represent in writing those same ideas which the sounds made represent in speaking. One is a stream of air, the other a stream of ink (McLaughlin 1963: 21). Again, an example of this logic would be found in the homophones THEIR and THERE, where both strings of letters represent the same sound in my dialect, and meaning, in a spoken communication, is only discernable from the context, but where, on the page, spelling denotes meaning.

4.8 The opposite point of view is that which recognises the letters of an alphabet as representing sounds uttered in the spoken language (McLaughlin 1963: 18). In such a scheme, writing could only be considered valid as subordinate to the spoken system and really only valuable as a source of information about the spoken language which it artificially represents.

4.9 If written words and their parts are no more than a representation of sounds, this helps to explain the development of, say, OE hlaford, hlɑ:fǿrd, to PDE lord, lɔ:d, where meaning has remained reasonably constant, but the sound has altered considerably, an entire syllable being lost and the root vowel changing, and this has been reflected in the change in

spelling.

4.10 On the other hand, some redundancies or relicts are not so easily explained. For example, the initial letter in psychologist is unnecessary. We already have in English at least two graphs which can be used to represent the phoneme, /s/, namely s and c so why is it necessary here to employ a digraph? To be fair, psychologist is not a native English word, but its choice as an example is appropriate because it helps to display the point of view which argues that the p is there for a good reason, and is not simply a left-over from another language's spelling system, or a redundant sound in a native word which remained in the spelling because it happened to be still in use when the spelling of the word became fixed.

4.11 We might consider, for example, the digraph g h, which in some ME words carried a phonemic value of /x/. The spelling of these words became fixed when printing arrived and the digraph remained when the phoneme later dropped out of the principal varieties of English in southern England (as opposed to Scotland and northern England). However, it may also be possible that the reason the digraph has remained is that writers of the language (who in the main are also speakers of the language) consider the digraph as an integral part of the word. Not only does it help to distinguish homophones in writing e.g. through and threw (the context would do this anyway in exactly the way it does in spoken English) but it may be perceived as carrying part of the idea which the word represents, which

would change if the digraph were removed, e.g. though and thou.

4.12 Following on the work of Francis (1962), McLaughlin (1963) employed the theories of graphology in a graphemic-phonemic analysis of a single Middle English MS. However, he did not produce a catalogue of individual letter-shapes as they appear in his MS, but was content to represent what he found by printed letters, and his task thereafter was to relate them to the phonology underlying his text.

4.13 For the purposes of this study, I will adopt the traditional palaeographer's approach by beginning with a general overview of what appears on the MS page, and considering such details as layout, angularity and cursiveness, in order to establish the formality or otherwise of the script. I will then consider letter-shapes by applying McIntosh's questionnaire to several tranches of the texts.

4.14 In this way, the study will move from the general identification of the type of writing to the written idiolect of Ramsay himself.

4.15 The former will facilitate comparison between the written languages of *Bruce* and *Wallace*, and also among sections within each text. On the basis of script, letter shape and duct, the latter will inform any decision on whether Ramsay was the sole scribe of Adv. 19 2 2 or, if not, where other

scribes began and ended their stints.

4.16 The definitions which follow are a combination of those found in Parkes (1969) Francis (1962: 37-38) and McLaughlin (1963: 29) with a minimum of alteration by myself. The only changes of substance which I have thought fit to make are to those definitions of grapheme and allograph set out by McLaughlin, which I consider to be unnecessarily complicated.

4.17 Throughout this study, I shall use the terms script and hand as they are defined by Parkes. As such, script will refer to the model which the scribe had in mind at the time of writing, and hand to the writing as it appears on the page. Other terms regarding the various parts of letter-shape and duct (the angle at which the scribe held his pen, the pressure which he applied to it, and other matter which helps to describe the actual production of the letter shape) will be those defined by Parkes, and will be explained as they appear in the thesis.

4.18 A graph will be any given written character. Each graph will be allocated to a grapheme which will be considered to be a unit of a writing system in the same way that a phoneme is a structural unit of a phonological system. In this way, the relationship between grapheme-graph corresponds to the script-hand relationship offered by Parkes. An allograph will be any graph which has been assigned to a grapheme.

4.19 McLaughlin (1963) postulates further categorisations: a

morphograph will consist of a meaningful group of graphs which cannot be subdivided into smaller meaningful units. All morphographs which are graphemically and semantically identical, shall be allomorphographs of a morphographeme (i.e. all morphographs which are semantically similar and which are in non-contrastive distribution) in the same way that allographs are allocated to a grapheme. These categories are not pursued at any great length in this thesis.

4.20 Any morphographeme bounded by space will be a word.

4.21 Thus I propose a graphological system at the levels of individual realisations and groups of combined letters broadly corresponding to that traditionally used for phonological analysis.

4.22 The colophons of *Bruce* and *Wallace* indicate that they were both compiled by the same scribe, John Ramsay, in 1489 and 1488 respectively. Adv. 19. 2. 2. therefore, offers the scholar a unique opportunity to examine the handwriting habits of a single scribe, to assess how these habits change in response to different exemplars, and following on from this, to consider how the evidence uncovered in the course of the study affects my assumption, based on the colophon evidence, that Ramsay was the sole scribe of both texts in the manuscript.

4.23 Little is known of Scottish palaeography, with Simpson's seminal work (Simpson 1973) being the only major publication to date. Simpson set out to help 'the student to learn to read' medieval Scottish manuscripts (1973: 1) rather than describe the development of handwriting in Scotland which, in any case, remains an impossible task until a detailed general survey of the scripts of ancient Scotland has been carried out. However, he does make distinctions among three basic styles of writing which he terms book, charter, and court (Simpson 1973: 4).

4.24 Book and charter were formal styles and were used for the writing of ecclesiastical works and official documents e.g. SH plate 2, a carefully written charter of King David I.

4.25 Court was the business script, deriving its name from its use in the work of the courts and government. In contrast with the other two, it had a tendency towards cursiveness as speed was desirable and calligraphy inconsequential in the writing of such documents as indentures (SH plate 7) and certificates (SH plate 8). However, it could aspire towards the more formal appearance of charter, and can be seen used for the writing of charters in SH plates 4, 5 and 6 where it matches the quality of the handwriting found in plate 2.

4.26 As this extended usage would suggest, court quickly became the dominant script in Scotland (Simpson 1973: 5). Although the lack of detailed study prevents us from

classifying Scottish court scripts in the way that departmental scripts can be identified in the writing of the English court of the same time (see Denholm-Young 1954; Parkes 1969; Hector 1966; and Petti 1977) the hands in which they were realised can be treated under two broad headings of set and free (Simpson 1973: 5), terms which in themselves may be vague, but which in practice roughly correspond to formal / informal or, more prosaically, neat and untidy.

4.27 The early Scottish business scripts developed along similar lines to those in England and Europe, but from the thirteenth century onwards the departmental hands referred to above can be seen developing in the more complex administration of the English court to produce the script which palaeographers have subsequently termed, 'Secretary' (Petti 1977: 10 and passim.)

4.28 Possibly because the Scottish exchequer consisted of an annual gathering of officials who were responsible for auditing the royal accounts, and was not a permanent department of state (Simpson 1973: 6) these scripts or their equivalents have not been (or have not yet been) discovered in Scotland.

4.29 However, that is not to suggest that Scottish scribes were in any way less able or less knowledgeable than their counterparts elsewhere. Although we have no records of Scottish scriptoria, there is nevertheless evidence that the

important scripts of medieval Europe were known to, and practised by, Scottish scribes (Dell 1969) with the only differences between Scottish and English archives stemming from national and cultural differences, differences in the administration, and those arising from the adoption in Scotland of many concepts of Roman law (Dell 1969: 386-7).

4.30 Otherwise, it can be assumed that the development of handwriting in Scotland followed the course of its English and European contemporaries as set out in the works of the major British palaeographers cited in 4.26 above.

4.31 These works deal with the development of alphabetic writing from the earliest examples of Roman Uncial, the name given to the 'inch high' script introduced into Christendom by Saint Jerome (Denholm-Young 1954: 9), and chart the changes made as a result of the increased use and wider usage of the various scripts which developed down the centuries.

4.32 In particular, the Carolingian minuscule which formed the basis of our present day scripts was subject to a series of developments as the desire for cursiveness grew in proportion to the increasing demand for books (Denholm-Young 1954: 53-55). In fifteenth-century England, there was a marked increase in the demand for vernacular literature (Bennett 1947: 168) and the works of Durkan (1951, 1953) which provide detailed evidence of the growth and extent of learning and humanism in Scotland, and Durkan and Ross

(1961), which details the printed books in the libraries of medieval Scotland, suggest that the situation was no different in Scotland. Naturally, increased demand brought about a corresponding increase in scribal activity throughout medieval Europe and by the late fifteenth century scribes were engaged in the writing of books in a variety of scripts (Mynors 1950: 97). Professor Lyall has carried out extensive work on the classification of the various scripts used in Scotland, but this work remains, as yet, unpublished. The main impact of growth in demand, for the purposes of this section of the thesis, is the effect it must have had on the drive towards cursiveness in the scripts of fifteenth century Scotland.

4.33 When examining the hand of Ramsay, therefore, we must approach the MS with an open mind as to what we are liable to find there.

4.34 We will certainly not discover a hand whose features can be neatly assigned to discrete scripts distinctive of particular government departments or monastic or secular scriptoria. Instead, we will find a degree of variation of letter shapes which suggests that the hand in this MS was based on a less formal model. Consequently, our identification of a script-model which Ramsay had in mind as he wrote will be less specific than the categories which palaeographers have assigned to the English government departments. What we find is a script very similar to that used by such fifteenth-

century Scottish notables as Archibald Whitelaw, archdeacon of Lothian, who was educated at St Andrews and served as the king's secretary from 1462 until at least 1493; John Reid of Stobo, a clerk in the royal secretary's office during the reigns of James II, III, and IV, whose hand was read by popes, princes, and magnates around Europe; Patrick Paniter, secretary to James IV from 1507; and James Gray, copyist of the *Kingis Quair* (Bodley MS Arch Selden B24) and Robert Henryson's *Annunciation* (Adv lib Ms 34 7 3).

4.35 This script, as practised by Ramsay and common to the others mentioned above, is termed 'pre-secretary' by Simpson (SH plates 11-14). Those 'secretary' features of the hand, typical of the development of the script at that point in late-fifteenth-century Scotland are:

- i. an a with an attacking stroke;
- ii. an 'open' or 'falling apart' e;
- iii. h ending in a lower limb which curves underneath the letter;
- iv. a single-stroke s like Greek sigma, alongside long s;
- v. an 'Arabic-2' form of r alongside 'long' r.

4.36 Each of these letter-shapes has its antecedents in the Carolingian Minuscule and none of them is distinctively Scots. Nor, notwithstanding the descriptions given here, are they without recognisable ancestors in earlier Scottish MSS. For example, SH plate 2, a charter dating from the late 12th century, displays the common form of a found in present-day

handwriting. Likewise, 'open' e can be found sporadically in earlier MSS (SH plate 3, line 13 de) as can h with a left-curving lower limb (SH plate 5 passim). Similarly, item iv. can be seen in an early-fourteenth-century charter (SH plate 6 passim) and the 'Arabic-2' r in an indenture of the mid-14th century (SH plate 7, line lincarnacōne).

4.37 The point to remember here is that although these graphs are neither exclusively Scots, nor their use confined to the late fifteenth century, nevertheless their appearance in several MSS of that time, and in the combinations mentioned above, render them prototypical of that script in Scotland at that time.

4.38 *Bruce* is written throughout in double columns, whilst *Wallace* occupies a single column on each folio. The scribe(s) habitually uses exaggerated attacking strokes at the beginning of each line and extended finishing strokes at the end of a line. This gives the MS an untidy appearance, especially in the double-columned *Bruce*. However, this condition was not unusual in medieval European manuscript production (Drogin 1980: 4). Despite the gravity of the contents, therefore, the MS has a decidedly informal appearance. Since Ramsay admits in the colophon of *Bruce* that the tale was copied speedily, it is probably safe to assume that what we are able to observe in this MS is the scribe's unconscious repertoire of letter-shapes in the environments in which he would tend to use them without undue influence from his exemplar. In other words, we should be able to determine the limits of Ramsay's graphological

space or the range of allographs of any grapheme outside of which he is not prepared to venture.

4.39 Of the fourteen items in McIntosh's questionnaire, I have, at this stage, omitted two. These are number 13, 'thorn', because it appears in this MS infrequently, and possibly only as a relict, and number 14, the abbreviations for m and n since abbreviations generally, will be included in my survey of the codicology of the MS. Each graph has been assigned to a grapheme. Each realisation of that graph found in the MS then becomes an allograph of that grapheme. In the tables contained in the appendices, each allograph is identified by two superscript numerals, the first indicating the graph type as illustrated here:

- | | | |
|---|----------------|---|
| a | a ¹ | is a small graph generally in the form of a lobe which can be open or closed. |
| | a ² | is larger and not a lobe. It normally functions as a capital, but is occasionally found where one would expect a 'small' a. |
| b | b ¹ | has an unlooped ascender and closed bowl. |
| | b ² | has a hooked ascender. |
| | b ³ | has a looped ascender. |
| | b ⁴ | is a two-stroke graph, double-lobed, with otiose attacking flourish. A capital. |

- d** **d¹** has an unlooped ascender, left-slanting, with closed bowl.
- d²** has a looped ascender and closed bowl.
- d³** has a looped ascender and an 'open' bowl.
- e** **e¹** a two-stroke, "falling apart" graph.
- e²** larger version of e¹ but with pre-flourish.
- f** **f¹** has a hooked ascender with a cross-stroke.
- The cross-stroke does extends rightwards from the ascender without breaking it, except in the case of a second graph in a geminate.
- g** **g¹** a two-strokebowl with left-slanting descender. The bowl is written first as an open section, and often closed by means of an acute stroke, probably the last part of the graph to be formed.
- h** **h¹** single stroke, looped ascender, left-slanting descender which may or may not return upwards and to the right as a ligature.

- h² a two stroke graph with hooked ascender.
- h³ has a straight ascender without either hoop or loop. Sometimes begins with a serif.
- h⁴ as h¹ but with pre-flourish. A capital and found at line beginnings.
- k k¹ Ascender and bowl are different strokes.
Ascender is looped with Arabic 2 shaped bowl.
- k² straight ascender.
- r r¹ 2-shaped r.
- r² open stemmed or v-shaped r.
- r³ two part ascender plus 2-shape. Used as a capital.
- s s¹ a single stroke. with either hoop or loop at the top.
- s² resembles a Greek sigma.
- s³ a stem with two compartment bowl.

long-sc sc¹ hooked ascender as for s¹ often ligatured to
the c.

t t¹ straight ascender plus cross-stroke. Ascender
may (not) have serifs. Cross-stroke may
(not) break ascender.

t² capital form with pre-flourish.

4.40 A glance at the appendix will show that I indicate at which junctures each of the allographs appears. I have done this simply in order to make the graphs more readily classifiable (e.g. a² and b⁴ are obviously capitals). This also helps to indicate at a glance the immediate environment in which one would expect to find any particular letter form (e.g. before or after a wide space). I have continued to use McIntosh's notation by allocating a superscript number to each allograph which makes them visually distinctive and thus facilitates a detailed description of the various elements of the letter-shape.

4.41 Initially, I applied the questionnaire to the first eight folios of *Bruce* in order to establish a repertoire for the scribe(s) involved in the compilation of the first part of that MS. Within the range of forms for some graphs, there proved to be extensive variation, some of which could be explained in terms of position. For example, a¹ and h¹ tend to end in ligature in medial position where they could be expected to be attached to a

following graph in a cursive script. However, the amount of variation I encountered overall soon led me to realise that the simple recording of letter-shapes alone would not be enough to differentiate between scribes working in a script which allowed for such wide graphological space. For example, within the eleven graphemes surveyed, there proved to be twenty graphs each of which had the potential to appear in any of three positions. The graphemes d, h, r and s proved particularly troublesome. In folio 1r, d¹ appears in all three positions, but does not appear at all in folio 1v, appears in initial position only in folio 2r and sporadically in any of the three positions thereafter. Likewise, there appeared to be considerable choice between h¹ and h³ in initial position, between r¹ and r² in medial and final positions, and among the forms of s appearing in final position. This last phenomenon was even found within a single line of text e.g. f2r.1.41 he levys at es yat frely levys in which each of s^{1.2}, s^{1.3} and s² are in final position, and in the case of s^{1.2} and s³ we find completely different forms of the graph forming the last letter of the same word. It would appear, therefore, that for this scribe, not only was variation in letter shape a feature, but there were, at least in some instances, no constraints of position. In order to help identify the scribe, therefore, I decided to record the frequency of occurrence of each allograph. I felt this was necessary as within a hand which enjoyed such a range of allographs, then frequency of use of each allograph or of allographs in certain positions, may be the only indicator of change or consistency, where the occurrence

of letter-shapes alone, and the consequent appearance which they lend to the page, are not enough to make a competent decision as to whether or not a new scribe has taken over.

4.42 Indeed the matter of variation proved problematic in my initial survey of this MS. In folio 3r for example, the ascenders of initial h, b, and l (this last item not included in McIntosh's questionnaire) are looped for the first fifteen lines of writing in column 1. From lines 16-30, they each, in all but three instances of initial h, have straight-stemmed or unlooped ascenders, becoming a mixture of looped and unlooped in the final seventeen lines of the column. Indeed, the middle section mentioned here appears in the MS after a gap between lines 15-16, and before an indented section of two lines at 1128-29, which signals the beginning of a new stretch of text (either paragraph or noting a change of direction in the narrative). There could be several explanations for this. Firstly, there could have been two or possibly three scribes at work on this page but this seems unlikely and the shape and frequency of other graphs suggests that this is not the case. For instance, the frequency of h^1 compared with h^3 in initial position on this folio is 2:1, which is consistent with the occurrence of these allographs in the same position throughout this initial survey. Secondly, there could be exemplar influence at work. This is possible and, if I were able to differentiate between those allographs normally part of the scribe's repertoire and those copied from the exemplar, this would allow me to 'date' those letter-shapes belonging to Ramsay, and if I can date the letter-shapes by reference to say,

SH. this would allow me in turn to put an approximate date on the exemplar. Perhaps further evidence will come to light either by omission or the introduction of new allographs later in the survey. Thirdly, it is possible that the scribe of this MS had an active repertoire of letter-shapes greater than I imagined, and more extensive than Simpson. McIntosh and others have indicated to be the case within the work of any one scribe. A comparison of the letter-shapes and their frequencies on other folios bears this out and the only thing which can be said for certain is that inconsistency is a feature of the written language of this MS.

4.43 My first impressions of McIntosh's questionnaire, therefore, are that it offers a method of establishing the important features of a scribe's repertoire by cutting out extraneous material which is unlikely to yield valuable information e.g. the graphs for c, i, j and o. It also allows for variant forms of the same letter-shape by allocating superscript numerals which identify them as allographs of the grapheme to which they have been assigned.

4.44 On the other hand, when faced with the amount of variation found in this MS, the questionnaire as it stood proved inconclusive in helping to decide whether or not there had been a change of scribe. In order to help with this, I have introduced the element of frequency, in a similar way that it was used in the linguistic survey in chapter 2 above. I would also suggest a closer look at the parts of a letter i.e. ascenders, loops

and bowls etc., would perhaps be helpful in confirming the work of a single scribe or identifying where more than one scribe is at work in a script that allows for such wide variation as that encountered in the opening folios of *Bruce*.

4.45 In order to test whether further amendment to or refinement of the questionnaire was necessary, I decided to apply it to a folio where the general look of the page suggested that a different scribe was potentially at work, and to compare my findings with those experienced in the establishing survey. I chose to survey f32r because the writing has a bigger, clearer appearance, there are more exaggerated attacking strokes at line-starts and end flourishes to the last letter in a line, and, at first glance, the ascenders and descenders are more exaggerated here than in earlier folios.

4.46 The second column especially has a quite different look compared to the first folios of the MS, and I confined my survey to this section of f32r. In doing so, I had one major concern: if the questionnaire is to be of any value to the user of palaeography, it must be effective over a reasonably short stretch of text as this may be all that is available for examination. In this instance the text covered forty six lines, and contained 280-300 words.

4.47 My examination of this tranche uncovered no significant change in the range of shapes or their frequency for the graphemes a, f and s. The remainder, however, proved more

interesting, and I shall now deal with each in turn.

4.48 The frequency of graph types within grapheme **b** changed significantly in f32r. Earlier, the ratio of b^1 to b^3 in initial position had been 1: 2. In this folio the difference had narrowed to 1: 1.5. This alone would go some way to explain the different look of this page as there are already more unlooped ascenders with this grapheme. If the scribe of the early folios was still at work here, I would have expected this preference to be confirmed by a greater number of instances of d^1 and d^2 than in the earlier survey, but, in fact, they do not appear at all on this folio. If a new scribe is copying this folio, it may be, of course that these particular allographs did not form part of his repertoire.

4.49 Potentially more significant, is the appearance of a new allograph for the grapheme **e**. This new shape is similar to that already common throughout the MS, but differs in that the upper stroke is a curl rather than a straight line. The curl itself resembles a modern **e** turned on its back.

4.50 With the grapheme **h**, there is again a significant change in the frequency of allographs in initial position. Again the comparison is between a graph which has a looped ascender, h^1 , and one with a straight-stemmed ascender, h^3 . In the opening folios the ratio of h^1 : h^3 in initial position had been 2: 1. In f32r, however, this had been almost reversed to a ratio of 1:

1.5. Along with the change in grapheme b mentioned at 4.29 above, this alteration in frequency results in a distinct preference for unlooped ascenders on a greatly used grapheme, and would help to explain the different appearance of this folio.

4.51 Again with the grapheme k, there was one instance of a new allograph with an unlooped ascender, not enough in itself to affect the appearance of the folio, but nevertheless consistent with my findings above.

4.52 Another new allograph on this folio is found for the grapheme t. This new shape occurs again in initial position and is a single stroke figure. It begins at the top with a serif which descends slightly to the left, then develops into the main stem and ends in a left-slanting bottom serif which in turn bends to the right, continues upwards across the stem towards the next letter with which it forms a ligature. In form, it somewhat resembles an Arabic-8 with an open top compartment.

4.53 The graphemes g and r show slight differences which may affect any decision as to whether or not there has been a change of scribe in this folio. The former shows in f32r a preference for a single-stroke figure in which the bar across the top compartment of the g is formed by the descender coming back up and over to the right. In final position, however, the scribe consistently writes a two-stroke graph. With r, the complementary distribution of r^1 medial and r^2 final, is more marked in f32r, with r^1 not appearing in final position at all.

and r² in medial position only once at line 43. strang, cf. the same word at 128 with r¹.

4.54 The significant changes at this folio can be summarised simply as a greater preference for unlooped ascenders, and new allographs for e and t. However, the first change is one of preference and not of substance. The scribe had often used unlooped ascenders on previous folios, and a change in frequency here could be explained by a change in mood. Although the new forms of e and t are of substance, given the amount of variation allowable earlier in the MS, it is not surprising to find new letter-shapes emerging almost suddenly. They could have come from anywhere within the scribe's repertoire not yet revealed until this folio, or as the result of external influence (e.g. something else on which the scribe was working). Inconsistency is again a feature of this folio. In addition to the distributions discussed above, at lines 38/39 mycht and fycht, we find different allographs of h in exactly the same environments, and an instance of "yogh" at line 41, geid.

4.55 It would appear, therefore, that McIntosh's questionnaire, in this instance, is inconclusive for differentiation between hands, or confirmation of the same hand.

4.56 In the meantime, the fact that the questionnaire has proven indecisive here does not mean that it is not adequate elsewhere in helping to confirm that the one scribe is at work

on any given stretch of text, or in pinpointing where a new scribe takes over, providing that differences in the scribe's written idiosyncrasies are adequately marked. For this purpose, I have applied the questionnaire to those folios which I reckon to be the first in each of the quires of *Bruce* and *Wallace* (see chapter 5 below) rather than to those such as f32r which to the untrained eye may suggest a change of scribe.

4.57 Before describing the letter shapes found in those folios profiled, I will first turn to a reconsideration of the function of the graphologist. Francis (1962) uses the term 'graphemist' but on an analogy with the term phonologist as the name for one who studies the phonology or spoken realisation of a language. I prefer the term graphologist to describe a person studying the graphology or written representation of speech.

4.58 There are some problems, I would suggest, in Francis's analysis. Francis would consider the form of any letter which appears in initial or final position to belong to a different grapheme from the form(s) of the same letter which appear in medial position. I can find no good reason for this other than as a convenient means of dealing with capitals. For example, the graph A could be considered as belonging to a grapheme A, and not to the grapheme a. The fact that it is most commonly found after a wide space (except as an internal component of a word which has been capitalised, or as part of a script which only allows for what we today would call capital shapes) or frequently following a line end (i.e. at the beginning of a new line) in

poetry, to be no more than additional information about this particular graph in a particular MS. In this way, Adv. 19. 2. 2 would contain two graphemes for what we know to be the capital and normal form of any letter-shape. However, even working in an unfamiliar language, the graphologist would quickly realise that the graph A performed, graphologically, exactly the same job as the graph a in different contexts, and, notwithstanding what has been said above concerning divorcing graphs from their underlying meaning, I would wish to assign both graphs to the grapheme a, which is, after all, an abstract concept which is identifiable by the graphs which make up its set, but which only attains concrete form in the allographs in which it is realised on the pages of a MS.

4.59 Already here we are making assumptions: firstly that different graphs belong to the same graphical set, and secondly, that they are all allographs of the same grapheme, as opposed to, say, assigning h¹ and h³ above to different graphemes because of their radically different shapes, as we might be tempted to do (at least initially) with a strange language. In other words, we are accepting that we have *a priori* knowledge of the grapheme a and all the forms which constitute its graphological set. I see no problem, therefore, with accepting the same assumptions about capital forms and am happy to allocate both them and non-capital forms to a single grapheme. Moreover, in this MS, A appears in contexts where one would expect to find a form of a, and a can appear after wide spaces and at the beginning of a line which would lead to complication and confusion by

requiring there to be two types of grapheme a. identical in every way except that one is a grapheme of external juncture. whilst the other is a grapheme of internal juncture.

4.60 This explanation dispenses with the need to recognise external and internal junctures except as aids in helping to describe the traditional terminology of the linguist. word-initial, medial, and word-final to indicate letter positions.

4.61 These positions are defined by Francis (1962) as initial, following external juncture, final, preceding external juncture, and medial, both following and preceding internal juncture. I have adopted this usage in the surveys of this MS found in the appendices.

4.62 Instead of beginning with individual graphs, therefore, I shall first of all consider structural elements such as ascenders, descenders, loops, hooks and serifs, their height, slope and direction, as well as the construction of bowls and compartments, as they appear on the page regardless of their relationship to any graphs of which they form a part. Only thereafter will I consider which construction appears in which graphs and in which positions it is necessary to do so to establish the work of a scribe. In other words, what I am addressing here is the question of duct.

4.63 This requires me to look at the alphabetical writing system of English in a way which is less usual in current modern

scholarship. Instead of categorising graphs in terms of either their related sounds, or where they appear in the alphabet, or whether or not they are capitals, I shall now consider them in terms of their structure. The construction of each graph will be examined, therefore, before assigning it to a structural type. The analysis must contain a description of the various elements of the graph. As far as possible, I will retain the terminology already common among palaeographers and linguists. In this way, my survey, once carried out, can be easily compared with other investigations.

4.64 Components which form that part of a graph which comes before the main body of the graph, shall have the prefix 'pre' added to their familiar term e.g. preascender (as in b). Those which appear after the main body of the graph, shall have the suffix 'post' added to their common term e.g. postdescender (as in g).

4.65 An **ascender** is any part of a letter which rises above the height of the top of the letters m and n. This height is chosen because it represents the height of minim strokes in classical scripts. A **descender** is any component which extends below the line of writing. A **compartment** is any closed or partly closed element of a graph e.g. the bowl of a b, or the top and bottom halves of a modern e respectively. A **bowl** is any closed compartment, roughly circular in shape. A **stem** is any vertical stroke of roughly minim height. Any stroke which is neither circular nor straight is termed **curvilinear**. Examples of

curvilinear parts would be the hooks which are additions to ascenders and descenders which curve in the opposite direction of the main stroke, or the ovular shaped loops found in some allographs of **d** above. A cross-stroke is any horizontal stroke. A cross-stroke may or may not pass through a stem, ascender, or descender. In addition, each of the components here defined may be + or - other features which helps to be more specific in their description e.g. the bowl of a **d** may be + or - "closed". The slope of ascenders, descenders and stems, shall be described as having positive incline if the stroke slopes upwards from left to right. A stroke which slopes upwards from right to left, will be one of negative incline. These terms apply to the strokes as they are seen on the page by the palaeographer and do not attempt in any way to describe the direction taken by the pen as the stroke was made by the scribe: this would be more properly the concern of the calligrapher. Thus, although the looped ascender of **d**² was written in one continuous stroke which travelled first of all upwards from right to left and then downwards from left to right, because the entire ascender slopes to the left it will be considered to be a slope of negative incline. Greater difficulty arises with the description of the descender of **g**¹ which from the bottom of its descent, begins to curve upwards from right to left but then changes direction to gain positive incline. At the moment, I have been unable to find any suitable terminology in which to describe this stroke without resort to the detailed verbose description given here.

4.66 Once the terminology as used here is understood, it is to be

hoped that, given a description, someone who does not have access to the MS would nevertheless be able to produce exactly the same letter shape from that description in the same way that a linguist, faced with a phonetic description of a sound or string of sounds in an unfamiliar language would be able to utter the sound from the description offered by the IPA symbols. The descriptions given here are for the general graph types with adornments such as hoop, loops etc., being offered as optional. The description moves from the left to right of the graph as this is the direction in which it is read in any case. Thus the component furthest to the left of the graph will be the first mentioned, and, naturally, that furthest to the right, last mentioned. Again this should facilitate reconstruction by someone who has not seen the actual graph on the MS page.

4.67 The graph types found in the MS are those listed in the repertoire of the scribe, and are described as follows, optional elements being enclosed in square brackets| |:

- a bowl + post stem;
- b preascender [+ or - hook, loop, serif.] - bowl;
- c stem [+ negative incline] + zero juncture post cross-stroke;
- d bowl [+ or - closed] + postascender [+ or - loop];
- e stem [+ negative incline] + post cross-stroke [- | juncture, + or - curl];
- f ascender + inverted clockwise hook + cross-stroke which dissects ascender at roughly minim height;

- g** bowl + postdescender + anti clockwise hook [+ or - positive incline]:
- h** preascender [+ or - loop, hook, serif] + curvilinear cross-stroke which becomes descender [+ or - clockwise loop to become ligature of positive incline]:
- i** stem [+ or - descender; + or - negative incline]:
- k** preascender [+ or - hook, loop, serif] + Arabic-2 shaped curvilinear second compartment:
- l** ascender [+ or - hook, loop, serif; + or - ligature of positive incline]:
- m** anti clockwise inverted prehook + stem x 3:
- n** anti clockwise inverted prehook + stem x 2:
- o** bowl:
- q** bowl + postdescender:
- r** the graph types for this grapheme differ greatly and in reality could possibly constitute different graphemes:
- s** s^1 is a curvilinear figure resembling an Arabic-2:
 s^2 is a curvilinear figure resembling a Greek sigma:
 s^3 is a curvilinear two-compartment graph resembling a squashed modern capital B:
- t** stem + cross-stroke [+ or - ligature]
- u** stem + ligature of positive incline + stem [+ or - ligature]:
- v** ascender [+ negative incline] + bowl:

- w ascender [+ negative incline] + ligature + stem [+ negative incline] + bowl;
- y stem [+ negative incline] + stem [+ positive incline] + curvilinear descender;
- z inverted anti clockwise hook stem + inverted anti clockwise hook stem + descender.

4.68 Having established these as the main components of all graphs found in the MS, one can then turn to ask questions of each of these components:

1. Are all ascenders + or - hoops, loops etc., and in which positions does each form occur?
2. Do descenders habitually end by curving left, right, or not at all?
3. Are bowls open or closed, and in which positions?
4. Are all stems of equal height?

4.69 If necessary, frequency of occurrence can be recorded. Other factors such as whether the writing is upright or leans to either side, or whether the weight of the pen appears heavier or lighter should also be considered and can be instrumental in deciding whether or not there has been a change of scribe, or if the same scribe has simply changed his habits slightly.

4.70 I shall now turn to a description of the letter-shapes found in the profiles, and offer some theories as to their construction. Given the amount of variation discovered in the survey, it was

not surprising to find a great number of allographs for many of the twelve graphemes giving a total of 186 items in the ten folios profiled (appendix 3).

4.71 There are two basic ways of handling the information gathered in the profiles, letter by letter, or a consideration of each folio. I have chosen to describe each letter-shape and then indicate on which folios it was found, with some measure of the relevant frequency with which it appeared on each. The advantage of this approach is that it allows me to offer a detailed description of the graphs and where they appear before going on to compare the graphs folio by folio. This way it will be necessary to compare only those graphs which are significant in that they appear on one, but not another, folio. Those graphs significant because they appear throughout, are described in one instance only and thereafter need only be referred to by their 'allograph number'. The disadvantage is that this method is longer than simply looking for differences in the profiles which would more quickly establish whether or not more than one scribe was at work. However, it is my contention that the method used here allows a more thorough consideration of the parts of the letter-shapes and the duct, or their construction and in this instance the extra effort required is justified by the task of attempting to establish a scientific method of determining the work of individual scribes.

4.72 For the grapheme type a¹, eight allographs were found in *Bruce*, with an additional three in *Wallace*, giving a total of

eleven items profiled. A superscript * indicates those folios or positions in which an allograph is the dominant form. The juncture is indicated by I (initial position) M (medial position) or F (final position). The text is indicated by B or W followed by the folio number and side.

4.73 a^{1.1} This is the most common allograph of a, and was seen in every folio profiled. It is the dominant medial form in both texts with the exception of W21r and W43r where it is overtaken, but not replaced by a^{1.6}. This allograph resembles a closed, oval bowl plus stem. The closeness of the components makes it difficult to determine whether it is constructed in one or two strokes.

a

4.74 a^{1.2} This is a three-stroke figure consisting of a 'half-minim' sized stem + stem + positively inclined stroke running from the line of writing, at a point to the left of the main body of the letter, onto the tops of the stems.

a

I B33r. *B49r. B63r. W1r. W43r. *W63r. *W83r. *W103r.

M B3 W1r. W21r. W83r. W103r.

It is dominant in initial position in four of the ten profiles, although it is never the sole allograph in this position. Although never dominant in medial position, it is often of equal frequency with other medial allographs. This allograph never appears in final position in any of the profiles. When it appears in medial

position, it is normally without preligature e.g. B33r l.20 war,
and W1r.47 hastyng.

4.75 a^{1.3} This allograph is similar to the previous one, the
difference being that the third stroke continues beyond the top
of the second stem.



I B17r, B33r, B63r, W63r, W103r.
M B17r, B33r, B49r, W21r.

Found mostly in initial position and rarely elsewhere. As one
would expect with a graph of this shape, it lacks preligature, and
therefore follows narrow space when in medial position. Again,
this allograph does not appear in final position. In initial
position, it is of equal dominance alongside other allographs in
Bruce, but is always subordinate in *Wallace*. It is more numerous
in the *Bruce* folios profiled, but this is at least partly due to the
double columns in this text. It is one of the most formal
allographs of any graph profiled in the MS.

4.76 a^{1.4} Very like a^{1.1} but with a horizontal stroke at the top
of the letter. A few instances of this allograph were noted in the
survey at B3r, B3v, and B4v. In the profile, the only folio found
to contain this allograph was B63r where it was found
infrequently in medial position. In each occurrence, whether in
the survey or profile, it has preligature with t, f, or, in one
instance, with g. Although each of these graphs contains an
element which would naturally allow for postligature, in the

sightings listed here, the stroke concerned is longer in appearance than normal, and there are many examples of these same graphs not having post ligature with other allographs of a as well as other graphemes which could take ligature.



B3r1.2 fayr

B3r1.12 battail cp. B63r1.1 bataill where the ligature is much lower on the a and the stroke concerned clearly belongs to the t.

B63r1.17 fast, and B63r2.20 gaff.

This is probably properly a^{1.1} but the fact that it looks different is worthy of explanation. In B63r, the lines are very close together and the page has a very cramped appearance in comparison with the majority of the other folios in this text. The writing strokes are thicker in appearance than the previous folio, and perhaps this compressed nature of this folio led to greater currency than is experienced elsewhere.

4.77 a^{1.5} An open-topped a with a preserif at the top of the first stem, and a postserif at the top of the second. Identified in exactly this form in B17r only, it shares equal frequency in initial position with a^{1.3} with the same environmental constraints:



B17r1.18 amang (a^{1.3}) cp. B17r2.18 amang (a^{1.5})

although a^{1.5} is more clearly seen at B17r1.2 and.

4.78 a^{1.6} Clearly a two stroke construction in which the initial stem is shorter than the second. *u*

I B17r. W1r. *W43r.

M B49r. W1r. *W21r. *W43r. W103r.

The distribution highlights this allograph as a *Wallace* form.

4.79 a^{1.7} Very similar to the previous two allographs, but in this case only the first stem carries a serif. *u*

I B63r. W21r. W83r. W103r

M W63r. W83r.

F B17r. W83r.

Perhaps the only thing of note here is its appearance in all positions in W83r. However, wherever it appears, it is always subservient to or, at best, of equal frequency with a small number of another allograph.

4.80 a^{1.8} Virtually identical to a^{1.7}, the more curved nature of the first stem giving the bowl a more rounded appearance. Found in initial position at W63r, and in medial position in B63r, this is probably just a 'rogue' form explicable by some factor other than handwriting. *u*

4.81 a^{1.9} A quickly written, angular letter, in which the desire for speed has caused the scribe to leave the component parts of the graph separate on the page. This allograph appears once only at W1r.3 lat.

⊂

4.82 a^{1.10} Probably a quickly written a^{1.1} which does not close at the top.

⊂

M W1r. W21r. W63r. W103r.

4.83 a^{1.11} A closed a in which the uppermost stroke begins at the top of the first stem and ends on the top of the second, giving it a flattened look.

⊂

I W21r. W103r.

F W103r.

Obviously a close relative of a^{1.2} and a^{1.3}, this item is the last of three allographs of a of the category a¹ which appear in *Wallace* only.

4.84 A close consideration of each of the above allographs, allows for their allocation to three main allograph types with differences arising from changes of pen, paper or mood.

4.85 The a^{1.1} category would include a^{1.1}, a^{1.4}, a^{1.10}. The a^{1.3}

category would include a^{1.3}, a^{1.2}, and a^{1.11}. The final group would all be subsumed under allograph a^{1.6}, and represents the largest number of allographs, but not those most frequently found, which would be the a^{1.1} types. The a^{1.6} category consists of a^{1.6}, a^{1.7}, a^{1.8}, a^{1.9} and a^{1.5}.

4.86 There are nineteen allographs of a² in the survey and the profiles. These allographs represent the 'capital' forms of a, although it can be found where one would not normally expect a capital:

B49r1.30 ma yan A thowsand ded war yar

Perhaps the extent of the variation in this form encountered in the profiles can be explained partly by the fact that each new line, which normally begins with a capital, presented an opportunity for the scribe to be inventive with flourishes and to experiment with letter shapes which he found attractive as well as those from other parts of his repertoire.

4.87 a^{2.1} A two stroke letter, it is found only as the first letter of the first line of B1v1.



On reflection and closer examination, this allograph is probably a version of a^{2.5} or a^{2.8} but the poor image quality of the microfilm with which I am working does not allow for a more

detailed examination.

4.88 a^{2.2} This can often look like a single, two, or even three stroke construction.



This allograph appears only in the initial survey at B1v and B3r, and in the profiles at W1r and W21r. However, a glance at the range of allographs of a² which are catalogued in appendix 4, shows that allowing for only slight variation, several others (a^{2.3}, a^{2.4}, a^{2.6}, a^{2.8}, a^{2.14}, a^{2.18}) can all be subsumed under this allograph.

4.89 a^{2.3} Very similar to the previous item, the only difference being a larger gap between the second and third strokes.



This form has not been identified outside the survey.

4.90 a^{2.4} Again similar to a^{2.2}. This time, however, there is a clear forward movement at the top of the third stroke, leaving a larger gap than in the two allographs immediately above.



Once more, this allograph was not observed outside the survey.

4.91 a^{2.5} Similar to a^{2.4} but the first stroke in this allograph is one of positive incline which cuts across the main body of the

letter shape. Moreover, at the point where the first stroke ends and the second begins, there is a slight return stroke.



I B49r. W103r.

4.92 a^{2.6} Like a^{2.2} above but the looped top gives this allograph the appearance of having been constructed by a single stroke.



Found in B17r and B49r only. this allograph appears so infrequently as to be most likely an aberrant form of a^{2.2}.

4.93 a^{2.7} A three, perhaps even four, stroke construction.



This allograph is profiled on B33r only.

4.94 a^{2.8} Like a^{2.5}, this has the small return stroke at the juncture of first and second strokes, but this allograph has a curvilinear first stroke of negative incline.



The top is often looped similar to a^{2.6}. Both forms appear on B33r, and B63r.

4.95 a^{2.9} A narrow figure, this is probably a single stroke.



This allograph, although not widespread, does appear in both texts at B49r, B63r, and W43r.

4.96 a^{2.10} Another infrequent form, this allographs comprises two strokes.



This can be seen in B49r, and B63r.

4.97 a^{2.11} This allograph is another two stroke graph profiled only in B63r.



4.98 a^{2.12} The broad top of this allograph may require a third stroke for its construction. Obviously similar to a^{2.9} above, this has a flatter top and a larger gap between the ascenders. It can be seen in all *Wallacefolios* profiled with the exception of W43r.



4.99 a^{2.13} Very similar to a^{2.5} but lacking the return stroke.




Found in W1r and W21r.


4.100 a^{2.14} Although only one instance of this allograph was profiled, it remains similar to a^{2.2} and a^{2.3} above and a^{2.17} below.




It was observed in folio W21r.

4.101 a^{2.15-2.17} These are all single instance allographs and all were profiled on W43r only.

a^{2.15}


a^{2.16}


a^{2.17}


4.102 a^{2.18} Possibly a single stroke construction, this allograph bears similarities to a^{2.5} but is narrower in appearance.



Found in W83r and W103r.

4.103 a^{2.19} Another example of a single instance allograph of the capital form of the grapheme a.



This item can be seen on folio W103r.

4.104 The range of allographs for grapheme a indicates that the graphological space of this scribe is extensive. That it is one scribe, is borne out by the fact that a^{1.1} appears in every folio profiled, and a^{1.2} and a^{1.3} are found widely throughout both texts. However, the fact that some allographs appear mainly in one text argues either for at least one other scribe, or for changes in the hand of Ramsay between the copying of *Wallace* and *Bruce* a year later. One grapheme is flimsy evidence for

making such decisions, and any judgements made about the handwriting of the copyist(s) must be based on the accumulated weight of evidence which follows below.

4.105 There were four categories of grapheme b found in the profiles. The first three represent the 'lower case' versions and have the same basic construction of ascender plus bowl, with the differences arising from optional elements such as \pm loop or hook. The graph type b⁴ constitutes the capital forms of the grapheme, and are of a quite different construction.

4.106 b^{1.1} This item is a two stroke construction consisting of an unadorned ascender plus bowl.

b

I *B17r. B33r. B49r.

*W1r. W43r. W63r.

M


B63r. W1r.

This shape is reasonably common throughout the MS. It is very similar to the other b¹ allographs, with the differences being so minute as to be probably insignificant.

4.107 b^{1.2} This allograph almost exactly resembles the previous item with the addition of a positively inclined postserif at the top of the ascender.

Б

Found once in folio B3v. this was not found in the tranches of folios given formal analysis.

4.108 b^{1.3} Again similar to b^{1.1} but with a positive preserif at the top of the ascender. 

I B49r, B63r, *W21r, W63r, W83r, W103r.
M B17r.

The distribution of this item along with that of b^{1.1} shows a greater preference for unlooped ascenders in *Wallace* although, in the later folios, the looped ascender on this letter shape becomes more common and by W103r is actually dominant.

4.109 b^{1.4} Similar to b^{1.1} except that the second stroke, that which forms the bowl, begins before, and dissects, the ascender.



However, the one instance of this allograph in the profile, occurs at B63r1.32 abbay where it is in ligature with the preceding a and is followed by an instance of b^{1.1} without ligature between these two allographs of b.

4.110 b^{1.5} This is another item which is probably in reality a sub-category of b^{1.1}, but in this case, the ascender is curved.



Seen at W103r.10 bruce.

4.111 An interesting aspect of Ramsay's scribal practice is

neatly illustrated by the appearance of this allograph category alongside b^{3.1} (see 4.118 below) in exactly the same environment within a few lines of each other on the same folio where there has been no obvious change of scribe, and, indeed, the condition of other graphs indicates that no change has taken place. Such an instance is found at B63r1.13 biland, where the b is allograph b^{3.1}, and B63r1.32 biland, where the allograph used is b^{1.3}.

4.112 There are only three forms of b², the first of which appears in both texts, but the second and third are exclusive to *Wallace*. The least common allograph of b, it is always subservient to those forms alongside which it is found. The addition of an inverted posthook to the top of the ascender forms the difference between this and the previous category.

4.113 b^{2.1} This is the basic form and looks like a two stroke construction. However, the nature of the other two allographs in this category indicates that the hook may have been a separate stroke.

6

I B17r, W1r, W21r, W43r.

M W21r.

F B33r.

This distribution suggests that this allograph is more likely to appear in *Wallace*, again indicating with b¹ above that, at the

time of copying that text, he had an overall preference for non-looped ascenders for grapheme b.

4.114 b^{2.2} This allograph contains a small serif-type positively inclined foot at the bottom of the ascender, and a more angular hook.



I W83r, W103r.

Both instances occur at the first lines of their respective folios. First lines, generally, tend to be more 'decorative' than the others on the page, and possibly this allograph represents Ramsay's more formal hand.

4.115 There were other opportunities for a word-initial b in a first line of a folio other than the instances of b^{2.2} cited above. Those in *Bruce* tended to be filled with undecorated allographs: B33r2.1 but (b^{3.3}); B63r1.1 bataill (b^{1.3}); B63r2.1 broc . befor (b^{3.1});

W21r.1 butler (b^{2.1}); W43r.1 blak (b^{1.1}).

4.116 b^{2.3} In this allograph, the hook has become detached from its ascender.



Found alongside b^{2.1} and other allographs of b in folio W43r only, it appears four times in initial position and once in medial

position.

4.117 The b^3 series is the dominant form in *Bruce* and although it starts subservient in *Wallace* it is dominant by W43r. equal in W63r. and dominant again in W83r. and W103r.

4.118 $b^{3.1}$ This allograph looks like a single, or at most two, stroke figure in which the upper loop begins before the ascender. It is possible, however, that the lower bowl was formed by a separate stroke.



Found in initial position in B63r. and in medial position in B49r. this item is closely related to $b^{3.3}$ and $b^{3.6}$ and is probably the same allograph. The distinguishing feature of this allograph is the smaller upper bowl compared with those of $b^{3.3}$ and $b^{3.6}$ where the upper bowl tends to be larger than the lower.

4.119 $b^{3.2}$ This allograph differs from the above only in that the loop of the upper bowl is much higher on the ascender, and does not touch the lower bowl. Its three stroke construction can be most clearly seen at W43r.13 be.



Elsewhere, it appears in medial position only in folios B17r. and B49r.

4.120 b^{3.3} The dominant allograph for category b³, this time the loop is larger than the bowl. The construction may have one, two, or even three strokes.



I B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *W83r.

M *B63r. W1r. W21r. *W63r.*W83r.

4.121 b^{3.4} Found only once in the survey at B4r2.51 debate, it follows on ligature from e. It is similar to b^{3.2}.



The ligature follows the horizontal top stroke of the e.

4.122 b^{3.5} Along with b^{3.6} below, this allograph calls into question the manner of construction of the two components of b³. The items listed above look very much like the loop and bowl constructions which I have described. This allograph, however, looks more like a stem plus Arabic-3 shape, very similar to s^{3.2} below.



Profiled only in B63r in initial position: B63r1.21 bounte;
B63r2.46 bot.

4.123 b^{3.6} This allograph again bears similarities to b^{3.3} but a three stroke construction is more easily discernible by the thinness of the third stroke which forms the upper compartment.



I W1r. W21r. W43r. W63r. W83r. *W103r.

M W43r.

Very much a feature of *Wallace*, its construction can be quite clearly seen at W83r.5 brocht, and W83r.13 semblyt.

4.124 The contrasting dominance of $b^1:b^3$ allographs in the texts is the most interesting feature of grapheme *b* to emerge from the profiles, and will be of possible significance when considered in conjunction with the information which appears later in this chapter.

4.125 The final category of grapheme *b* is reserved for the capital forms. As was the case with the corresponding category for *a*, there are a large number of allographs (twelve in this case) brought about, at least in part, by the opportunity for inventiveness. However, they differ very little, and what difference there is exists mostly in the style of the attacking stroke. The number of allographs indicates that there was almost one new form on each page profiled, with $b^{4.1}$ and $b^{4.6}$ the only allographs to appear on more than one folio. Certainly, there were not ten (the number of folios profiled) scribes at work in the MS, and the main value of cataloguing these allographs is to illustrate once again the extent of variation found in Ramsay's hand. Consequently, I have not described them here, but have included them in appendix 4 in order that they can be referred to in the discussion of the handwriting at

4.130 More common in both texts of the MS is type d^2 . These allographs are marked from the above category by their looped ascenders, normally of negative incline (though sometimes neutral), and closed bowls. In *Bruce*, this category often appears to be a single stroke, whereas in *Wallace*, they are more distinctly two or even three strokes.

4.131 $d^{2.1}$ The most common allograph of d in *Wallace*, it consists of three strokes: the first two curvilinear strokes forming the ascender, and the third completing the graph by forming the bowl.



I B33r. W1r. *W21r. *W43r. W63r. W83r.

M B33r. W1r. *W21r. W43r.

F B33r. W1r. W21r. W43r. W103r.

The distribution of this allograph shows that it was popular with the scribe in the middle folios of *Wallace*, gradually losing ground but with the ascendancy of $d^{2.2}$ in the late folios, d^2 types remained popular in *Wallace*, and did not surrender their supremacy until *Bruce*.

4.132 $d^{2.2}$ The difference between this allograph and the previous one, is similar to that between $a^{2.2}$ and $a^{2.8}$ above, where there is evidence of a return stroke, this time on the bowl at the line of writing.




I B33r. *W1r. W63r. W83r. *W103r.

M

*W103r.

4.133 The allographs which make up the category d^3 differ from d^2 in that the bowl remains open.

4.134 $d^{3.1}$ Found only in *Bruce*, this looks like a single stroke figure, and is highly current in construction, the stroke flowing easily and naturally from left to right. 

4.135 The fact that this shape is predominant in *Bruce* and the one example in W43r.36 adeyll may possibly be a dubious $d^{3.5}$ with the bowl stretched by ligature to a preceding *a*, is undoubtedly significant, and is either an indicator that different scribes were at work, or that a substantial change had taken place in Ramsay's choice of script for this text. This allograph is found extensively in other MSS of the late fifteenth century written in pre-secretary hands e.g. SH 11, a Latin instrument of 1459, and SH 12, an Act of Parliament of 18th May 1491. The $d^{2.1}$ allograph more common in *Wallace* possibly had its antecedents in a more formal bastard hand similar to that seen in SH 10, a letter by Katherine of Gothens, 1449/50. Indeed, other features (especially capital *s*) of the handwriting in *Wallace* are similar to this hand and to the court hands found in SH 8, 10.

4.136 $d^{3.2}$ In this allograph, the bowl tends to be no more than

a short stroke, about half minin height or less, and with slight negative incline.



Again this could consist of one, two or three strokes, with those in *Bruce* looking like one stroke, and those in *Wallace* more resembling three strokes e.g B17r2.16 hard, cp W43r.41 wndyrstand.

I B33r. W1r.
M B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *B63r.
F *B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *B63r. *W21r. *W43r. W103r

Immediately noticeable, is the preferred use of this allograph in medial and final positions, thus rendering it in complementary distribution to d^{3.1} in *Bruce*, and d^{2.1} and d^{2.2} in *Wallace*, which are the preferred initial position allographs.

4.137 d^{3.3} Similar to d^{3.2}, but with a more rounded bowl and preserif.




Not found in the profile, it is probably a form of d^{3.5} otherwise found in *Wallace*.

4.138 d^{3.4} This allograph closely resembles d^{3.2}, but with the loop higher up on the ascender and curling backwards towards it.




Only one instance was found, at B33r1.4 and.


4.139 d^{3.5} Although identified clearly only in *Wallace* where its components are more easily distinguishable, it is probably the same allograph as d^{3.2}, d^{3.3} and d^{3.4} above, with d^{3.6}, d^{3.7} and d^{3.8} being variations. Indeed, many of the d² types are essentially this allograph, the only differentiating feature being whether the bowl is open or closed. 

I W1r. W63r. W83r.

M W103r.

F *W1r


4.140 d^{3.6} Essentially the same as d^{3.5} but with a gap at the top of the ascender, this allograph was seen in medial and final positions in folio W43r only. 

4.141 d^{3.7} Once more, this allograph is similar to d^{3.5}. In this case, however, the loop stops on the ascender and does not carry on towards ligature. 

The non-ligature is explained by the fact that this allograph appeared in final position only where it was profiled at W21r. and W103r.

4.142 As was the case with the capital forms of grapheme b, the variation found in grapheme e is worthy of investigation only

where there is significant structural and frequency variation from the ubiquitous form, $e^{1.1}$. Consequently, I have confined my description here to this allograph, and those where there is a degree of structural and distributional contrast to be of interest.

4.143 $e^{1.1}$ This letter shape, like all allographs of e , is a small two stroke figure consisting of a short stem of negative incline, plus a separate horizontal top stroke. 


4.144 $e^{1.4}$ In this instance, there is evidence of a slight pre-serif at the top of the stem, and the top stroke is curvilinear beginning with a movement towards the stem before curling away again to the right.



I B33r, B49r, B63r.

M B33r, B63r.

F B33r, B49r, B63r.

4.145 $e^{1.5}$ This allograph, like $e^{1.1}$, lacks the serif on the stem, but like $e^{1.4}$ has a curved top stroke. 

This particular allograph was found only in folio W21r.17 he. On close inspection, this could be seen as a rogue form of $e^{1.1}$ since this is the only example of this allograph among many instances of e found on the page.

4.146 Acceptance of this last explanation would confine this type, with a curled top stroke, to allograph e^{1.4} thus making it a distinguishing feature of the hand of *Bruce*. It could, of course, also help to set apart those folios of *Bruce* in which it appears from those in which it does not, if this were also the case with allographs of other graphemes profiled.

4.147 The grapheme f is of greater interest for two reasons. Firstly, the different constructions of the allographs provide an insight into the strokes available to a scribe, and the variation in use among them. Secondly, the distribution of the different allographs is again of possible interest.

4.148 f^{1.1} This is the most common allograph of this grapheme and consists of an ascender with posthook at the top, and a cross-stroke at roughly minim height.



This allograph was found in every folio profiled, and at all junctures.

4.149 f^{1.2} This shape lacks the cross-stroke of f^{1.1}, but is otherwise identical.



Profiled in initial position in folio W43r, and in medial position in B33r.

4.150 f^{1.3} This allograph is similar in construction to f^{1.1}, but the hook returns to the ascender to form a loop, rendering it somewhat like a modern p.

p

I W1r.

M B49r, B63r.

F B33r, B63r.

The instance at W1r.36 full, may, in fact, be f^{1.1} obscured as a result of poor image reproduction, which would leave this allograph exclusive to *Bruce*.

4.151 f^{1.4} This item is similar to the previous allograph, with the addition of a cross-stroke at approximately minim height on the ascender.

p

I B33r, *B49r, *B63r.

W43r, *W63r, W83r.

M W21r.

F W1r.

4.152 f^{1.5} This allograph consists of an ascender plus short horizontal strokes at its top and at minim height.

f

Found only in folio B17r, in initial position.

4.153 f^{1.6} The longer top stroke distinguishes this allograph from the previous. In addition, the stroke at minim height may or may not dissect the ascender, and the top stroke can be

separated from the ascender as a result of pen lift.



I *B33r. B63r. *W1r. *W21r. W43r. W63r. W83r.

M *W1r. W21r.

F W1r. W21r. W43r.

The distribution shows this to be clearly a *Wallace*-preferred form, especially in the early folios.

4.154 f^{1.7} On first impressions, this allograph consists of an ascender plus Arabic-2 shape at the top.



However, on reflection, this item is probably an abberant or uncertain f^{1.4}.

4.155 As was seen in the previous chapter, the use of geminate f, especially at the beginning of certain words, was a common feature of fifteenth century Scots orthography, often functioning in a similar manner to the capital forms of other graphemes. Consequently, the geminate has been profiled as a separate graph category of grapheme f. The amount of variation employed over three simple strokes is an indication of the versatility of the scribe, as well as a pointer to Ramsay's wide graphological space.

4.156 f^{2.1} This construction consists of two ascenders of positive incline. The first ascender has a straight top stroke, whilst the second has a hook at its top. They share a cross-stroke

at roughly minim height.



I B49r. B63r.
M B63r. W21r. W43r.
F B17r. B49r. B63r. W21r. W83r.

4.157 f^{2.2} This allograph is a 'true' geminate, virtually two f^{1.1}s, but with the first f having a noticeably smaller hook.



I W21r. W83r.
F B17r. B33r. B49r. B63r. W1r. W43r. W63r. W103r.

This allograph was obviously preferred in final position, and was used in both texts. It is interesting, however, that it was not confined to that position, and this fact is once again an indication of the extent of the variation which the scribe felt was permissible in the compilation of this MS.

4.158 f^{2.3} This time the construction is f^{1.1} plus f^{1.6} giving the the first component a hooked top stroke, and the second a straight stroke.



Another final position allograph, this one was profiled only in *Wallace* at folios W1r. and W83r.

4.159 f^{2.4} Another true geminate, since both fs contain the same straight top stroke element.



4.160 f^{2.5} This allograph is similar to f^{2.1} above, but the cross-stroke belongs only to the second component.



Found, again, in *Wallace* at folio W43r.32 and W43r.34, off. these were the only two occurrences profiled.

4.161 Allographs f^{2.6}, f^{2.7}, and f^{2.8} are probably aberrant forms and do not require description here. Although a deeper investigation could possibly reveal explanations for their distinct constructions, this is outside the scope of this thesis.

4.162 All allographs of g which were profiled consist of a bowl (which may or may not be closed) plus descender, with differences arising largely out of the behaviour of this latter component.

4.163 g^{1.1} The bowl of this allograph consist of a minim height curvilinear stem which travels along the line of writing in the direction of the descender to join this second component. The bowl is closed by means of a horizontal stroke which unites the tops of the stem and descender. The descender stops (or becomes so faint that it appears to do so) a short distance below the line of writing. The stem measures less than the distance from the top of the descender to the line of writing.



I *B17r. W43r. W83r.
M *B17r. B63r. W1r. W21r. W63r. W83r. W103r.
F B17r. B33r. B63r. W43r. W63r. W83r. W103r.

This was a popular form throughout both texts, being the dominant form in B17r. and failing to appear in only B49r.

4.164 g^{1.2} In this instance, the basic construction is the same as above, but the descender returns upwards and forwards to become the cross-stroke of the bowl.



I B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *B63r. *W1r. W21r. *W63r. W103r.
M *B33r. *B49r. B63r. W1r. *W63r.
F B17r. B33r. B63r. W21r. W63r. W83r.

Another almost ubiquitous form, W43r stands out as the only folio profiled which did not contain this allograph.

4.165 g^{1.3} In this instance the descender returns upwards and forwards to dissect itself immediately below the line of writing.



Found in folio W1r.40 grace.

4.166 g^{1.4} In this allograph, the descender is longer than in g^{1.1}, but does not return towards the bowl. The cross-stroke stops on the descender, to which a serif-like stroke has been added.



This item was not profiled and is described here because of its obvious closeness to the next item.

4.177 g^{1.5} Similar to g^{1.4} but without the 'serif'.



I W63r. W103r.

M W43r.

F B33r. W1r. W21r. W43r.

4.178 g^{1.6} The closed bowl of this allograph is dissected by the descender.



Found in initial position in B63r. W83r. and W103r.

4.179 g^{1.7} Similar to g^{1.3}, this allograph has a descender which returns to just below the bowl, but this time does not dissect itself. A cross-stroke at the top closes the bowl.



This form is a rare feature of *Bruce*, being found only in that text in initial position in B33r. and in final position in B33r. *B49r and B63r.



4.180 g^{1.8} This is almost the same allograph as the previous item, but has a different preference for the return position of the descender, which this time rests on the bowl.

I W21r, W43r, W63r, *W83r.

M W21r, W43r.

W103r.

F

W103r.

In contrast to the previous allograph, this one was found to be exclusive to *Wallace* in the folios profiled.

4.181 The grapheme h is another one which could prove significant in determining the hands of the MS. As with previous graphemes, some allographs are more frequent than others and it is possible that most can be subsumed under two or three basic types.

4.182 h^{1.1} This allograph consists of an ascender with a small loop at its top, followed by a short stroke of positive incline stretching from the bottom of the ascender towards minimum height, then a descender which curves below the line of writing in a direction which takes it back towards the beginning of the graph.



I B17r, B33r, B49r. W1r, W21r, *W43r, *W83r, *W103r.

M B17r.

B63r.

W83r.

F

W83r.

Although a form found throughout the MS, this allograph can be seen to have been a particular choice in *Wallace* where it achieves dominance in some folios in initial position, whereas in *Bruce* it is almost always subservient to another allograph of h, although it is of equal frequency in initial position in B63r.

4.183 h^{1.2} This time the descender returns to dissect itself, possibly to form ligature with a following letter.

Found in medial position in folio B63r.

4.184 h^{1.3} The loop of this allograph begins before the ascender, and the descender stops directly below the ascender.

I W21r. W63r.
M *B49r. *W1r. *W21r. *W43r. *W63r. *W103r.
F *B49r. *B63r. *W1r. *W43r.

Given the nature of the loop, it is not surprising to find that this is the dominant medial form in one of the texts. It is also frequently found in final position in some folios of both texts.

4.185 h^{1.4} This is a double-looped allograph with the loop on the ascender beginning like that of h^{1.3}, and the descender behaving like h^{1.2}.

I B17r. B33r. B49r. B63r. W63r.
M *B17r. B33r. B49r.

Almost exclusively a *Bruce* form, it is perhaps surprising that this allograph achieves dominance in medial position in one folio only. In those folios in which it appears in initial position,

it is of equal frequency with other allographs of h in the same position, and is subservient to another allograph only in W63r.

4.186 h^{1.5} The looped ascender is as the previous allograph, but the descender curves below the line of writing without returning towards itself.



I B63r.

M *B33r. *B63r. *W83r.

F *B33r.

The fact that this allograph appears on so few folios, yet reaches a position of dominant frequency therein, is immediately noticeable. Perhaps this warrants further investigation later.

4.187 h^{1.6} This allograph is like the previous one except that the loop begins post ascender.



Found in initial position in B33r and W43r, and in medial position in B33r.

4.188 h^{1.7} In this instance, the descender finishes at a point below and before the ascender.



Found only in initial position on folio B63r.

4.189 h^{1.8} Very like h^{1.7}, this allograph has a descender which curls slightly back towards post ascender position thus giving it

a 'big bowl' effect.



Found in initial position in B63r. in medial position in B49r and B63r. and in final position in *W83r.

4.190 h^{1.9} Distinctive of this allograph, are its two closed loops, neither of which dissects its adjacent element.



Found in *Wallace* only. it appears in initial position in W21r. W43r. and W83r. and in medial position in W83r and W103r.

4.191 h^{1.10} As h^{1.9} but with the loop beginning before the ascender.



Found in initial position in W103r only. and in medial position in W21r and W63r.

4.192 h^{1.11} This allograph has a small loop on the ascender, and the descender ends in a curl away from the body of the letter in the direction of writing.



M W43r.

4.193 The h² types differ from the above in that the loop on the ascender is replaced by a hook shape.

4.194 h^{2.1} The most common allograph of this type. it is a three

stroke construction.



I B33r. W1r. W63r.

M B17r. W1r. W83r.

4.195 h^{2.2} In this allograph the descender dissects itself.



I W21r.

4.196 h^{2.3} There is separation between the top of the ascender and the hook in this allograph.



I W43r.

4.197 The ascender of the h³ types is unadorned and there are ten allographs. Since the principal distinguishing feature is the ascender, I will illustrate here only those allographs whose distribution and frequency render them of interest.

4.198 h^{3.1} This is the basic two stroke ascender plus descender construction around which all other allographs are based.



I B17r. B33r. B49r. W1r. *W21r. W43r. W83r.

M B17r. W43r. W63r.

F B63r.

4.199 h^{3.2} The descender of this allograph has a dissecting loop.



I B17r, B33r, B49r.

M

B63r.

4.200 h^{3.5} The ascender of this allograph begins with a slight serif, but is otherwise similar to h^{3.1}.



I B17r, B63r, *W63r, W103r.

4.201 Of the other allographs in this category, h^{3.3} has an ascender of negative incline and a looped descender but was not profiled. h^{3.4} was similar but with a slight serif on the ascender and found in initial position in B63r and W63r only. The remainder were also found on either a single or two folios and can be seen in the MS reproductions in appendix 3.

h^{3.6} I B33r: h^{3.7} I B49r: h^{3.8} M B49r: h^{3.9} I, M W1r. and h^{3.10} I W103r, M W21r.

4.202 The category which contains the line-initial allographs of h consists of five items. However, they are all of similar construction and consequently have not been described here. They can be seen in appendix 3.

4.203 Similarly, all allographs of k have a similar construction with differences arising mostly from the positioning of the components within the overall letter shape. In this instance, it is the distribution which is of greater interest, and it is this information which I list here.

k 1.1 I W 1r. W 43r. W 63r. W 103r.
M B 63r.
F B 63r. W 63r. W 83r.

k 1.2 I B 63r. W 63r.
M B 49r. B 63r. W 63r.
F B 17r. B 63r. W 63r.

k 1.3 I B 33r. B 49r. B 63r.
M B 33r. W 21r.
F B 49r.

k 1.4 I B 17r. W 1r.
M B 17r. B 33r. B 49r. B 63r. W 43r. W 83r.
F B 17r. W 43r. W 103r.

k 1.5 I B 17r. B 33r. W 21r.
M W 1r.
F B 33r. W 83r.

k 1.6 I *W43r
 F W1r. W63r.

k 1.7 I W1r. W63r.
 M W1r. *W43r. W63r.
 F W1r. W63r.

k 1.8 M W43r. W83r.

k 1.9 F W43r.

4.204 The grapheme r is again most interesting because of its distribution and frequency which show there to be a complementary distribution between r^{1.1} and r^{2.2} in initial and final positions respectively.

4.205 r^{1.1} This figure is a single curvilinear stroke resembling an inverted Arabic-2.

ز

I *B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *B63r. W21r. *W43r. *W63r. *W83r.
 *W103r
 M B17r. *B33r. *B49r. *B63r. *W1r. *W21r. *W43r. *W63r.
 *W83r. *W103r
 F B17r. B49r. B63r. W1r. W43r. W63r.

4.206 r^{1.2} This is the same as the previous allograph, but with a longer tail



F B33r. W21r.

This is probably just a final position version of r^{1.1}.

4.207 r^{1.3} A word initial allograph, this often has a preserif which can be a long hairline stroke.



I B33r. *W1r. W21r.

4.208 The r² types resemble a modern v, and the differences among the three allographs arise from pre and post ligature or adornment.

4.209 r^{2.1} This allograph consists of a short stem of negative incline with preserif, plus a short stem of positive incline.



F B17r.

4.210 r^{2.2} In this, the most common allograph of this type, the first stem is unadorned, but the second has a horizontal stroke stretching in the direction of writing, at its top.



M B33r. B49r. B63r. W1r. W43r. W63r. W83r. W103r.

F *B17r. *B49r. *B63r. *W1r. *W21r. *W43r. *W63r.

*W83r. *W103r.

4.211 r^{2.3} This allograph has pre and post horizontal strokes on the stems.



F *B33r.

4.212 r^{3.1} The first of the capital allographs, the components of this letter shape are a stem with slight negative incline, serifed top and bottom plus Arabic-2 shaped second component.



I B17r. B49r. B63r. W1r. W21r.

4.213 r^{3.2} Similar to the above, but with a curvilinear hairstroke replacing the top serif, and the bottom of the stem remaining unadorned.



I B33r.

4.214 r^{3.3} As r^{3.1}, but with exaggeration of the serifs.



I B33r.

4.215 r^{3.4} In this instance, only the top of the stem has a short serif.



I W1r.

4.216 r^{3.5} The top of the stem only has a serif of positive incline, and the stem itself is shorter than in previous allographs.



I W1r.

4.217 r^{3.6} The serif has ceased to exist as a discrete element in this instance and begins at such an angle of negative incline that it becomes part of the component stem.



I W83r. W103r.

4.218 r^{4.1} A highly interesting allograph, which is peculiar to *Wallace*. It is a single, curvilinear stroke, similar to a Greek alpha which is facing the wrong way.



M W43r. W63r. W103r.

F W1r.

4.219 The graph type s¹, is commonly referred to as 'long s'. It is common, in one allograph form or another, throughout the MS, and is probably one of the best known medieval letter shapes since it survived into printing in a form very similar to a

modern f. All allographs of this type consist of a long ascender, often with slight positive incline and moderately curvilinear at the bottom. A two stroke figure, the second stroke extends upwards and rightwards from the top of the stem before quickly curving down to form either a hook or bowl.

4.220 s^{1.1} This allograph has an ascender as described above, plus a hook.



The hook is often lighter in appearance than the stem and commonly begins at the left hand side of the stem.

I B17r. B33r. *B49r. *B63r. W1r. W21r. W43r. W63r.
*W103r.

M *B17r. B33r. *B49r. *B63r. *W1r. *W21r. *W43r. *W63r.
*W83r. *W103r.

Noticeable here is that s^{1.1} has a tendency to be the dominant initial form in *Bruce*, but not in *Wallace*. Even in the early folios of *Bruce* where it is not dominant, it shares superior frequency with s^{2.2} below. It is the dominant medial form throughout both texts.

4.221 s^{1.2} As s^{1.1} but this time the second stroke returns to the ascender to form closure.



I B63r. W1r. W21r. W43r. W63r. W103r.

M B63r.

4.222 s^{1.3} Possibly a single stroke, but could be s^{1.1} with a less obvious division between the strokes.

I *W1r. *W21r.

M B17r. W21r.

4.223 s^{1.4} The top stroke is horizontal and, therefore, does not form either a hook or loop.

I B33r. B63r. W63r. *W83r.

M B33r.

4.224 s^{1.5} As s^{1.1} but with less obvious join, giving it the appearance of a single stroke construction.

Not profiled, this allograph is probably s^{1.1}.

4.225 s^{1.6} Again similar to s^{1.1}, but with pen lift leaving a gap between the strokes.

I *W43r. W103r.

4.226 The s² series of allographs are often used as the line-

initial capital forms, especially in their more elaborate realisations.

4.227 s^{2.1} A single stroke construction, this item was not profiled.



4.228 s^{2.2} A single stroke resembling a Greek sigma.



I B17r. B33r. B49r.

F *B17r.

4.229 s^{2.3} This allograph was found in the survey only. 

4.230 s^{2.4} In this allograph, the loop is less rounded than before, and the finishing stroke is longer.



F *B33r. B49r. *B63r. *W1r. W21r. *W43r. W63r.

W83r. W103r.

This is probably a word final form of s^{2.2}.

4.231 s^{2.5} A curvilinear shape which in many ways resembles a modern capital s. It is probably a single stroke.



I W1r. W21r. W43r. W63r. W83r.

This item appears in all folios of *Wallace* profiled, except W108r. Its very function as a capital rather prevents it from ever being

dominant, but it replaces s^{2.2} as the preferred capital form in *Wallace*. This latter fact renders it significant as a marker of difference in the hand of both texts.

4.232 Of the remaining allographs of s in this category, s^{2.6} appears only in W1r in final position, s^{2.7} is found twice only in initial position in W43r, s^{2.8} once only in initial position in W43r, and s^{2.9}, s^{2.10} and s^{2.11} all make a single appearance in initial position in W83r.

4.233 s^{3.1} This allograph is a two component structure of stem of positive incline (often reaching above minim height and below line of writing) plus an elongated Arabic-3 type second component.



F B17r, B33r, B49r, B63r, W1r, W21r, W43r, W63r,
W83r, W103r.

4.234 s^{3.2} A short stem of negative incline with following Arabic-3, are the component parts of this allograph.



F B63r, W1r, W63r, *W103r.

4.235 s^{3.3} This item has the same stem as the previous item, but this time the second component more resembles an Arabic-2.



4.236 All s^3 types appear to be interchangeable, with no contextual constraints. They are also interchangeable with $s^{2.4}$, e.g.

B17r1.2 his ($s^{2.4}$) B17r1.21 wes ($s^{3.3}$)

B17r2.44 noyis ($s^{3.1}$)

B17r2.12 his ($s^{3.3}$) B17r1.43 wes ($s^{2.4}$)

4.237 The allograph for long sc does not change throughout the MS and always displays ligature.

4.238 The allographs of t were again split into two categories, with those allocated to t^2 being those found generally in line initial position or behaving like a capital. It was particularly difficult to differentiate among the allographs of t^1 using the MS reproductions produced from microfilm, and I make no claims for the accuracy of the descriptions offered here:

1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6
ᵗ	†	ᵗ	ᵗ	†	ᵗ

4.239 The t^2 types all appear to be virtually the same graph with differences arising out of the scribal virtuosity which has been experienced with other capital forms above. Consequently, I

have not felt it necessary to detail them here.

4.240 Of immediate interest from the profiles are those letter shapes which represent a difference between the two texts because they appear extensively in one and infrequently or not at all in the other.

4.241 The first of these is a^{1.6} (see 4.78) which is much more common in *Wallace*. Given the currency of the writing, it is not surprising that an open topped allograph of a should appear, but what is of interest is its dominance in what to the eye is the tidier of the two texts.

4.242 Even more significant, however, is allograph d^{3.1} (4.134, 4.135). The fact that this distinctive shape is the most common allograph of d in *Bruce*, but does not appear at all in *Wallace* is a certain indicator of difference, and immediately suggests another scribe. However, one must remain cautious until there is an unequivocal weight of evidence before making such pronouncements. Nevertheless, the impression of difference is reinforced by the high frequency of d^{2.1} in all folios of *Wallace* and its appearance in *Bruce* limited to a single folio among the profiles.

4.243 Remaining with the same grapheme, however, a strong counter argument is offered by allograph d^{3.2} which, although more frequent in *Bruce*, has a strong presence in both texts

(4.136).

4.244 Again a similar contrast in impression is found with the grapheme *f*. Allograph *f*^{1.3} (4.150) is found predominantly in *Bruce*, whilst allograph *f*^{1.6} (4.153) is definitely a *Wallace* preference. However, *f*^{1.1} was found in every folio profiled, regardless of text.

4.245 Allograph *s*^{2.2} (4.228), while never reaching dominance in initial position, is nevertheless numerous in *Bruce* but does not appear at all in *Wallace*. In a similar manner, *s*^{2.5} (4.231) is found only in *Wallace*.

4.246 There are at least two explanations for the above apparently contradictory information. Firstly, it could be argued that the discrete presence of some allographs in one text only is an indication that more than one scribe was involved in the compilation of the MS, and that the copyist of one was not that of the other. Secondly, in addition to the counter-arguments already suggested, the ubiquity of the allographs of *g* (4.162-4.180) the overall sense of balance between *h*¹ and *h*³ types in both texts despite the dominance of one form in individual folios, and the matching complementary distributions of *r*^{1.1} and *r*^{2.2} in initial and final positions respectively (4.205, 4.210) all argue for continuity between the texts. Any changes in hand, therefore, must be the result of Ramsay's preference at

the time of writing and are an indication of his wide graphological space.

4.247 This latter condition is backed up by the fact, illustrated in the profiles, that a number of allographs of any grapheme, with the possible exceptions of e, k, and long sc could appear on any of the folios profiled. What the profile represents, therefore, is the extent and development of Ramsay's hand, and the identification of any other text by the hand of this scribe, would depend on matching width of graphological space alongside the same elements of continuity experienced here.

4.248 It is clear, however, that at least in this case, the handwriting, or more specifically the letter shapes alone, is not a totally reliable guide to the identification of the work of a scribe. Muir (1991) suggests factors such as corrections, abbreviations and linguistic evidence are required before certainty of scribal identity can be posited. This, in part, will be the substance of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Codicology

51 It will have been noted in the previous two chapters that Ramsay's scribal identity -- his so-called "scribal fingerprint" or profile -- cannot be distinguished in its entirety through the study of handwriting or language either independently or in combination. In his seminal typology, Muir (1991) lists a set of areas of scribal activity which should be investigated in order for a unique scribal characterisation to be arrived at: handwriting (including letter forms, capitals, and ligatures), language, and codicology. The language of the MS was discussed in chapter 3, and handwriting in chapter 4; this chapter is concerned with the third area indicated by Muir, viz. codicology.

52 Whereas the terms "handwriting" and "language" are fairly widely understood, the term "codicology" is a little more vague. In this thesis, the term "codicology" is used as a broad term to cover a range of elements which went to make up a medieval manuscript book. It is therefore concerned with such features as corrections, abbreviations, ruling and collation, essentially language-independent features which nevertheless can reveal much about the process of scribal composition. It is an often-stated dictum of many paleographers -- and indeed many philologists -- that the handwriting and language of a text can only be really understood in the peculiar context of the manuscript book whereby these linguistic levels were transmitted. Thus any investigation of the handwriting and language of this text should take into account the codicological

context wherein these levels of language were transmitted (and, indeed, received).

5.3 This chapter will seek to show that, where handwriting and language (alone or in combination) fail to establish a clear characterisation of the scribe's total activity, then codicological features may provide a helpful extra source of data which can be harnessed to give a clearer characterisation of presenting scribal behaviour.

5.4 I will then go on to examine the materials, watermarks and collation of the MS, all of which are essential contextualisation for the primary focus of study.

Corrections

5.5 There are four basic methods of correction used in the first two gatherings of *Bruce*: deletion, expunctuation, alteration, and addition (for a variation on these terms see Petti 1977: 28 *passim*). Deletion of an incorrect letter, word or phrase, was probably by means of a sharp edge such as a knife, which was scraped across the surface of the paper until the offending material was removed. Expunctuation entailed marking a wrong word with a series of subscript dots, presumably for later removal. The only examples still visible now are, naturally, those which have not been removed, since the marks of expunctuation would presumably have been obliterated at the time of scraping.

5.6 A third method used was the alteration, usually of a single letter, using part or all of the 'wrong' letter to form the correct one. The process of addition is self-explanatory and

usually refers to the practice of inserting a word or words formerly omitted.

5.7 Petti (1997: 29) recognises three superordinate categories, deletion, alteration and insertion, but allows for sub-categories of each.

5.8 Deletion can be a matter of:

- i. **erasure** by scraping with a sharp knife;
- ii. **cancellation** by striking through;
- iii. **expunctuation** described above;
- iv. **underscoring** underlining the word to be deleted;
- v. **obliteration** covering with ink, blotting or smudging;
- vi. **vacation** *va-text-cat* (it is void)
- vii. **dissolution** by sponging (parchment only):

In addition, following deletion, the scribe could then insert the correct word or letter, or he could leave a blank for later correction.

5.9 Similarly, alterations could be made by superimposing the correct form on to the error, or by writing the correct version superscript directly above. A third method of alteration is to use carets *// text //* to indicate words written in the wrong order which should be transposed.

5.10 Although insertions were normally made above the line, they could (usually in the case of small omissions) be made in the line. Where space in or above the line was not available,

the precise point of insertion could be indicated by a caret, and the missing word placed in the margin.

5.11 The nature of each correction may add something to our knowledge of the MS. For example, perhaps alterations were made by the scribe at the time of writing, or were marked by him when proof-reading for later correction, or were indicated by a corrector or supervisor (Bennett 1947: 174) with the intention that the MS, quire, or stint under scrutiny be returned to the scribe for correction. Where corrections have been carried out, it is impossible to tell which of the above was the case, unless there is evidence in the colour of ink or handwriting to suggest the intrusion of another hand, or a later addition by the original scribe. The only exception may be alterations which could have been made by the scribe at the time of writing as he noticed that he had written a wrong letter and immediately altered it to the correct letter. Even here, however, there is uncertainty as the error could have been spotted and altered by a corrector, albeit he may well have been the scribe proof-reading his own work. However, it is likely, that whichever is the case, that correction by alteration was made at or close to the time of writing.

5.12 Some additions may also have been made close to the time of writing. For example, the in-line insertion of an omitted letter, or the superscript addition of a missed word (perhaps also indicated by use of a caret) could possibly have been carried out as the scribe realised his error. Additions which follow deletion of an incorrect item could also be the action of the working scribe as he went about the continuous copying of his exemplar, noticed an error, scraped and cleaned the item from the page.

and inserted his correct material in the line of writing. This action is naturally more likely to have taken place following the time of writing perhaps as the scribe re-read the line, sentence, paragraph or page which he had just written. Equally, however, such an alteration could have been made some considerable time after the writing as scribe or corrector scrutinised larger passages and either made corrections himself, or returned the MS to the scribe for correction.

5.13 Likewise, additions in the margin are more likely to have been made after the time of writing as the MS was checked against the exemplar, and any discrepancies noted for the scribe to alter, or simply for the benefit of the reader with no intention whatsoever of correction.

5.14 Marks of expunctuation suggest the presence of a corrector, whether or not he and the scribe be one and the same person. Such marks could, of course, have been made by the scribe at the time of writing, but the fact that some of them have been left unaltered indicates that proof-reading of some description took place, and that when the page was returned to the scribe, he failed to notice some of the errors marked by the corrector. The same point could well be made of additions in the margin, especially those indicated by a caret.

5.15 As well as the methods of corrections, their frequency and distribution will be of interest for this study as such factors may indicate Ramsay's reaction to his own errors, or doubtful readings in his exemplars.

5.16 Using a magnifying glass, I surveyed each of the tranches and found eight methods of correction used. These were erasure, obliteration, superimposition, superscription, cancellation, caret + insertion in margin, caret + insertion above the line, and addition. In each text, to the naked eye, there were clear candidates for erasure: slight discolouration of the paper and darker ink used in the correction. In *Wallace*, observation through the magnifying glass revealed the raised and rough surface which confirmed that scraping had indeed taken place before the addition of the correction. In *Bruce*, however, there were not the same obvious signs of scraping. This could be the result of Ramsay being more careful in his scraping. Alternatively, it could be that the quality of paper used in *Bruce* was such that the surface could accept light scraping without showing signs of damage. It is also possible, that in *Bruce* Ramsay did not scrape at all, and that what I saw was the result of Ramsay leaving a space which was filled later (see 5.19 below). Of the methods used, erasure and superimposition were the most frequent forms of correction but a tranche by tranche consideration of the findings (appendix 4) shows interesting variation.

5.17 Of twelve instances of correction found in tranche B1, six were made by superimposing a correct letter shape over an existing error. Moreover, corrections were found in four out of the five folios in the tranche, and superimposition was used twice in each of three of these folios. By comparison, the other methods used in this tranche, erasure, a possible obliteration, superscription, and a marginal insertion, were used only once each.

5.18 In tranche B2, there were eight corrections: one of cancellation, two each of erasure and superimposing, and three of a caret and the missing word above the line. At folio 25v. 2.39, there was a possible smudging, but this may be the result of a later stain.

5.19 The doubt over whether Ramsay erased or left spaces in *Bruce* is seen at its greatest in tranche B3. There were six candidates for erasure in this tranche, but although there is clear contrast in ink colour in each case, the paper shows none of the signs of scraping. Folio 44r.1.16, quhytys and folio 45r.1.37, bothwell are clear examples. The two large black marks of obliteration at folio 44v.2.23 have a grainy texture suggestive of charcoal or dried ink.

5.20 Tranche B4 contains nine corrections. Three of these are erasures where the correct form has not been added, and a further two are clear additions where erasure has been possible but is undetectable. There are three instances of superimposed corrections, and one of caret plus insertion above the line. The most interesting is at folio 64v. 2.27, where the entire line has been erased by scraping, leaving a clearly visible furrow in the paper.

5.21 In *Wallace* the preferred method of correction is, without doubt, erasure. There are eight corrections in W1, five of which are erasures. There are also two instances of carets, with one insertion above the line, and one in the margin. The final correction at 4r.26 is a clear addition, but there are no signs of erasure.

5.22 There are fourteen corrections in W2, thirteen of which are by erasure. In this tranche, however, there is an equal distribution among those instances where the correct form has been added, and those where it has been left blank after scraping. Folio 36r.4, shows roughness on the surface of the paper, indicating scraping, but nothing has been added. The lone example of a superimposed form is at 37v 11

5.23 Similarly, tranche W3 contains seven erasures, one superimposed correction, one caret and marginal insertion, and a single blank space at 76r 18.

5.24 There are fifteen corrections in W4, thirteen of which are by erasure. There is one instance of an above line insertion but this time there is no caret. The final correction in this tranche at 117r.41, is actually a mixture. To the naked eye, it looks like an superimposed form, but the magnifying glass reveals signs of some scraping

5.25 One possible explanation for the change in the preferred method of correction between the texts lies in the fact that *Bruce* was written quickly. Whenever he encountered a troublesome form in his exemplar, it is possible that Ramsay, for the sake of speed, did not deliberate, but left a space to be filled later. This would explain the different colour of ink, and the lack of visible signs of scraping. The term 'later' as used here is relative, and could refer to the time when he finished the line, paragraph, page or stint. Moreover, when he did make a mistake in his writing, he tended to superimpose the correct form onto the mistake (see 5.17 above)

5.26 In contrast, perhaps when copying *Wallace* Ramsay did not feel constrained to finish as quickly, and took time to erase the majority of errors. This suggests that when he came across a troublesome item in his exemplar, he would copy what he thought to be the correct form, knowing that he would have the time to re-examine it later and alter if necessary. Ramsay's statement in the colophon to *Bruceto* to the effect that this text was written quickly suggests that this may have been the case. However, the number of instances where scraping took place without addition suggests that one must be cautious about making any assumptions concerning Ramsay's behaviour.

5.27 What can be confirmed about Ramsay from the corrections is the concept of plasticity discussed in previous chapters. Just as he had a repertoire of word forms and letter shapes, so he had a range of methods of correction among which he felt free to choose as it suited his purposes.

Abbreviations

5.28 According to Simpson (1973) the abbreviation of words was practised in Roman times: the so-called Tironian signs named after Tiro, Cicero's secretary (Denholm Young, 1954: 64). Thereafter, the early Christian Church devised its own system including the method of referring to the Trinity by shortened forms such as $\overline{D}NS$, 'dominus'. During the dark ages, these two systems coalesced and developed until by the fourteenth century, an extensive reservoir of abbreviations was available to the scribe (Petti 1977: 23-24). With the written elaboration of the vernacular languages in the later Middle Ages, the methods and symbols of abbreviation were adopted into the vernacular, with consequent variation in their significance as was

necessary to meet the needs of the non-Latin languages (Denholm-Young 1954: 69).

5.29 The inauguration of the scientific study of abbreviations is attributed to Ludwig Traube in his *Perrona Scottorum* and elaborated in his *Nomina Sacra*, published in 1907 (Denholm-Young, 1954: 64). He identified three main methods of abbreviation: contraction, suspension, and the use of a special sign, and these are detailed by Denholm-Young (1954: 67).

5.30 **Contraction** involves the omission of one or more letters from the middle of a word (Petti, 1977: 22). Perhaps the most common marker of this was the tilde, a bar above the letter preceding that omitted, or along the length of a larger abbreviation (Petti, 1977: 22-23). Other symbols (e.g. item 1 below), whilst not coming within the category of special sign, frequently, if not consistently, represent the same letter or letters in a particular order (notwithstanding the argument offered on this point in the previous chapter and developed below). The use of elision and superior or superscript letters are also markers of contraction, and Petti (1977: 23-25) notes them separately

5.31 **Suspension** or curtailment is the shortening of the end of a word by one or more letters. Again, the sign used to mark suspension often represented the same letters (e.g. type 3).

5.32 **Special signs** or brevigraphs include those graphs with a system of marking to denote variations such as those involving the letter P (items 9 and 10) as well as signs for particular strings of letters (items 11 and 13) or, in some cases, for whole

words (items 7 and 12).

5.33 Regardless of the method used, the marker of abbreviation can be found variously above the line of writing or superscript, in the line of writing, or below the line of writing. Markers which occur above the line of writing include the tilde in type 4, the horizontal wavy lines in items 5, 16 and 24, the vertical wavy lines or curves of items 6, and 15, and the superscript T of item 14. Markers in the line of writing include the marker of suspension which is type 2, and some of the special signs, items 11, 12, and 13. Items 9 and 19 are the only signs in Adv. 19. 2. 2 which occur below the line of writing. Others, such as items 1, 8 and 23.1, begin in the line of writing and continue above in a backwards curl.


5.34 When compiling a typology of abbreviations found in the MS, I had to face the dilemma of deciding whether types (and their subdivisions) should be considered discrete on the basis of their shape or referent. For example, items 11 and 12 are graphically identical. However, in one instance, the graph is used to represent a three letter string 'ser', whilst in the other it refers to the entire word 'schir'. In this instance, the decision to consider these as distinct types was influenced by the feeling that an entire word, perhaps by dint of its completeness, is stronger than an otherwise meaningless string.


5.35 In other instances, the variation in referents was not felt to be sufficiently great to warrant the noting of a separate type. Type 1 would be an example of this. Similarly the variation found in type 9 where there is what might be called a cursive and non-cursive form was felt to be as much a matter of scribal


capriciousness as the existence of possible variant forms of the same marker of abbreviation.


5.36 With some, however, although there was similarity of form, there was a degree of difference in size or context which suggested that the markers should be considered as separate types. This explains why items 1, 8 and 23 1 are listed separately


5.37 In creating a typology, I was also conscious of the need to note sufficiently the frequency of usage of similar types for different referents. For example, does the existence of 11 and 12 in one folio, compared with, say, 12 only in another, indicate different scribal practice? As a result, whilst recognising that in other circumstances other typologies would be more important, I have compiled the following catalogue of abbreviations, creating subsections or separate types in concordance with the weight of evidence of either the types or their referents. The following, therefore, represents a list of the abbreviations which I encountered in my survey of the tranches.


5.38 Type 1  . er, ar, + ir, yr in *Wallace*. This sign begins in or below the line of writing as a continuation of the graph to which it is attached. The line stretches upwards above letter height before curving leftwards and finishing with a short downwards movement. In Adv., it is mostly found in combination with U in euer or with Y in yar


5.39 Type 2  . m, -n. This sign is identical to 1, but is listed separately since it is used for a different phonological and graphical set



5.40 Type 3  : -is, -ys. This marker is consistently used to indicate plurality in nouns and the genitive case, in addition to a more general representation of -is in words such as scott/s


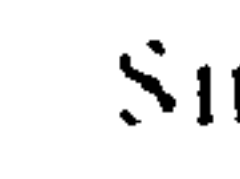
5.41 Type 4  : n, m. This appears to be an alternative to type 2 in all contexts, but is less frequently used throughout both texts.

5.42 Type 4.1  This tilde is a general marker of abbreviation, again not frequently used in this MS. Its use as type 4 would appear to be related to its function as a general marker, and its significance as n or m almost coincidental. Consequently, it was not felt that the two uses warranted their listing as separate types.


5.43 Type 5  : -ra-. This superscript horizontal line with a single trough is mostly used to represent this string in lrawelling (B5v1.48). A single use to refer to *er* was recorded at W34r 10 utterty


5.44 Type 6  -ri-, -rv-. A short upwards stroke, this is generally found attached to R in crlt


5.45 Type 7  and  A downwards and right slanting stroke with a small z-like shape at its top. This is by far the most common abbreviation of the definite article in Adv. 19. 2. 2.


5.46 Type 7.1  and  Since this sign is so closely related to type 7 in construction and has the same referent, it was felt that a subdivision of the dominant type was the most appropriate


categorisation for this item. Found only in folios B4v. and W34v.


5.47 Type 8  : -er; -yr in *Wallace* only. Attached to the crossstroke of T or the loop of some Ds, this sign is similar in construction to type 1. However, it is much smaller and in Adv., is used solely for the string indicated and in the contexts recorded here. As a result, it has been listed as a separate type.

5.48 Type 9  : per. par. This marker is one of a series of signs which use the letter P as their basis. This particular sign consists of a P, with a short stroke of positive incline across the descender. The series was commonly used in Latin manuscripts and is listed in Petti (1977: 24).


5.49 Type 9.1  : per. par. This could be described as a more cursive version of type 9. It consists of a single stroke which constructs a P before continuing the descender leftwards and upwards, before turning rightwards to cross the descender with slight positive incline.


5.50 Type 10  : pre. pri. Another of the P series, this one has a superscript marker similar to an inverted V.


5.51 Type 11  : ser. This is one of the forms of the letter S commonly found throughout the manuscript. It is used here to represent a three graph string and was felt, therefore, to carry a quite different meaning from type 12 below.


5.52 Type 12  : schir. This sign is the sole abbreviation for schir in Adv. 19. 2. 2. It is found referring to the lexical item


SIR, and as a morphological string in, for example, grantschir
(Wallacef114v.12; McDiarmid, 1969: 92.455).


5.53 Type 13  : con, com.


5.54 Type 13.1  The relationship between this and the previous item is similar to that between items 9 and 9 1. Consequently, this could be described as a more cursive version of type 13.

5.55 Type 14  This superscript T is used as an indicator of omitted preceding letters in items such as y^t 'that'. Type 14 is the most frequently used marker of abbreviation in both texts.


5.56 Type 15  : our, ur. This superscript, short, vertical, wavy line, closely resembles a small, modern arabic 2. It was found only twice in the tranches surveyed; once at B4r1.47 g your; and at W117r.32 pwiance, puwiance.


5.57 Type 16  . ou, me. This marker is very similar in construction to the previous one, but is horizontal in its orientation. It was found only twice in the survey at B4v2 26, y^v you; and at B45v2 23, mar^vduk, mar meduk.


5.58 Type 17  .n or in. This sign is difficult to decipher accurately and is probably the letter l plus type 2 (see B5v2.30, imorcely).


5.59 Type 18  n. This sign is closely related to type 8 in construction, and to type two in referent. It is found in


combination with E in essenze (B6r2.43).


5.60 Type 19  : quod. Another sign taken directly from the Latin system, it consists of a Q with a distinguishing stroke which begins with positive decline before turning into a negative decline and returning to cross the descender.


5.61 Type 20  er. This marker was found only in the lexical item mercy (B24r2.31 etc.).


5.62 Type 21  . n. Appearing as a flourish on the end of G or T, this marker is similar in construction to type 8 and in its referent, to type 2. The principal difference in construction between this and type 8, is that the stroke returns to rejoin the G or T (see B26r1.8, bring, and B65r2.28, buschmen!).

5.63 Type 22  : us This sign was found once only at B44v1.33, vus

5.64 Type 23  re. Used superscript, this was found initially at B46r1.50 contre. In construction, this is probably an R or an E with a trailing horizontal stroke at its top.

5.65 Type 23.1  re. This item is assigned to a sub-category because it has the same referent as type 23. However it differs in construction in that the finishing stroke returns backwards and downwards to complete a curl. Moreover, whilst it has the same referent as type 23, type 23.1 is found only in the context heritage (e.g. W36v.19).

5.66 Type 24  : m. This minor sign was found once at W77v.20, command.

5.67 Type 25  : er. This simple sign consists of a short superscript horizontal stroke. It replaces type 8 when combined with certain allographs of D or T in W117v.39, lauder, and W118v, mater, only. The possible significance of this is discussed below.

5.68 Immediately noticeable from the survey is the degree of consistency throughout the manuscript. Types 1, 2, 3 and 14 in particular are used widely. Indeed, type 14 appears on every folio surveyed, items 1 and 3 are each absent only in a single folio, whilst type 2 is missing on four of the folios surveyed. In addition, items 8, 9 or 9.1, and 13 or 13.1 are in widespread use.

5.69 Even where there is a choice of forms, there appears to be a level of consistency. For example, the survey suggests that in both texts, the scribe favours the use of type 9.1 over type 9.

5.70 The infrequency of some of the other items can be explained by the lack of opportunity for them to appear. However, where an opportunity does arise, the same sign is consistently used for the same referent. Examples of this would be type 5, '-ra-', which is consistently found in the item travelling, and type 11 which is the sole symbol for 'ser' in both texts.

5.71 However, perhaps of greater interest, are those types where the consistency is apparently upset. For example, there is a difference in preference between items 13 and 13.1 in the two

texts. In *Bruce* 131, the more current of the two is found in more folios than its partner, whilst in *Wallace* the opposite is the case. There are two possible explanations for this difference.
572 Firstly, it may be that the change in preference is the result of exemplar influence. The existence of forms such as types 15, 16 and 17 which appear very infrequently, suggests that the scribe could be persuaded to copy what he saw in front of him. Extrapolating out from this point, a case could be made for the argument that type 131 was the dominant form in the scribe's exemplar of *Bruce* whilst type 13 was more prominent in his *Wallace* exemplar.

573 Secondly, however, since Ramsay tells us in the colophon to *Bruce* that the text was copied rapidly, it could simply be the case that Ramsay chose the more current form for ease of writing.

574 The degree of consistency, the appearance of infrequent forms and the changes in preference found in the abbreviations, matches the evidence found in the preceding chapters on language and handwriting. The number of markers suggests again that Ramsay had what may be termed a wide variational space.

575 I use this term to indicate the phenomenon found in the abbreviations which parallels the evidence of the language and handwriting. In the language section we saw that Ramsay was prepared to use different spellings for the same lexical item, for example y, yar, yar, and yai for item 8, THEIR. Likewise in chapter 4 I made the observation that Ramsay was prepared to use thirty allographs of **a** and twenty nine of **h**. Similarly, with

the abbreviations. Ramsay was prepared to use more than one abbreviation for the same graphological string (e.g. types 1 and 8), the same abbreviation for different strings (types 11 and 12), and was prepared to recognise and use signs which may not have been part of his immediate repertoire (types 22 and 24). In other words, Ramsay's system of abbreviation was constrained by his exemplar.

5.76 This constrained usage is nowhere more evident than in the later stages of *Wallace*. Type 25 appears only on folios W117v and W118r. Although this is slight evidence on which to base any conclusion, there is nevertheless a temptation to consider the possibility that another scribe may have been at work in these folios. Indeed, if one were not primarily considering abbreviations, one could be swayed by the letter shapes, especially the D, into concluding that Ramsay was not the sole scribe of this stint. However, if we consider that that particular allograph of D is common elsewhere in *Wallace*, that other exotic markers of abbreviation were recorded elsewhere in the survey, and more importantly, there were more forms consistent with Ramsay's usage than indicators of difference recorded in these folios, we can conclude that the abbreviations are once again evidence of the level of plasticity found in Ramsay's work

Watermarks

5.77 A manuscript has more to tell us than is contained in its text or is obvious from scribal activity. For example, the use of watermarks as an instrument for the dating of paper (and hence the manuscript itself) has long been recognised (Buhler 1957). In the case of Adv 19 2. 2, the watermarks and the collation (dealt with below) do more they form an uncertain and

interesting part of the tale of the manuscript itself.

5.78 In 1967 the MS needed repairing and the opportunity of examining it closely was taken by Mr Cunningham of NLS. In his report, he describes the watermarks which he observed in the paper and offers a collation as seen by him before the MS was repaired. Adv 19. 2. 2 had already undergone extensive repairs, probably during the eighteenth century and it is this condition and the effects of subsequent deterioration up to 1967 which Mr Cunningham was able to report.

5.79 The making of paper in the middle ages involved the collection of pulped rags from a vat into a mould or frame. This frame consisted of a wooden quadrangle to which a series of wires were attached. The wires caught the pulped rags as they were scooped from the vat, and provided a surface against which they could be pressed by the addition of a deckle, and through which excess liquid could be drained. This part of the process was carried out by the **vatman**

5.80 The vertical wires were fewer, but since they supported the horizontal wires and helped to hold the frame together, they were stronger and thicker. Consequently, the impression they made on the wet rags was greater than that made by the thinner wires and is more easily detectable. The vertical wires are known as the **chain wires** and the marks which they have left on the paper are referred to as **chain lines**

5.81 After draining, the vatman removed the deckle and passed the frame to his colleague, the **coucher** who turned the squeezed pulp out onto a felt base for further drying. These

alternate layers of felt and rags were stacked one on top of the other to assist quicker drying and to provide a measure of compression.

5.82 Meanwhile, the vatman would take a duplicate or 'twin' frame, made specifically for use with the same deckle, and form a new sheet for addition to the stack.

5.83 As indicated above, the act of pressing the pulp against the frame left indentations on the raw paper which could not be removed by any amount of rubbing, scraping and sizing in readiness to take ink. In order to identify his own paper, therefore, the manufacturer often tied symbol or letter(s) to his frame, thus giving all sheets made by that frame a unique identity.

5.84 Since these signs or marks were handmade, no two were exactly identical so that even where duplicate frames were in use, the twin marks can be distinguished by slight differences in construction and subsequent deterioration, and by the variation in 'sewing' points where they were attached to the frame. These marks are known as **watermarks**.

5.85 Often the manufacturer would deliberately distinguish between frames using the same watermark by placing it in a different position within the frame (see Stevenson, 1967: 38) by inverting the mark, or by making some slight alteration to the mark. Thus paper contains twin watermarks (see Stevenson, 1951:64).

5.86 The marks themselves were made by shaping brass wire

round a template which could be a shape burned or gouged in wood, or wound round nails. Some of these shapes are very elaborate, containing quite intricate details of design alongside initials or names. Consequently, in addition to providing the palaeographer with evidence for the provenance of the paper, they are aesthetically pleasing and interesting in their own right.

5.87 The side of the paper which was pressed against the wires by the vatman's deckle is referred to as the **mould side** of the paper. The obverse, which was tipped onto the layer of felt on top of the previous sheet, is known as the **felt side**. It is the mould side which contains the pattern of chain lines and watermarks which helps to identify the paper.

5.88 This pattern is easily seen by playing a cold light source against one side of the paper whilst viewing it from the other. The 'proper' side from which to view the mark is the mould side, the side against which it will have been pressed during manufacture. In order to identify the mould side, which (especially with well-finished paper) is not often obvious to the naked eye, a source of light should be played laterally across the surface of the paper whilst holding it at a slight angle from the horizontal, allowing a shadow to be cast over the channel left by the impression of the chain wires. When this is done, the pattern of chain lines reveals itself on the mould side of the paper (Stevenson 1954: 181-182).

5.89 The identification of watermarks is important for three main palaeographical reasons: it provides information for the collation (Spector 1978); it allows us to establish the provenance

of the paper itself; and following thereon, it enables the provision of a reasonably accurate date for the compilation of the MS. This has been nowhere better exemplified than in Stevenson (1967) in which the identification, provenance and condition of the paper, allowed him to offer a date for the printing of the *Missale speciale*

5.90 Stevenson (1951: 65-68) offers ten points of comparison which help to identify watermarks as twins whilst allowing for the differences described above. His method is based on manufacturing practices in the seventeenth century, although he sees no reason to doubt that the same practices were in use centuries earlier as they were for several centuries after the 1600s. These are:

1. Identification of the **mould end** since pairs of marks appear in different halves of their respective moulds
2. Identification of the **chain position**, which can be centre, attendant or inner and outer (see 5.94 below)
3. Identification of the **chain space** and pattern of spaces. Here Stevenson notes that differences of up to 4mm can occur
4. **Slant**, if watermark is not sewn on straight
5. **Revised pattern** intentional revision by mould maker to make a 'mirror image'

6. The use of a **label**. One mark carries a full name whilst the other has an abbreviation, initials or a different spelling.
7. The use of a **countermark**. A smaller mark opposite the main mark in the other half of the mould. Common after c1650.
8. The inclusion of **distinctive detail**. One mark has an element of design not found in the other.
9. **Sewing** could be different with the marks being attached to their moulds at different points of their pattern.
10. **Distortion** can differentiate between marks as they commonly went to pieces before the moulds to which they were attached. This, naturally, would be unlikely to happen identically in any two moulds

5.91 Whether the differences between watermarks which I have noted below constitute the affirmation of genuine twins, and consequent confirmation that this practice did take place at least as far back as the late fifteenth century remains at this point unproven. However, the measuring of chain spaces and the noting of watermark details helps to identify sheets made from the same mould, and in any case is simply good practice (Stevenson, 1951: 69)

5.92 Unfortunately, photographic methods of recording

watermarks have been discontinued, and the figures in the appendices are my own free-hand reproductions of what I observed using the cold light source available at the NLS. Often, the mark was obscured by ink, a blemish on the paper, deterioration of the paper, or all three. This, naturally, proved problematic when trying to make accurate representations of the watermarks, but until a more scientific method is developed, accuracy will depend entirely on the draughtsmanship skills of the individual palaeographer.

5.93 In keeping with the methodology which I later use for recording the collation of the MS, each watermark is recorded by assigning to it a letter of the alphabet, with a new letter being allocated to each subsequent mark which appears in the paper of that MS. The twin is indicated by adding a subscript numeral 1 to the letter.

5.94 Using the method described above, I observed six watermarks in Adv 19 2 2: one in *Bruce* and five in *Wallace*. The watermarks were then compared with those in Briquet (1968) and Piccard with varying results. In the descriptions which follow, the **outer** chain line is that nearer the edge of the page as viewed from the mould side, and the **inner** chain line is that nearest the centre of the page. The chain lines themselves can take any one of three positions. A **centre** chain runs through the middle of the watermark which it supports. Chains which are **attendant** are attached to the mark at either side. Often, however, the mark is not attached to the chains on either side of it, and in this case, the chains will be inner and outer chains as described above. The watermark and chain line patterns which I saw were

papers in the MS, thus rendering the unmarked conjugates easily identifiable. The main stem of the P widens slightly from top to bottom. I saw no twin for this watermark in this MS.

D A 'gothic-P' with lateral stroke, found only in folios 83, 84 (D₁) and 85 of *Wallace*. This watermark stands 55mm high on the right hand side of the mould between chains three and four (outer and inner respectively) about 102mm from the top of the page. The mark is equidistant (5mm) from both chains, which are 30mm apart. D₁ is inverted and is 5mm from its outer and 8mm from its inner. The chain space measures 33-34mm at the mark.

E A Hand. Found only in gatherings five and six, this hand is approximately 50mm high and 104mm from the top of the page on the right hand side. It is situated between inner and outer chains five and four respectively. The chain space is 33-33.5mm and the hand is an upright left hand. Its twin is of similar dimensions, but is on the left hand side of the sheet if the inversion is intended. It has thinner fingers, a broader looking palm, and the chain lines are 31.5mm apart.

F A Hand. Again found only in the last two gatherings of *Wallace*, all instances of this mark are found on the mould side verso folios thus rendering them all inverted. The mark is 50mm high, and is now 110mm from what would have been the top of the manufacturer's frame. It has inner and outer chains three and four and the chain space

is 30mm. Its companion mark is of similar dimensions but is 107mm from the top of the sheet. Due to the folding, it appears upright and is slightly broader, with a thicker thumb base and more rounded palm than its twin.

5.95 Although at this point I have found no exact match for watermarks B-F in either Briquet or Piccard, they are typical of watermarks found in paper manufactured in France, Germany, and the Low Countries during the second half of the fifteenth century. A watermark similar to the Sun of *Bruce* has been found in at least five other Scottish MSS of the fifteenth century. There are thirteen instances of a Hand, and the 'gothic-P' in its various forms is the most often observed watermark in fifteenth century Scottish MSS (Lyall 1982).

5.96 If my observations are accurate and assumptions temperate, then for the codicologist generally, they would be of interest since they suggests that the method of paper making described above could indeed have been in use as early as the late fifteenth century, and that the identification of watermarks, their twins, and chain line patterns will be a useful exercise in the determination of conjugates, singletons, and insertions.

5.97 More particularly, the identification of watermark and chain line patterns was critical in my examination of the collation of the MS, to which I now turn my attention.

Collation

5.98 The MS is now bound as two volumes, Adv 19. 2. 2 (i) containing *Bruce* and Adv 19. 2. 2 (ii) containing *Wallace*. However, there exist two detailed accounts of the collation of the

MS as a single volume. These are sufficiently different to be intruiging. The first appears in Skeat's edition of *Bruce* (Skeat 1894) and the second is that observed by Mr I C Cunningham of the National Library of Scotland (Cunningham 1955-71: 247-52). In addition, the MS contains a set of sequential quire signatures which indicate that both texts were once bound together.

5.99 The differences between Skeat's account and Cunningham's observations led me to question the function of the quire signatures, and to realise that the collation generally could be an interesting and informative part of the history of the MS.

5.100 When Skeat prepared his edition at the end of the nineteenth century, the texts of *Bruce* and *Wallace* were bound as a single volume and his account of the collation corresponds with that indicated by the quire signatures therein. He offers no criticism of this collation and accepted the quire signatures as written. In terms of its present separated condition, this would give the following collation:

Adv 19. 2. 2 (i) ff 1-2 unmarked, B 12, C 2, D 16, E 16, F 14, G 8

Adv 19. 2. 2 (ii) H 20, I 22, K 20, L 20, M 20, N 22.

5.101 Immediately one feels compelled to ask questions. Why is the first gathering so small (especially as it is the first stretch of text in a MS)? Why does it not contain quire signatures? Given that *Bruce* was written a year later than *Wallace* yet contains the alphabetically earlier signatures, when were the signatures added?

5.102 In his article, Mr Cunningham states that the quire signatures are later additions and inaccurate. By this I assume he means that they were not written by the original scribe(s) as the gatherings were prepared before writing, nor, if the texts have always been bound as a single volume, by the original compiler of the MS, and that their purpose was to do something other than indicate the first correct order of folios in their gatherings. Consequently, the date of addition of the quire signatures, and an indication of their function could possibly provide some details of the MS history.

5.103 Several factors argue for the relative lateness of the quire signatures. Firstly, there are no signatures for the first two folios of *Bruce* (which Cunningham observed as mounted singletons) and it appears odd that an original compiler would include the other small gathering (C2) given that there are no textual (i.e. beginning or end of a 'chapter') or palaeographical (i.e. beginning or end of a stint) reasons for the inclusion of such a small quire. Secondly, from the beginning of gathering B (f3) until the quire signature D4 (f20) the signature is at the bottom centre of the page, between the writing columns but from D5 onwards, it is at the bottom right-hand corner, the more usual place for the late fifteenth century. This suggests that although the writer of the signatures was aware of their function, he was either not confident about, or saw no significance in, their position on the page, and perhaps he was not accustomed to doing this work.

5.104 Also noticeable is that in the numbering of gathering D, f21 has been skipped. In addition, although C apparently

consists of a single folded sheet, both leaves have been numbered unnecessarily. The usual practice was to number only the rectos of the first half of the gathering, but, throughout this MS, the middle sheet of each gathering has been numbered on both rectos, that is, one more than is necessary.

5.105 Such a deviation from the normal practice again implies that the writer of the quire signature was not entirely familiar with their use, and was presumably neither the scribe nor the original compiler of the MS. The quire signatures, therefore, are probably a later addition, and have a purpose other than indicating the original collation of the MS.

5.106 However, although this concurs with Cunningham's statement, it is based on circumstantial evidence, and I had to look for empirical evidence with which I could support the theory.

5.107 Mr Cunningham was able to see a collation different from that of the quire signatures:

<i>Bruce</i>	ff1-2	apparently two single leaves; heavily repaired and on guards.
	ff3-14	(a12)
	ff15-32	(b20, wants 19, 20)
	ff33-48	(c16)
	ff49-62	(d14)
	ff63-70	(e10, wants 9, 10)

<i>Wallace</i>	f1	apparently a single leaf, mounted.
	ff2-19	(a18)
	ff20-43	(b24)
	ff44-61	(c18)
	ff62-82	(?d21)
	ff83-102	(e20)
	ff103-124	(f22)

5.108 In other words, as Mr Cunningham saw it, the opening folio of *Wallace* and the first two of *Bruce* do not form part of any gatherings but are single leaves. This would seem an odd way for a scribe to begin any MS (on scraps of paper). In addition, gatherings b and e in *Bruce* appear to be missing their end two folios in each case.

5.109 The differences between this collation and that of the quire signatures have probably arisen as a result of deterioration between the dates of the signatures and that of the MS's arrival at NLS and the subsequent repairs of the eighteenth/ nineteenth century. Most obviously, if we accept that they were not singletons in the first place, f1 of *Wallace* and ff1-2 of *Bruce* had become separated from the remainder of their gatherings. Additionally, Cunningham (1955-71: 250) notes that ff15-16 of *Bruce* have been attached to the quire which follows them. Indeed, this gathering, b20, is problematic. Mr Cunningham observed that it lacked numbers 19 and 20 which could mean one of two things:

- i if 19, 20 contained text, there would be a gap in the tale between the folios now numbered 32 and 33 where the missing parts of the gathering had been;
- ii if 19, 20 were blank, they had been removed either before compilation of the MS, or prior to one of its repairs, certainly before the time of writing of the quire signatures.

5.110 The first is easily dealt with: there is no gap in the text, so this cannot be what happened.

5.111 In the second hypothesis, it seem unlikely (though not impossible) that the original compiler of *Bruce* removed blanks, thus leaving the first two folios (to which they presumably would have been attached) as singletons when it would appear easier to bind an entire gathering as one.

5.112 However, Mr Cunningham's examination helps to clarify matters. He notes (1955-71: 250) that the conjugates of ff 15 and 16 have been attached to f33. Since this is probably the work of the 18th/19th century repairer, it is unlikely to have been he who added the quire signatures since he would presumably have numbered ff 15-33 as a single gathering. It follows, therefore, that the quire signatures date from some time before the MS came into the possession of NLS.

5.113 Fortunately, since Mr Cunningham's examination of Adv 19. 2. 2, other methods of determining the collation of paper MSS have been developed. These involve the close observation of the marks of manufacture as described above, and the consideration

of the effects of folding the paper when gathered into quires.

5.114 Principally, Stephen Spector (1978) has pioneered the application of symmetrical testing to the problem of deducing the order of folded paper.

5.115 In the case of a bifolio folded MS such as this one, Spector (1978: 168) states that, after folding, one half of the leaf will contain a watermark whilst the other will have chain lines only; and that if the mould side of the paper is on the recto of one half of the fold, it must be on the verso of the other.

5.116 It is at this point that the work of Spector converges with that of Stevenson (1951; 1954; 1961) to provide a methodology for determining the collation of a MS.

5.117 The results of this method are recorded in a three-line sequence. The centre line contains the number of the folio. Above this, there is either an r or a v to indicate whether the mould side is on the recto or verso of the folio. Below the centre line is the letter which denotes the watermark which that folio contains, as they are catalogued above. If the folio does not contain a watermark, a dash (-) is substituted.

5.117 For every folio which contains a watermark, in a bifolio fold there should be a corresponding folio with a matching pattern of chain lines but without the watermark, which is the conjugate of the first folio. All folios in the gathering should follow this symmetrical pattern, with the central point of symmetry being where those folios satisfying the above criteria are adjacent. From this point, it is a simple matter to work

outwards, matching folio for folio, until the pattern can go no further, thus establishing the entire population of any gathering.

5.119 My findings were as follows:

Bruce:

r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 = 16
A - - A - - A₁ A₁ - - A A₁ - A A₁

r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32-16
A₁ A A A A A A - A₁ A -

r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v
33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48-16
A A A A A A₁ A A

r r r r r r r v v v v v v v
49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 -14
A₁ A v A A₁ A₁ A₁

r r r r r v v v
63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 - 10 (wants 9 10)
A A A₁ A

Wallace:

r r r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v v v
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
B - - B₁ B₁ B₁ - B₁ - - B B - B - - - B B -
=20

r r r r r r r r r r v
21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
- B B B B B B B B - B

} = 22

r v v v v v v v v v v
32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42
- B₁ - - - - - - - B₁

r r r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v v v
43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62
C C C B B B₁ B B B B₁
-20

r r r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v v v
63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82
B₁ B B₁ B₁ B B B B B B
-20

r r r r r r r r r r v v v v v v v v v v
 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102
 D D₁ D E - - - - - E F F F₁ E₁ E - - - -
 = 20

r r r r r r r r r r r r
 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113
 - E - - - E - - - - E
 } = 22
 v v v v v v v v v v v v
 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124
 - F F₁ F₁ F₁ E E₁ E₁ - E₁

5.120 The first point of symmetry in *Bruce* is at folios 8 and 9: the mould side is on the recto of 8 and on the verso of 9, 8 contains a watermark whilst 9 is unmarked, and they have a similar pattern of chain lines, indicating that they came from the same mould and are, therefore, probably a single sheet. Working outwards from this point, we experience symmetry back to f1 and forward to f16, the furthest points to which this gathering could logically extend. Moreover, at f17 we find a new series of mould side rectos which suggests the beginning of a new quire. It would appear, therefore, that ff1-16 of *Bruce* do indeed constitute a complete gathering.

5.121 So far, this does not *prove* ff1-16 a series of indisputable conjugates: it is possible that f15 and f16 were always singletons.

However, the number of coincidences required to insert these folios in such a manner as to ensure that they both have their mould side on the verso, and that f15 contains the watermark and chain line sequence appropriate for the conjugate of f2, and that the unmarked f16 contains the correct chain line pattern to fit the conjugate of f1, makes it highly unlikely that they were ever anything but conjugates.

5.122 The second point of symmetry is at ff24-25. Again, matching this pattern outward, we can confirm that the second gathering probably begins at f17 and extends to folio 32. The third gathering in *Bruce* has its point of symmetry at ff40-41 and stretches from f33 to f48, and the fourth quire, f49 to f62, has its point of symmetry at ff55-56.

5.123 The final gathering in this text is more problematic. From identification of the mould sides, the point of symmetry would be at ff67-68 where there is a mould side recto apparently conjugate with a mould side verso. However, neither f67 nor f68 contains a watermark, so this cannot be a true point of symmetry. What has happened here is that the pattern has become disturbed and I had to investigate further to find the true point of symmetry, and discover, if possible, what had happened to upset the normal pattern.

5.124 The most obvious way of solving the problem was to look first for a mould side verso containing a watermark to match f67. There is only one such folio in this gathering, f69. If this were to be the conjugate of f67, it would require original folios 68 and 69 to have become transposed and renumbered at some point.

There would, of course, also be a resultant disruption of the text. I checked the MS against McDiarmid's edition of *Bruce* and confirmed that f68 and f69 have indeed been transposed. I wrote to Mr Cunningham informing him of this theory, and he confirmed my findings. He has also added a note to this effect at the front of the MS.

5.125 His only possible explanation for this occurrence was that it probably happened during the process of rebinding in 1967. However, McDiarmid's edition was not published until 1980 and makes no mention of the disturbance of the text, and indeed reproduces the text in the correct order. This in turn infers that either the text was intact when McDiarmid saw it or that he took his order from one of the other editions which he was using in conjunction with the MS. I mention this only to highlight the difficulty of certitude when saying anything about the past history of MSS.

5.126 This collation also reinforces Mr Cunningham's assertion that the final gathering originally consisted of ten folios, and that 9 and 10 are missing.

5.127 My proposed collation of *Wallace* agrees with that of the quire signatures in the MS, allowing for the fact that folio 1 is unmarked but folio 2 is signed 'H2', suggesting that although f1 is not numbered, it was nevertheless always intended as part of this gathering.

5.128 However, my *Wallace* collation differs slightly from that observed by Mr Cunningham, who saw f1 as a mounted singleton, and as a consequence, gathering a₁₈ running from f2 to f19, b₂₄ from f20 to f43, and c₁₈ from f44 to f61.

5.129 In contrast, my suggestion of a gathering from f1 to f20, neatly fits the pattern of symmetry which has its pivotal point at ff10-11. Likewise, my second gathering extends from f21 to f42.

5.130 At this point, there is a change of paper from watermark B in f42, to watermark C in f43, f44, and f45. Since this latter mark is quite different in shape and chain line space from the remainder of the paper, the conjugates are clearly recognisable in folios 60, 61, and 62. This gathering, f43 to f62, is, therefore, almost certainly an original. If we accept this, then the remaining three gatherings occur as one would expect using Spector's method, and in agreement with both the quire signatures and Mr Cunningham's observations of the quires.

5.131 The point of symmetry in the second gathering of *Wallace* is particularly interesting. At first sight, it looks as if the point of symmetry should be at either ff30-31 or ff32-33, each of which matches the symmetrical pattern found in the other quires (i.e. with a recto-verso pivotal point). However, neither of these would satisfy the extended pattern of symmetry. The first would fail at false conjugates f29 and f32, where both have a mould side recto and cannot, therefore, be conjugates. Similarly, the second fails at false conjugates f31 and f34 which are both mould side versos.

5.132 A closer examination reveals that the sheet which makes up ff31-32 has been folded in the opposite direction from the others i.e. inwards instead of outwards. If the pattern of symmetry is followed outwards from this point, it is satisfied as illustrated above, suggesting that this is indeed the true point of symmetry.

5.133 If the above collation is correct, this would confirm Mr Cunningham's assertion that the quire signatures are not original. Since *Bruce* was compiled a year later than *Wallace* yet is before it in the MS as seen by Skeat and Cunningham, it is likely that the quire signatures belong to the time at which they were bound as a single volume. The fact that they are also alphabetically sequential (and do not begin afresh in each text) tends to confirm this. How long after 1489 this took place is a matter of conjecture, but the condition of the MS at the time of their inclusion is of possible help in deducing this.

5.134 By that time, it is likely that f1 and f2 of *Bruce* had become separated from their conjugates as they are not numbered, but the quire signatures for gathering B begin at f3. Consequently, f15 and f16 were numbered as quire C, leaving a gathering of twelve in between. The remainder of the quire signature gatherings matches the above collation, indicating that the separation of f1 and f2 from f15 and f16 respectively, was, perhaps, the full extent of the deterioration in *Bruce* at this time.

5.135 In *Wallace*, my collation matches exactly that of the quire signatures with the only possible instance of deterioration being the unsigned f1 which, therefore, may have been separated from its conjugate at that time

5.136 How long it took for the MS to fall into this state of disrepair depends on many factors and the deterioration of paper to such an extent that it weakens and tears along a fold is only partly attributable to time. Indeed, the number of doubtful conjugates, single sheets, and the addition of strengthening strips along the folds seen by Mr Cunningham suggests that, at least at some point if not throughout its life, Adv 19. 2. 2 was either well used, badly treated, or both. However, given the amount of deterioration described at this point, it seems unlikely that the binding of the texts as a single volume took place immediately or even soon after the completion of *Bruce*, the later and (slightly) more deteriorated text

5.137 It is equally uncertain what condition the MS was in by the time it arrived at NLS in the eighteenth century. However, the cover which Mr Cunningham saw dates from that time or the nineteenth century, when the first round of extensive repairs by NLS took place (Cunningham 1955 71-247). Mr Cunningham was also able to see the extensive repair and preservation work which had been carried out by this earlier repairer and his findings help to show that the quire signatures are unlikely to have been added by the eighteenth/nineteenth century repairer, and that the texts were probably bound as a single volume before their acquisition by NLS

5.138 Firstly, Mr Cunningham saw that the conjugates of f15 and f16 of *Bruce* were attached to f33, and that f48 was loose. If the quire signatures had been the work of the NLS repairer, then presumably he would have numbered gathering C to take account of all the folios between f15 and f33, thus rendering quire signatures for gathering D unnecessary. These compare with b20 (wants 19, 20) which runs from f15 to f32, and c 16 from f33 to f48 as recorded by Mr Cunningham (1955-71)

5.139 Likewise in *Wallace* f20 as seen by Mr Cunningham was attached to f43, whereas the quire signatures and the survey above suggest that originally, and possibly at the time of binding into a single volume, f20 was the conjugate of f1, and, as indicated by the difference in watermark and chain line patterns, f43 is indisputably the conjugate of f62.

5.140 This supports the view that the repairer was not the author of the signatures, and that the signatures predate the repairs.

5.140 The extent of the remaining repairs indicates considerable deterioration between the time of the quire signatures and that of the repairs. Part of the repairer's task was to paste a strip of paper on the inside of every fold. In most cases, Mr Cunningham was able to see the original paper on the outside of the fold, but in others the folios had become separated before the strips were added and he had to list them as doubtful conjugates.

5.141 In *Bruce* ff3-14 and ff6-11 fall into this category but my survey tends to confirm that they were originally a single sheet. Likewise, f48, now loose, was probably the conjugate of f33, and ff49-62 were probably a single sheet. The conjugates of f63 and f64 are missing.

5.142 In *Wallace*, the deterioration is even more marked. The first folio has become separated (though this may have happened before the quire signatures) and in the eighteen folios which follow it, there are only three instances of certain conjugates in Cunningham's report. As mentioned above, f43 has been attached to f20 and conjugates f21-42 and f22-41 are doubtful. In addition, f62, f63, f82, f103, and f124 are all reported as separate folios. I am unable to tell if these folios were left as singletons by the repairer or if they had been pasted to their conjugates and become separated since. However, the number of doubtful conjugates seen by Cunningham, and the accumulative effect of the evidence above suggests that the majority of the deterioration detailed here took place between the time of the quire signatures and that of the first NLS repairs.

5.143 Finally, the quire signatures in the last gathering of *Bruce* number from G to G6. Remembering that the writer numbered one more than was necessary, this signals the presence of ten folios, and suggests that the conjugates of f63 and f64 were still part of the MS at the time of first binding as a single volume. Their removal, therefore, was probably the result of later intervention.

5.144 What is now the end folio of *Bruce* contains a series of ownership signatures, the oldest of which belongs to an Alexander Burnet of Easter Slowy in Aberdeenshire. However, the colophon informs us that the MS was written for Simon Lochmaloney of Auchtermunzie in Fife, yet there are no signatures of that name or area. Perhaps, these signatures (if there were any) were on the original end folios, and that they were removed when the MS changed hands and came into the possession of the Burnetts. This would in turn mean that the MS was not bound as a single volume before coming into the possession of the Burnetts, and that the quire signatures, naturally, also date from sometime after that event. A more exact date would be calculable if I were able to accurately date the ownership signatures which appear on the verso of f70 of *Bruce*.

5.145 In any case, it appears clear that the two texts of Adv 19. 2. 2 were not bound as a single volume until such time had passed to allow for the deterioration which produced the differences between my collation and that of the quire signatures. These quire signatures, in turn, were probably written by the person who first bound the two texts together as a single volume, and their function was to assist the binder to assemble this volume correctly. Finally, the increased deterioration between the time of the quire signatures and the acquisition of the MS by NLS indicates an even greater time lapse than that suggested by the differences between the quire signatures and my collation.

5.146 Since *Bruce* was completed in 1488, and the MS came to NLS some two hundred and thirty eight years later (Yeo, personal

correspondence 31. 12. 1993) the above argues for a quire signature date nearer to 1488 than 1726. If this is the case, then perhaps it was during the mid - late sixteenth century that both texts came into the possession of the Burnetts, and the two tales were first bound as a single volume.

5.147 To return to the characterisation of scribal behaviour with which this chapter began, I will consider briefly what we have learned of Ramsay in this chapter.

5.148 The insights into Ramsay's practice can again be summed up by the term plasticity. Whilst he worked within the limits which constitute the sum total of codicological forms found in the MS, these were wide limits and he was prepared to employ a range of methods of correction, to use a considerable variety of abbreviations, and the irregularity in the construction of some of the quires, suggests that here too, he was prepared to accept a degree of variation.

5.149 Perhaps what is emerging is the picture of a man who was more concerned about the completion of his task than its appearance: who was more concerned, perhaps with its function than its form. This, of course, is quite a different picture of a scribe from that described in Simpson (1973) and Petti (1977) where the works of individual scribes complies to comparatively tight limits, and where deviations in spelling, letter-shapes, and abbreviations are considered to be significant markers of a change of scribe.

5.150 The implications of the evidence gathered in this thesis and inferences which can reasonably be drawn from it, are, in part, the subject of the final chapter.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

6.1 It has been attempted in this study to examine the linguistic, palaeographical and codicological elements of a single manuscript, and in so doing reproduce as far as is possible the practice of a scribe in the production of his manuscript. The study was carried out by applying the methodologies developed in connection with LALME, approaches to the written language suggested and described by Professor McIntosh (1956, 1963, 1974, 1975, 1978, 1986), and those systems of manuscript interrogation devised by Spector (1978), Stevenson (1951, 1954, 1967), and Muir (1989, 1991).

6.2 In order to accommodate a multi-disciplinary approach, prototype theory as a method of linguistic categorisation was discussed in Chapter 2. The purpose of this was to introduce the concept of inclusiveness so that the language of the manuscript could be considered without constantly defining OSc against some contemporary putative ME norm. At the same time, it was suggested that, whilst there may have been no fixed standard language to which the authors or scribe of the texts aspired, there was a focus of language which was nevertheless open and dynamic and which altered over time and space.

6.3 The thrust of the early part of this thesis, therefore, was in the direction of viewing language, and hence linguistic activity such as the production of a manuscript, as dynamic and organic: dynamic in the sense that it is always open to influence and

change; and organic in the sense that in response to that influence, it will at times adopt, develop or drop features as either a need for them is perceived, or they become redundant.

6.4 The remainder of the thesis then dealt with each of the elements of manuscript production (linguistic, paleographical and codicological) in turn. It seems appropriate, therefore, to now consider the relationships among these elements.

6.5 In Chapter 3, it was shown that Ramsay had a wide variational space and was tolerant of multi-forms in his spelling. This led to the further conclusion that plasticity was a significant attribute in Ramsay's scribal behaviour. Not only was he tolerant of a variety of forms, but he was prepared to choose from among his repertoire of forms those which he felt most appropriate either because they mirrored what he saw in front of him as he copied, or because he felt that what he saw on the pages of his exemplar could be normalised in the direction of his own spontaneous usage without prejudice to its acceptability.

6.6 The extent of Ramsay's variational space was seen perhaps to an even greater degree in the range of letter shapes which he employed. It is difficult to tell from the large number of variants for any one graph (often several being used within a few lines) whether the writing found in Adv. 19. 2. 2 represents Ramsay's normal usage or if he was choosing from among a variety of styles 'loosely based on the models provided by contemporary professional clerks' (Simpson 1973: 8). It may be, of course, that Ramsay himself was what Simpson had in mind when he used the phrase 'professional clerk' and that in other works he may have more consistently stuck to a single model of

script. If this were the case, it tells us something of his attitude towards his texts. As Drogin (1980: 4) points out:

Not all writing was a blend of beauty and clarity. The medieval scribe had many different reasons for writing, and many things to write about. While he may have used a specific script, he employed considerable variety within that script. When a scribe wanted to write quickly with no concern for attractiveness, his pen coursed along, lifting as infrequently as possible from the writing surface. The form of each letter was less important than the speed with which it could be written. Letters and often entire words, were linked by hasty and erratic manipulation of the speeding pen.

6.7 From a twentieth-century point of view, Adv. 19. 2. 2 is a treasured item (it is a 'safe' item in the NLS). However, Ramsay's writing practice suggests that he did not see it in this way. It is impossible at the moment to say with any certainty, based on linguistic and palaeographical evidence alone, that this was indeed the case. However, if further work which can confidently be assigned to Ramsay comes to light, then perhaps a comparison between his practice in that and Adv. 19. 2. 2 would prove enlightening. If the subject matter of any such other work was one which could be considered prestigious and Ramsay's scribal behavior proved to be consistent with that in Adv. 19. 2. 2, then one could conclude that this was his normal practice and that his attitude towards this text was not in any way pejorative. If, however, it was different, this may indicate that he did not see *Bruce* and *Wallace* as texts requiring the degree of care and attention afforded to others. Alternatively,

of course, it could be that Ramsay's approach to this manuscript was not motivated by the texts but by the recipients, of whom little is known. A third explanation must be that the degree of variation arises from the possibility that the compilation of this manuscript was being carried out over and above Ramsay's normal work, perhaps as a favour, as payment of debt or simply as a means of earning extra income. Consequently, Ramsay would have been more concerned to produce a finished text than one to be admired for its appearance.

6.8 The codicological evidence tends to support the point-of-view that Ramsay's approach to this manuscript was not that of a professional scribe. Although fairly consistent in his methods of abbreviation and correction, he was nevertheless prepared to use a variety of methods and again showed a degree of plasticity consistent with the evidence of the language and handwriting. This tolerance was extended to the collation of the manuscript where the variation in the size of the quires, the fact that some sheets were upside down, and the range of paper (as evidenced by the number of watermarks) again suggests a high degree of tolerance in the production of this manuscript.

6.9 The evidence of all the elements appears to confirm Ramsay's admission that it was written quickly, and the manuscript looks to have been prepared in an equally hurried fashion. All this points toward the fact that Ramsay was not a professional scribe but was someone who used writing in his everyday work and who had been commissioned to copy these texts and consequently one might consider this manuscript to be substandard (see Aitken 1971: 200).

6.10 The parallel is sometimes drawn between a medieval scribe's spelling-practice and the unique personal fingerprint: my study shows that this parallel can hardly be an apt one. This is perhaps due in this case to the fact that it would appear that Ramsay was not a professional scribe but possibly a notary public or similar professional who viewed writing from a more practical standpoint (see Lyall 1989b: 242). This would necessitate a slight revision of Professor Lyall's list of contexts for scribal activity:

1. Commissioned works by professional scribes.
2. Production on a speculative basis.
3. Copying in religious houses for religious houses.
4. Private production for the writer's own use.

(Lyall 1989a: 11)

To this list might be added a further context:

5. Commissioned works by a non-professional scribe.

6.11 Having discussed what the manuscript has revealed of Ramsay's scribal practice, we might now proceed to summarise the findings of this thesis.

1) I have offered a way of categorising language in which fuzziness ceases to be problematic but is welcomed as the integral feature of linguistic evolution which linguists have always known it to be. In particular, I have offered a view of OSc which allows for inclusiveness, which considers all forms encountered in the manuscript to be of equal linguistic value. In other words, the language is considered as Scots simply because it appears in a manuscript in which the authors and

scribe of the texts are all Scotsmen and requires no justification through comparison with any reference dialect. This, in turn, has allowed the variation encountered in the manuscript to be thought of as a matter of change of focus rather than abrupt changes or switches in dialect.

2) I have presented a corpus of spellings in Adv. 19. 2. 2 in the form of detailed linguistic profiles for four tranches of each text in the manuscript. Using these profiles, I have been able to show that in this case the LALME questionnaire developed for the localisation of texts and the WLP were on their own unable to provide sufficient evidence for the identification of Ramsay's "scribal fingerprint". More success was achieved through a scrutiny of the effects of constrained usage, and I was able to suggest a number of forms which may belong to Ramsay's active repertoire, and a fewer number which may have belonged to his exemplars. Overall, I was able to present a clear characterisation of Ramsay's scribal practice.

3) I have also presented a corpus of letter shapes in the form of a graphetic profile of the manuscript. This is possibly the most extensive catalogue of letter-shapes yet produced for a single scribe based on his work in a single manuscript in OSc. Once again, I was able to demonstrate that, probably owing to the high degree of variation found in any one stretch of text in Adv. 19. 2. 2, the graphetic profile was unable to produce sufficient evidence for the identification of a unique "scribal fingerprint".

4) I have surveyed the methods of abbreviation as they appear in the manuscript and found there to be a high degree of

consistency in Ramsay's practice. Likewise the methods of correction used in the manuscript were surveyed and again showed a high degree of consistency.

5) As a result of my examination of the codicological elements of the manuscript, I have been able to offer a new collation for the quiring of the folios. In addition, I was able to identify a folio which had been bound out of sequence in *Bruce* and a note to this effect has been placed at the beginning of the MS by NLS staff.

6) Finally, from all of the above, I was able to conclude that Ramsay was probably a translating scribe (see 3.12 above) who nevertheless could be highly influenced by what he saw in front of him. Consequently, it can be said that he had a wide variational space and a highly plastic approach to his practice in this manuscript.

6.12 It is nevertheless possible to compile a list of features which could be said to be typical of Ramsay's practice within this manuscript:

1. Ramsay will react to his manuscript as a translating scribe. As such, he can be expected to produce consistently the forms listed at 3.139 above. Moreover, he will choose between <th> and <y> to represent /θ/ and /ð/ using the system described at 3.76 above. However, he will be tolerant of a variety of forms and where those in his exemplar match his repertoire (active or passive) he will be liable to produce them (see 3.86 above). Moreover, he will

tolerate different spellings for the same item both inter- and intra- textually (see 3.93, 3.117 above).

2. In his handwriting, Ramsay again will display a wide graphological space. He will employ a variety of forms for any one item, often within the same line of writing, and in similar contexts (see 4.41 above). However, there will be limits to this graphological space, and his writing will consistently reflect the developments described by Simpson (1973: 8). Whilst it may be difficult to identify his hand on palaeographical evidence alone, the script which he uses will resemble the 'pre-secretary' described by Simpson (see 4.34-4.35 above).

3. Ramsay will consistently abbreviate his texts in the manner indicated in appendix 4a and described in Chapter 5. In particular, he will suspend the nominative plural ending (see type 3, 5.40 above) and will contract segments following initial and medial <y> and <u> by the method described at 5.38, type 1 above.

4. When working quickly, Ramsay's favoured method of correction will be to superimpose the correct form on to an error (see 5.17 above) often in the process obliterating the offending item with ink. When he has more time, however, he will remove his error by scraping and replace it with the correct form (see 5.26 above). He will also consistently indicate errors of omission or words in the wrong order by the use of carets (see Ch 5 passim).

6.13 It seems appropriate to conclude this thesis with some suggestions as to lines of research for the future.

6.14 The achievements of LALME have proven invaluable and have been advanced elsewhere for the study of historical linguistics, particularly for the identification of dialects and the subsequent placing of texts (Black 1997). Furthermore, Professor McIntosh (1978) argues for the particular desirability for such application to the corpus of OSc. It would seem appropriate, therefore, to outline the next steps which were, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.15 Firstly, those linguistic items which, through an examination of the scribe's constrained usage this thesis has suggested belonged to Ramsay's active repertoire, and those which possibly belonged to his exemplars, could be compared to the profiles in LALME and if feasible placed in a dialect area (see 3.5 above). However, this thesis has also recognised that in a context where a scribe displays a wide variational space, the data collected in connection with LALME may not be sufficient to identify specific dialect areas within Scotland. This is, of course, due to the fact that as far as OSc was concerned, LALME was faced with much less evidence than was available for dialects south of the border and confined its enquiries largely to those texts which had already been analysed by Slater (1952) and MacRae (1975). In order to rectify this situation it would be desirable if linguistic profiles could be compiled for a greater number of OSc texts, a task already under way at the Institute for Historical Dialectology, Edinburgh University. Professor Lyall (unpublished) has produced a checklist of fifteenth-century Scottish manuscripts, and this, or the manuscript stock of one of

the larger holding bodies such as the National Library of Scotland, could be a starting point for such an undertaking.

6.16 The importance of palaeographical study for our understanding of scribal practice, and its relationship to linguistic study cannot be over-emphasised (Doyle 1981). It would appear desirable, therefore, for a series of graphetic profiles to be compiled alongside the linguistic profiles suggested above. In addition, such profiles should be developed to allow for the inclusion of details of scribal duct. It would also be desirable if the findings of these surveys could be computerised in order to facilitate access for the student, and to allow for comparison in the manner of construction of graphemes among scribes (see Williamson 1992/1993 for a methodology).

6.17 Similarly, profiles of the methods of collation, abbreviation and correction which individual scribes used would allow comparison among manuscripts and scribes and could help to uncover identifiable scribal practice, or, perhaps more importantly, how a particular scribe reacts to different manuscripts. In addition (although not an issue in this MS) an examination of the ruling of the page may prove fruitful in any further study of Ramsay's scribal habits. Naturally, studies such as those suggested here, and the graphetic profile suggested in the last paragraph, need not be confined to those manuscripts or texts in which the language is solely OSc.

6.18 This thesis sought to make a preliminary investigation of the relationships among the various aspects of scribal activity in the production of a manuscript. In doing so, something of

Ramsay's approach to his manuscript emerged as it became increasingly obvious that the degree of his linguistic tolerance was mirrored in the extent of letter-shapes which he was prepared to use for a single graph and in the variation in his codicological practices. If anything has emerged from this study it is that the more we come to know about the palaeography and codicology of a manuscript, the more it should become evident how they interact with language. In pursuing the suggestions which have been made in this chapter, these relationships should become clearer, and much more of scribal approach could be learned.

6.19 No doubt the theories of manuscript interrogation which I have examined in this thesis will require refinement and modification as the relationships among them become clearer and new problems arise. However, the combining of these theories, it could be argued, offers a fresh, coherent approach to the study of the Scottish scribe, with a consequent increase in our knowledge of medieval culture.

Bibliography

AGUTTER, A (1987). 'A taxonomy of Older Scots Orthography' in Macafee and Macleod (1987), 75-82.

- (1988). 'Standardisation in Middle Scots', *Scottish Language* no.7, Winter 1988.

AITKEN, A J (1971). 'Variation and variety in written Middle Scots', in Aitken et. al. (1971), 177-209.

- (1983) 'The language of Older Scots poetry' in McClure (1983), 18-49.

AITKEN, A J and McINTOSH, A with PALSSON, H (1971). *Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots*. London: Longman.

ATKINS, J W H (1922). *The Owl and the Nightingale*. reissued 1971. New York: Russell and Russell.

BENNETT, H S (1947). 'The production and dissemination of vernacular manuscripts in the fifteenth century', *The Library* 5th series, vol 1, 167-178.

BENSKIN M (1977). 'Local archives and Middle English dialects', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 5, 500-14.

- (1982). 'The letters <þ> and <y> in later Middle English', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vol. 7, no.1, 13-30.

BENSKIN, M and LAING, M (1981). 'Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts' in Benskin and Samuels (1981), 55-106.

BENSKIN, M and SAMUELS, M L (eds) (1981). *So meny people longages and tonges: philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*. Edinburgh: Middle English Dialect Project.

BLACK, M R. (1997) *Studies in the Dialect Materials of Medieval Herefordshire*. Glasgow: Glasgow University unpubl. PhD thesis.

BRIQUET, C M (1968). *Les Filigranes*. Paris, 1907, 4 vols., 2nd edn Leipzig, 1923, repr. New York, 1968.

BUHLER, C F (1957). 'Watermarks and the dates of fifteenth century books', *Studies in Bibliography*.ix, 217-224.

CHAYTOR, H J (1945). *From Script to Print*. Cambridge: University Press.

CUNNINGHAM, I C (1955-71). 'Bruce and Wallace (National Library of Scotland Advocates Manuscript 19 2. 2)'. *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, vol. 4, 247-252.

DEITHE (1932). *A Grammar of the Buchan Dialect*. Cambridge: W Heffer and Sons.

DELL, R F (1969) 'Some differences between Scottish and English Archives'. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*.iii, 386-397.

DENHOLM-YOUNG, N (1954). *Handwriting in England and Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

DEVITT, A J (1989) *Standardizing Written English. Diffusion in the case of Scotland 1520-1659*. Cambridge: University Press.

DOBSON, E J (1961) 'A new edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*'. *Notes and Queries* 206, 1961, 373-378, 405-411, 444-448.

DOYLE, A I (1981). 'Retrospect and Prospect' in Pearsall 1981, 142-146.

DROGIN, M (1980). *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique*. London: Allanheld and Schraum, Montclair, Prior.

DUNCAN, A A M (1997). *The Bruce*. Edinburgh: Cannongate

DURKAN, J (1951). *William Turnbull*. Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Historical Committee.

- (1953). 'The beginnings of humanism in Scotland' *Innes Review* iv, 5-24.

DURKAN, J and ROSS, A (1961). *Early Scottish Libraries*. Glasgow: John S Burns and Sons.

FRANCIS, W N (1962) 'Graphemic Analysis of Late Middle English Manuscripts'. *Speculum* 37, 32-47.

- GRANT, W (1929) *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Scottish National Dictionary Association
- GRIFFITHS, J and PEARSALL, D (1989). *Book Production and Publishing in Britain*. Cambridge: University Press.
- HEAD, G (1989). *Some linguistic implications of Older Scots Palaeography*. Glasgow: unpubl. undergraduate dissertation.
- HECTOR, I. C (1966). *The Handwriting of English Documents*. 2nd edn London: Edward Arnold.
- HOAD, T (1994). 'Word Geography: Previous Approaches and Achievements', in Laing and Williamson (1994), 197-203.
- HUDSON, A (1966). 'Tradition and Innovation in some Middle English manuscripts'. *Review of English Studies*, New Series, vol xvii, no.68, 359-372.
- KNIEZSA, V (1989). 'The source of the <l> digraphs: the place-name evidence', in McClure and Spiller (1989), 442-450.
- KOHLER, K J (1967). 'Aspects of Middle Scots phonemics and graphemics: the phonological implications of the sign <i>'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1967, 32-61.
- KUIPERS, C H (1964). *Quintin Kennedy: (1520-1564): Two Eucharistic Tracts*. Nijmegen.
- LAING, D (ED) (1872-1879). *The Orygynale Cronykil of Andrew of Wyntoun*. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

LAING, M (ed) (1989). *Middle English Dialectology: essays on some principles and problems*. Aberdeen: University Press.

LAING, M and WILLIAMSON, K (1994). *Speaking In Our Tongues: Proceedings of a Colloquium on Medieval Dialectology and Related Disciplines*. Cambridge: D S Brewer.

LYALL, R J (1989a). 'Materials: the paper revolution', in Griffiths and Pearsall (1989), 11-29.

- (1989b). 'Books and book owners in fifteenth-century Scotland', in Griffiths and Pearsall (1989), 239-256.

MOIR, J (ed) (1889). *Schir William Wallace*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society.

MUIR, B J (1989) 'A preliminary report on a new edition of the Exeter Book', *Scriptorium*.43,273-288.

- (1991). 'Watching the Exeter Book scribe copy Old English and Latin texts', *Manuscripta* vol. 35, no. 1, 3-22.

MYNORS, R A B (1950). 'A fifteenth-century scribe: T. Werken', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, vol. 1, 1949-53,97-104.

MACAFEE, C (1993). 'A Short Grammar of Older Scots', *Scottish Language* no. 11/12, 10-36.

MACAFEE, C and MACLEOD, I (eds) (1987), *The Nuttis Schell*. Aberdeen: University Press.

McCLURE, J D (1983). *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*.
Aberdeen: University Press.

- (1988). *Why Scots Matters*. Saltire Pamphlets, New Series 10.
The Saltire Society in association with the Scots Language
Society.

McCLURE, J D and SPILLER, M R G (eds) (1989). *Brycht Lanternis*
Aberdeen: University Press

MCDIARMID, M P (1968). *Hary's Wallace*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text
Society.

MCDIARMID, M P and STEVENSON, J A C (1980). *Barbour's Bruce*
Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society.

MCINTOSH, A (1956). 'The analysis of written Middle English'.
Transactions of the Philological Society: 26-55. repr. in Laing
(1989), 1-21.

- (1963). 'A new approach to Middle English dialectology'.
English Studies. 44. 1-11. repr. in Laing (1989). 22-31.

- (1974). 'Towards an inventory of Middle English scribes'.
Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. 75. 602-624. repr. in Laing (1989).
46-63.

- (1975). 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English texts'.
Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. 76. 218-235. repr. in Laing (1989).
32-45.

- (1978) 'The Dialectology of Mediaeval Scots: Some Possible Approaches to its Study'. *Scottish Literary Journal*. Supplement no.6. 38-44. repr. in Laing (1989). 81-85.

MCINTOSH, A. SAMUELS, M L and BENSKIN, M with LAING, M and WILLIAMSON, K (1986). *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* 4 vols. Aberdeen: University Press.

MCLAUGHLIN, J C (1963). *A Graphemic-Phonemic Study of A Middle English Manuscript*. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

MACQUEEN, J (1967). 'Some aspects of the early Renaissance in Scotland'. *Forum for Modern Language Studies*. iii.

MACRAE, G D (1975). *An Edition of Nine Early Scots Texts from 1379 to 1402*. Edinburgh: University unpubl. diss. MA.

PARKES, M B (1969). *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

-(1973). 'The Literacy of the Laity' in Darches, D and Chorlby, A (eds) *Literature and Western Culture: the medieval world*. London: Aldus. 555-572.

PEARSALL, D (ed) (1981). *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England*. Essays from the 1981 conference at the University of York. D S Brewer.

PETTI, A G (1977). *English literary hands from Chaucer to Dryden*. London: Edward Arnold.

- PICCARD, G (1961-). *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer
- REEVES, W P (1893). *A Study in the Language of Scottish Prose Before 1600*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co.
- ROBINSON, M (ed) (1985). *The Concise Scots Dictionary*. Aberdeen: University Press.
- SAMUELS, M L (1963). 'Some applications of Middle English dialectology'. *English Studies*. 44. 81-94.
- (1972). *Linguistic Evolution. with special reference to English*. Cambridge: University Press.
- (1981). 'Spelling and dialect in the late and post-middle English Periods', in Benskin and Samuels (1981), 43-54.
- SIMPSON, G G (1973). *Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650*. Edinburgh: Bratton Publishing Ltd.
- SISAM, C (1951). 'The scribal tradition of the Lambeth Homilies'. *The Review of English Studies*. New Series, vol ii, 105-113.
- SKEAT, W W (1889). *The Bruce*. London: Early English Text Society.
- (1894). *The Bruce*. Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society.
- SLATER, J (1952). *An Edition of Early Scots Texts from the beginnings to 1410*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: University Phd thesis.

- SMITH, G G (1902). *Specimens of Middle Scots*. Edinburgh: Blackwood.
- SMITH, J J (ed) (1988). *The English of Chaucer and his contemporaries*. Aberdeen: University Press.
- (1994). 'A Philologist's View' in Laing and Williamson (1994), 99-105.
 - (1996a). *An Historical Study of English*. London: Routledge.
 - (1996b). 'A note on constrained linguistic variation in a north-west Midlands Middle-English scribe'. *Neophilologus*.80.461-464.
 - (1997). 'The Language of the Ellesmere Manuscript' in Steven, M and Woodward, D (eds) *The Ellesmere Chaucer: Essays in Interpretation*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 69-86.
 - (forthcoming) 'Dialect and standardisation in the Waseda manuscript of Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Life of Jesus Christ* in R. Beadle et al. (eds) *Nicholas Love. Waseda 1995* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997, 129-141.
- SPECTOR, S (1978). 'Symmetry in watermark sequences'. *Studies in Bibliography*:vol xxxi. 162-178.
- STANLEY, E G (1959). *The Owl and the Nightingale*. 1st edn. Edinburgh: Nelson
- (1972). *The Owl and the Nightingale*. 2nd edn. Manchester: University Press.

STEVENSON, A H (1951). 'Watermarks are twins'. *Studies in Bibliography*, vol iv, 57-91.

- (1954). 'Chain indentations in paper as evidence'. *Studies in Bibliography*, vol vi, 181-195.

- (1967). *The Problem of The Missale Speciale*. London: Bibl. Soc.

TAYLOR, J R (1989). *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

TEMPLETON, J M (1973). 'Scots: and outline history' in Aitken, A J (ed) *Lowland Scots*. Edinburgh: ASLS Occasional Papers no.2, 4-11.

WILSON, J (1926). *The Dialects of Central Scotland*. London: Oxford U P.

WILLIAMSON, K (1992/1993). 'A computer-aided method for making a linguistic atlas of Older Scots'. *Scottish Language* 11/12.

-(forthcoming). *An Atlas of Older Scots*.

PARTTWO: APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE LINGUISTIC PROFILES

Text: Adv. MS 19. 2. 2 (2) *Wallace*

Scribe: John Ramsay

Folios: 4r - 8r (inc)

Date: 1488

Item

Form

1. 'THE'	ye///// The////
2. 'THESE'	yir////
3. 'THOSE'	
4. 'SHE'	scho//////////
5. 'HER'	hir///// hyr//// her
6. 'IT'	
7. 'THEY'	yai //////////,
8. 'THEM'	ya ^o // yaim//// paim//
9. 'THEIR'	yar/// ^o
10. 'SUCH'	sic///
11. 'WHICH'	quhilk////,
12. 'EACH'	ilk(ane)
13. 'MANY'	mony
14. 'MAN'	man/// ma ^o /
15. 'ANY'	
16. 'MUCH'	
17. 'ARE'	art ar
18. 'WERE'	war //
19. 'IS'	is
20. 'WAS'	was. '///,
21. 'SHALL'sg.pl	sall. 'o
22. 'SHOULD'sg.pl	suld/////
23. 'WILL'sg.pl	wil
24. 'WOULD'sg.pl	wald://///////

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
25. 'TO'+sb	till//////////////////////////////////// // to////////////////////////////////
26. 'TO'+inf	to////////////////////////////////, till
27. 'FROM'	fra/////
28. 'AFTER'	eft
29. 'THEN'	yan////////// yin syn//
30. 'THAN'	yan/// ya)
31. 'THOUGH'	yocht/ yot /
32. 'IF'	gif/// giff//
33. 'AS'	as als//
34. 'AS' + 'AS'	als....as
35. 'AGAINST'	agayne
36. 'AGAIN'	agayne//
37. 'ERE' conj	
38. 'SINCE'adj.conj	sen/ syne sensyne
39. 'YET'	zeit/ zit
40. 'WHILE'	quhill////
41. 'STRENGTH'vb	
42. 'LENGTH'vb	
43. 'WH'	quh //////////////////////////////////,
44. 'NOT'	no ^t ////////////////////////////////
45. 'NOR'	
46. 'A' 'O'	
47. 'WORLD'	
48. 'THINK'	
49. 'WORK'sb,vb	
50. 'THERE'	ya ^o //// yar////////// yair/
51. 'WHERE'	quhar/////
52. 'MIGHT' vb, 2sg.pl	my ^t ////////// mycht. '////

ItemForm

53. 'THROUGH'	throw/ throuch/// throu
54. 'WHEN'	quhen////////
55. Substantive plural	-is///+ -ys///+ φ ++ θ
56. Present participle	and////////// ing
57. Verbal substantive	yng////////
58. 3sg present indicative	is///// -ys φ ++
59. Present plural	
60. Weak preterite	d/// t// yt////////+ it///+
61. Weak past preterite	it//// -yt t de/ ed
62. Strong past participle	no yn/ yne
63. 'ABOUT' adv. pr	about
64. 'ABOVE' adv.pr	abuffe
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne/ syn//
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all///+
68. 'AMONG'adv.pr	amang/ amange
69. 'ANSWER'sb.vb	ansuerd/// ansuer
70. 'ASK'	
71. 'AT' + inf	
72. 'AT' rel	
73. 'AWAY'	away//
74. 'BE' ppl	he///+ heyne/ bene//
75. 'BEFORE'adv.pr	befor
76. 'BEGAN TO', pl	
77. 'BEHOVES'.pt	
78. 'BENEATH'adv.pr	
79. 'BETWEEN'pr	
80. 'BLESSED'	
81. 'BOTH'	hathe// baith

ItemForm

82. 'BROTHER'.pl	broʔ/
83. 'BUSY' adj.vb	
84. 'BUT'	but/ bot//////////
85. 'BY'	be///// by
86. 'CALL'. pt. ppl	
87. 'CAME'	come///
88. 'CAN' .pl	can///+
89. 'CAST'.pt. ppl	kest cast
90. 'CHOOSE'. pt. ppl	
91. 'CHURCH'	
92. 'COULD' sg.pl	coud// coude couth/
93. 'DAUGHTER'.pl	docht
94. 'DAY'	day//
95. 'DEATH'	dede/
96. 'DIE'. pt	de/ deit
97. 'DO' pt sg	do dois dowis dide/ did
98. 'DOWN'	doun / / /
99. 'EARTH'	
100. 'EAST'	
101. 'EIGHT'ord	
102. 'EITHER' pron	athyr // athir
103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'	
104. 'ELEVEN'	
105. 'ENOUGH'	ynew
106. 'EYE' pl	eyne
107. 'FAR' cpv	forthir
108. 'FATHER'. pl	fadyr//
109. 'FELLOW'	
110. 'FIGHT'	

ItemForm

138. 'LAW'	
139. 'LESS'	less
140. 'LIFE' pl	lyff/// liff
141. 'LITTLE'	litill////
142. 'LIVE' vb	leiffe leyff leyffyt
143. 'LORD'	lord//+
144. 'LOVE' sb.vb	luff(sb) lowed
145. 'LOW'	
146. 'MAKES' contr	
147. 'MAY'. pl	may////////+
148. 'MON'	
149. 'MONTH'	
150. 'MOON'	
151. 'MOTHER'. pl	modyr///
152. 'MY'	
153. 'NAME' sb	
154. 'NEITHER'pron	
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'	
156. 'NEVER'	new////////
157. 'NEW'	
158. 'NIGH'vb	
159. 'NINE' ord	
160. 'NORTH'	
161. 'NOW'	now///
162. 'OLD'	
163. 'ONE' adj.pron	ane////////
164. 'OR'	or/
165. 'OTHER'. indef. def	oyir/// oy//////// toy athir
166. 'OUR'	

ItemForm

167. 'OUT'	out//+
168. 'OWN' adj	awne awn/
169. 'PEOPLE'	
170. 'POOR'	
171. 'PRAY'	
172. 'RUN'	ran
173. 'SAY'	said///// say
174. 'SEE'	se//
175. 'SEEK'	seke socht
176. 'SELF'pl	
177. 'SEVEN'ord	
178. 'SIN' sb. vb	
179. 'SISTER'. pl	sys ⁹ /
180. 'SIX' ord	
181. 'SOME'	sum/
182. 'SON'	sone son
183. 'SORROW' sb. vb	
184. 'SOUL'.pl	
185. 'SOUTH'	
186. 'STAR'pl	
187. 'STEAD'	sted/ stede steid/
188. 'SUN'	
189. 'TAKES' contr. ppl	tak tane
190. 'TEN'.ord	
191. 'THEE'	ye//
192. 'THOU'	yow/////
193. 'THY'	ye//// thi/
194. 'THITHER'	
195. 'THOUSAND'	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
196. 'THREE'	thre//
197. 'TOGETHER'	
198. 'TRUE'	trew
199. 'TWELVE'ord	
200. 'TWENTY'	
201. 'TWO'	twa/////+
202. 'UPON'	apon///
203. 'WAY'	
204. 'WEEK' pl	weylle weyle// weill/// weille
205. 'WELL' adv	
206. 'WENT'	went/
207. 'WHETHER'	quhey
208. 'WHITHER'	
209. 'WHY'	quhy quhi//
210. 'WITEN'	
211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv	w ^t outy) //
212. 'WORSE'.sup	
213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb adj	
214. 'YE'	ʒhe// ye// ʒe
215. 'YOU'	ʒow//////// yow/// ʒou// you
216. 'YOUR'	ʒour////
217. 'YEAR'	
218. 'YOUNG'	ʒonge ʒong ʒoung

Text: Adv. MS 19. 2. 2. (2) *Wallace*

Scribe : John Ramsay

Folios: 34r - 38r (inc)

Date : 1488

Item

Form

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. 'THE' | ye//////////+ |
| 2. 'THESE' | yir// |
| 3. 'THOSE' | |
| 4. 'SHE' | scho//// |
| 5. 'HER' | hir//////// hyr////////// her/ |
| 6. 'IT' | |
| 7. 'THEY' | yai//////// |
| 8. 'THEM' | yaim////////, ya ^o // |
| 9. 'THEIR' | yar//////// ^o //// |
| 10. 'SUCH' | sic//// |
| 11. 'WHICH' | quhilk//// |
| 12. 'EACH' | |
| 13. 'MANY' | feyll feill |
| 14. 'MAN' | ma ^o //// man/// |
| 15. 'ANY' | |
| 16. 'MUCH' | mekill |
| 17. 'ARE' | ar |
| 18. 'WERE' | war/// |
| 19. 'IS' | is///+ |
| 20. 'WAS' | was//////////+ wes////////// |
| 21. 'SHALL' sg.pl | sall////+ |
| 22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl | suld/// sulde |
| 23. 'WILL' sg.pl | |
| 24. 'WOULD' sg.pl | wald// |

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
25. 'TO' + sb	to//////////+ till//////////+
26. 'TO' + inf	to//////////+ till/////
27. 'FROM'	fra///////// ffra////////
28. 'AFTER'	eft ²
29. 'THEN'	yan///////// ya syne//
30. 'THAN'	yan/
31. 'THOUGH'	yocht/ through
32. 'IF'	gyff////+
33. 'AS'	
34. 'AS' + 'AS'	als as//
35. 'AGAINST'	agayne aganys
36. 'AGAIN'	agayne////////
37. 'ERE'conj	or//
38. 'SINCE'adv. conj	sen//
39. 'YET'	zeit//
40. 'WHILE'	quhill////////+
41. 'STRENGTH', vb	strenth
42. 'LENGTH' , vb	
43. 'WH' '	quh //// .
44. 'NOT'	no ^t //////////+ nocht////////
45. 'NOR'	nor
46. 'A', 'O'	
47. 'WORLD'	world
48. 'THINK'	think
49. 'WORK'sb, vb	
50. 'THERE'	ȝ ² yar
51. 'WHERE'	quhar////////
52. 'MIGHT' vb.2sg. pl	my ^t //// mycht////
53. 'THROUGH'	throw// through////

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
54. 'WHEN'	quhen/////
55. Substantitive plural	-ys//////// -is///// -es// -s þ... 0
56. Present participle	and//////////////// -ande -ing
57. Verbal substantive	-y -ynge -ing yng////
58. 3sg present indicative	-is//// þ/ -ys/
59. Present plural	
60. Weak preterite	-yt//////////////// it////////+ -t//
61. Weak past participle	-t//// -yt//////// -it/// d
62. Strong past participle	-ne///// yn n
63. 'ABOUT' adv. pr	about/
64. 'ABOVE' adv.pr	abuff abow
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all////+
68. 'AMONG'adv. pr	amang//
69. 'ANSWER'sb. vb	ansuerd ansuer/
70. 'ASK'	
71. 'AT' + inf	
72. 'AT rel	
73. 'AWAY'	
74. 'BE' ppl	heyne//
75. 'BEFORE'adv. pr	hefor/ befor n
76. 'BEGAN TO'. pl	began
77. 'BEHOVES'pt	
78. 'BENEATH' adv.pr	
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	betuene
80. 'BLESSED'	
81. 'BOTH'	bath/ bathe/
82. 'BROTHER'. pl	broy)

ItemForm

83. 'BUSY' adj. vb

84. 'BUT'

bot////////////////// but//

85. 'BY'

be////

86. 'CALL', pt.ppl

cald (pt)/ call

87. 'CAME'

come/////

88. 'CAN', pl

can////+

89. 'CAST', pt.ppl

cast/

90. 'CHOOSE', pt.ppl

chewys/ chesit

91. 'CHURCH'

kyrk

92. 'COULD' sg. pl

couth

93. 'DAUGHTER'.pl

94. 'DAY'

day

95. 'DEATH'

ded dede//

96. 'DIE', pt

de

97. 'DO' pt - sg

did/

98. 'DOWN'

downe doun

99. 'EARTH'

erd

100. 'EAST'

101. 'EIGHT' ord

102. 'EITHER' pron

103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'

104. 'ELEVEN' ord

105. 'ENOUGH'

ynew

106. 'EYE', pl

eyne/

107. 'FAR' cpv

108. 'FATHER' pl

109. 'FELLOW'

110. 'FIGHT'

111. 'FIRE'

fyr

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst
113. 'FELLOW'	
114. 'FLESH'	
115. 'FOLLOW'	
116. 'FOUR'.ord	
117. 'FOWL' . pl	
118. 'FRIEND'	
119. 'FRUIT'	
120. 'GAR' . pt. ppl	gart(pt)/// gert/// gar ger
121. 'GIVE' .pt. ppl	gyff/ gaiff/// geiff geyff
122. 'GOOD' . sb	gud/////+ gude
123. 'GROW'	
124. 'HAVE' . inf. 3sg. 2sg. pl	has (3sg)/ haiff9inf)// haiff(3sg)/ haiff (pl)/ has
125. 'HEAD'	heid/ hede hed
126. 'HEAVEN'	hewyn
127. 'HEIGHT'	
128. 'HELL'	
129. 'HIGH' . cpv. sup	hye// heich hie
130. 'HIM'	him//////////+ hym/
131. 'HITHER'	
132. 'HOLY'	
133. 'HOW'	how///+
134. 'HUNDRED'	hundreth/
135. 'KNOW'	ken knew/
136. 'LADY'	lady
137. 'LAUGH' . pt	
138. 'LAW'	
139. 'LESS'	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
140. 'LIFE' . pl	lyff//
141. 'LITTLE'	lityll/
142. 'LIVE' vb	leiff///// leyff
143. 'LORD'	lord(sb)///// lord(vb)//
144. 'LOVE' sb, vb	luff//////// lowe(sb)
145. 'LOW'	
146. 'MAKES' contr	
147. 'MAY'. pl	may///+
148. 'MON'	
149. 'MONTH'	moneth
150. 'MOON'	
151. 'MOTHER'. pl	
152. 'MY'	my
153. 'NAME' sb	name
154. 'NEITHER' pron	
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'	
156. 'NEVER'	newj / /
157. 'NEW'	new//
158. 'NIGH' vb	
159. 'NINE' ord	
160. 'NORTH'	
161. 'NOW'	now//
162. 'OLD'	ald
163. 'ONE' adj, pron	ane ' /
164. 'OR'	
165. 'OTHER' indef.def	oyj /
166. 'OUR'	
167. 'OUT'	out//
168. 'OWN' adj	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
198. 'TRUE'	trew/////
199. 'TWELVE', ord	tuelff
200. 'TWENTY'	
201. 'TWO'	twa//
202. 'UPON'	apon///+
203. 'WAY'	way/
204. 'WEEK' , pl	weill/////
205. 'WELL' adv	weyll//
206. 'WENT' pl	went
207. 'WHETHER'	quhey)
208. 'WHITHER'	
209. 'WHY'	quhy
210. 'WITEN'	
211. 'WITHOUT' pr adv	w ^t out (pr) w ^t outy) // witht out
212. 'WORSE', sup	
213. 'WORSHIP" sb. vb. adj	worschip
214. 'YE'	ye/// zhe ze////
215. 'YOU'	yow//////////, zow/
216. 'YOUR'	zour
217. 'YEAR'	zer
218. 'YOUNG'	zing zhong zong//

ITEM

FORM

- 1. 'THE' ye////////////////////
- 2. 'THESE' yir//
- 3. 'THOSE'
- 4. 'SHE'
- 5. 'HER' hyr hir
- 6. 'IT' it////,
- 7. 'THEY' yai////////////////////
- 8. 'THEM' yaim//////// ya^h
- 9. 'THEIR' yar///
- 10. 'SUCH' sic///
- 11. 'WHICH' quhilk///
- 12. 'EACH'
- 13. 'MANY' mony////
- 14. 'MAN' man//// ma^h//// ma^hheid
- 15. 'ANY' ony
- 16. 'MUCH' mekill
- 17. 'ARE' ar////
- 18. 'WERE' war////////
- 19. 'IS' is////,
- 20. 'WAS' was////////////////////, wes
- 21. 'SHALL' sg. pl sall////
- 22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl suld//
- 23. 'WILL' sg. pl will//// wyll
- 24. 'WOULD' sg.pl wald////////

ItemForm

51. 'WHERE'	quhar/
52. 'MIGHT' vb. 2sg. pl	my ^t /////
53. 'THROUGH'	throw/// throu
54. 'WHEN'	quhen///////////////// quhe
55. Substantive plural	is///////////////// p/////////////////
	ys////////
56. Present participle	and///////////////// n yn/ in
57. Verbal substantive	-yng//// ing/
58. 3sg present indicative	-is///////////////// p///// ys/
59. Present plural	
60. Weak preterite	-yt////////////////////////
	it///////////////// d t
61. Weak past participle	-it//////// yt//////// t/// d
62. Strong past participle	-n/// in// yn//
63. 'ABOUT' adv. pr	about//
64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr	
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne syn. '
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all////////
68. 'AMONG' adv. pr	
69. 'ANSWER' sb. vb	ansuer// ansuerd
70. 'ASK'	
71. 'AT' + inf	
72. 'AT" rel	
73. 'AWAY'	
74. 'BE' ppl	beyn///
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	befor/// beforn. '
76. 'BEGAN TO', pl	
77. 'BEHOVES'pt	

ItemForm

78. 'BENEATH'adv. pr	
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	betwyn
80. 'BLESSED'	
81. 'BOTH'	bathe// bath/ bat ^t
82. 'BROTHER'. pl	brodyr
83. 'BUSY' adj. vb	
84. 'BUT'	but//// bot//////////
85. 'BY'	be/// by//
86. 'CALL' pt. ppl	callyt (ppl) call/ callit (ppl)
87. 'CAME'	com//
88. 'CAN' pl	caḁ can///
89. 'CAST' pt ppl	kest/
90. 'CHOOSE' pt. ppl	chesyt (pt pl)
91. 'CHURCH'	kyrk
92. 'COULD' sg. pl	couth///
93. 'DAUGHTER'. pl	
94. 'DAY'	day' ' .
95. 'DEATH'	ded
96. 'DIE' . pt	deit (pt sg) de
97. 'DO' pt sg	doyn (pt sg) do(inf) did(1sg pt)
98. 'DOWN'	adoun' doun//
99. 'EARTH'	erd
100. 'EAST'	
101. 'EIGHT' ord	aucht
102. 'EITHER' pron	ay'
103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'	
104. 'ELEVEN' ord	
105. 'ENOUGH'	
106. 'EYE' pl	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
107. 'FAR' cpv	
108. 'FATHER', pl	fadyr
109. 'FELLOW'	falowschip
110. 'FIGHT'	
111. 'FIRE'	
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst
113. 'FIVE' ord	
114. 'FLESH'	
115. 'FOLLOW'	
116. 'FOUR' ord	
117. 'FOWL'pl	
118. 'FRIEND'	friendship/ freynd(is/ys)/ frend
119. 'FRUIT'	froyte
120. 'GAR' pt, ppl	gert(ppl pt sg pl)////////// gart/ gerr gerr (3sg pi)
121. 'GIVE', pt ,ppl	gyff/ gaiff (pt)/
122. 'GOOD', sb	gud//////////,
123. 'GROW'	grew (pt)
124. 'HAVE', inf, 3sg	has(3r sg)////////// haiff////////// have (2g) / haiff(pl)
125. 'HEAD'	
126. 'HEAVEN'	hewin
127. 'HEIGHT'	hycht/
128. 'HELL'	
129. 'HIGH', cpv, sup	hye' hie///
130. 'HIM'	him////////// / hym/
131. 'HITHER'	
132. 'HOLY'	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>		
133. 'HOW'	how///		
134. 'HUNDRED'			
135. 'KNOW'	knaw//	ken	
136. 'LADY'			
137. 'LAUGH'. pt			
138. 'LAW'	law		
139. 'LESS'			
140. 'LIFE'. pl	lyff (pl)	lyff////////	lywys(pl)
141. 'LITTLE'	litill		
142. 'LIVE' vb			
143. 'LORD'	lord/		
144. 'LOVE' sb, vb			
145. 'LOW'	law		
146. 'MAKES' cont			
147. 'MAY'. pl	may////////		
148. 'MON'			
149. 'MONTH'	monethis	moneth	
150. 'MOON'			
151. 'MOTHER'. pl			
152. 'MY'	my//	myn + V	
153. 'NAME' sb	naym (sb)		
154. 'NEITHER' pron			
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'			
156. 'NEVER'	new////		
157. 'NEW'			
158. 'NIGH'. vb			
159. 'NINE' ord			
160. 'NORTH'	north		
161. 'NOW'	now//		

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>	
162. 'OLD'		
163. 'ONE' adj. pron	one	ane//
164. 'OR'		
165. 'OTHER'. indef. def	ayir	oy/
166. 'OUR'	our	////
167. 'OUT'	out	
168. 'OWN' adj	awn	/
169. 'PEOPLE'		
170. 'POOR'		
171. 'PRAY'	pray	
172. 'RUN'		
173. 'SAY'	say/	sayis (3sg pi)
174. 'SEE'	se	/////
175. 'SEEK'		
176. 'SELF'. pl	selff	////
177. 'SEVEN'.ord		
178. 'SIN'sb. vb		
179. 'SISTER'.pl		
180. 'SIX'. ord		
181. 'SOME'	sum	/
182. 'SON'		
183. 'SORROW' sb. vb		
184. 'SOUL'.pl		
185. 'SOUTH'		
186. 'STAR' pl		
187. 'STEAD'	steid.	sted
188. 'SUN'	son	/
189. 'TAKES' contr. ppl		
190. 'TEN'. ord		

Item

Form

191. 'THEE'

192. 'THOU'

193. 'THY'

yi////

194. 'THITHER'

195. 'THOUSAND'

thousand

196. 'THREE'

thre

197. 'TOGETHER'

198. 'TRUE'

trew

199. 'TWELVE', ord

200. 'TWENTY'

twenty

201. 'TWO'

twa/

202. 'UPON'

apon/////

203. 'WAY'

204. 'WEEL' pl

205. 'WELL' adv

weill////////////////// weyll(fayr)

weill (fair)// weyll////

206. 'WENT', pl

went/////

207. 'WHETHER'

208. 'WHITHER'

209. 'WHY'

210. 'WITEN'

211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv

w^loutyn w^louty)/// w^lout

without

212. 'WORSE', sup

werst

213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb. adj

worschip////////

214. 'YE'

ȝe// // ȝhe// ye////

215. 'YOU'

yow//////// you ȝow////////

216. 'YOUR'

ȝour////////

217. 'YEAR'

ȝer///

Item

Form

218. 'YOUNG'

ITEM

FORM

1. 'THE'	ye////////+
2. 'THESE'	yir////////
3. 'THOSE'	gon
4. 'SHE'	scho
5. 'HER'	
6. 'IT'	it,
7. 'THEY'	yai////////+
8. 'THEM'	yaim//////////////////////////////////// ya ^u
9. 'THEIR'	yair// y ^u //////// yar////
10. 'SUCH'	sic////
11. 'WHICH'	quhilk////////+
12. 'EACH'	ilka// ilk ilkane e ^u ilk/
13. 'MANY'	mony///,
14. 'MAN'	man'////////// ma ^u lyast ma ^u heid
15. 'ANY'	ony//
16. 'MUCH'	mekill///
17. 'ARE'	ar///
18. 'WERE'	war////////
19. 'IS'	is///,
20. 'WAS'	was///, wes
21. 'SHALL' sg. pl	sall////////+
22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl	suld///
23. 'WILL' sg. pl	will//
24. 'WOULD' sg.pl	wald///,

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
25. 'TO' + sb	to//////////////////// till//////////////////// tyll
26. 'TO' + inf	to//////////////////// //// till//
27. 'FROM'	ffra (line initial)//fra////////
28. 'AFTER'	eft eft ²
29. 'THEN'	yan////+ syn/// syne
30. 'THAN'	yan/
31. 'THOUGH'	yo ^t
32. 'IF'	gyff/
33. 'AS'	as +
34. 'AS' + 'AS'	als.....as
35. 'AGAINST'	agayn agane
36. 'AGAIN'	agayn////////
37. 'ERE' conj	or
38. 'SINCE' adv. conj	sen //
39. 'YET'	zeit
40. 'WHILE'	quhill
41. 'STRENGTH' vb	strenth (sb)// strenth (is)/
42. 'LENGTH', vb	
43. 'WH'	quh +
44. 'NOT'	no ^t ////////// nocht
45. 'NOR'	nor
46. 'A', 'O'	
47. 'WORLD'	warld
48. 'THINK'	
49. 'WORK' sb. vb	werk (sb) wyrk (vb)

ItemForm

50. 'THERE'

ȝ////////// yar// ȝ
yair///

51. 'WHERE'

quhar/////+

52. 'MIGHT' vb. 2sg. pl

mycht//// myt myt//////////

53. 'THROUGH'

through/// throu/ thro^t
throw

54. 'WHEN'

quhen////

55. Substantive plural

is///////// , ȝ//////////
ys//////////

56. Present participle

and/////

57. Verbal substantiv

yng//// ing/

58. 3sg. present indicative

is///// ys/ ȝ

59. Present plural

60. Weak preterite

-yt//////////
it///////// t///////// d///
ed// yd' id/

61. Weak past participle

yt//// t ed d

62. Strong past participle

yn/ in

63. 'ABOUT' adv pr

about////

64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr

abuff

65. 'AFTERWARDS'

syn

66. 'AIR'

67. 'ALL'

all//

68. 'AMONG' adv. pr

amang////

69. 'ANSWER' sb. vb

ansuerd ansuer(sb)

70. 'ASK'

ask/ askyt/

71. 'AT' + inf

72. 'AT' rel

at/.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
73. 'AWAY'	away/
74. 'BE' ppl	beyn/ bene
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	befor///// befor
76. 'BEGAN TO'	
77. 'BEHOVES'	
78. 'BENEATH' adv. pr	
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	
80. 'BLESSED'	
81. 'BOTH'	bathe/// baith/
82. 'BROTHER'. pl	broy)
83. 'BUSY' adj. vb	
84. 'BUT'	bot//////////////////// but///
85. 'BY'	be// by
86. 'CALL' pt. ppl	call
87. 'CAME'	com////////
88. 'CAN' pl	can////////
89. 'CAST'. pt. ppl	kest (pt)
90. 'CHOOSE' pt. ppl	
91. 'CHURCH'	
92. 'COULD' sg.pl	couth/ coud/
93. 'DAUGHTER'. pl	
94. 'DAY'	day
95. 'DEATH'	ded//
96. 'DIE'. pt	de///
97. 'DO' pt sg	did (1 ³ sg pt)// done(2sg pt)
	do(Inf) do dois(3sg pi)
98. 'DOWN'	down///// down
99. 'EARTH'	
100. 'EAST'	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
101. 'EIGHT' ord	
102. 'EITHER' pro	ay)
103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'	
104. 'ELEVEN' ord	
105. 'ENOUGH'	
106. 'EYE' pl	
107. 'FAR' cpv	
108. 'FATHER', pl	fadyr/
109. 'FELLOW'	falow(is)/ falow(schip)
110. 'FIGHT'	fycht(v)
111. 'FIRE'	fyr
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst
113. 'FIVE' ord	
114. 'FLESH'	
115. 'FOLLOW'	
116. 'FOUR' ord	four/
117. 'FOWL' pl	
118. 'FRIEND'	freynd
119. 'FRUIT'	
120. 'GAR' , pt. ppl	gert(pt)////
121. 'GIVE' , pt. ppl	gyffe
122. 'GOOD', sb	gud////////
123. 'GROW'	wox (pt)
124. 'HAVE', inf. 3sg 2sg. pl	has(2sg) / haiff(1sg)// haiff(pl)
125. 'HEAD'	ma)heid
126. 'HEAVEN'	hewin
127. 'HEIGHT'	hicht(sb)
128. 'HELL'	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
129. 'HIGH' cpv. sup	hie/
130. 'HIM'	him////////////////////////////////////+
131. 'HITHER'	
132. 'HOLY'	
133. 'HOW'	how
134. 'HUNDRED'	
135. 'KNOW'	knew (pt) ken knawis(2sg p.i.) knaw//
136. 'LADY'	
137. 'LAUGH' pt	
138. 'LAW'	vtlaw
139. 'LESS'	les
140. 'LIFE' , pl	lyff//
141. 'LITTLE'	litill////
142. 'LIVE' vb	
143. 'LORD'	lordschip/ lord/ lord (pl)
144. 'LOVE', sb. vb	
145. 'LOW'	law/
146. 'MAKES' contr	mak (3rd sg pi)// maid (pt)// to ma
147. 'MAY' pl	may/ ,
148. 'MON'	
149. 'MONTH'	
150. 'MOON'	
151. 'MOTHER', pl	
152. 'MY'	my ,
153. 'NAME' sb	naym name(inf)
154. 'NEITHER' pron	
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'	noy) ...nor

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
156. 'NEVER'	new
157. 'NEW'	new/+
158. 'NIGH' vb	
159. 'NINE' ord	
160. 'NORTH'	north//
161. 'NOW'	now//+
162. 'OLD'	auld
163. 'ONE' adj, pron	ane/////+
164. 'OR'	or
165. 'OTHER' indef, def	oy// oyir toy toyir
166. 'OUR'	our
167. 'OUT'	out+ owt/ owt
168. 'OWN' adj	
169. 'PEOPLE'	
170. 'POOR'	pur
171. 'PRAY'	pray prayit
172. 'RUN'	ran (pt)
173. 'SAY'	say/
174. 'SEE'	se'
175. 'SEEK'	so ^t (pt)/ socht(pt)/ sek (inf)
176. 'SELF' , pl	selff, '/// sell'
177. 'SEVEN' ord	
178. 'SIN' sb, vb	
179. 'SISTER' ,pl	syst ^s (sg)
180. 'SIX' ord	sex
181. 'SOME'	sum///
182. 'SON'	sonnys
183. 'SORROW' sb, vb	sorow
184. 'SOUL' pl	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Form</u>
185. 'SOUTH'	south
186. 'STAR' pl	stern (ys)
187. 'STEAD'	sted//
188. 'SUN'	son
189. 'TAKES' contr. ppl	ta tane(ppl)/
190. 'TEN' ord	
191. 'THEE'	
192. 'THOU'	
193. 'THY'	yi///+
194. 'THITHER'	yidd ²
195. 'THOUSAND'	thousand thowsand
196. 'THREE'	thre/////
197. 'TOGETHER'	to gydd ²
198. 'TRUE'	trew/
199. 'TWELVE' . ord	
200. 'TWENTY'	twenty
201. 'TWO'	twa'//
202. 'UPON'	apon//+
203. 'WAY'	way
204. 'WEEL' pl	
205. 'WELL' adv	weill////////// weyll
206. 'WENT' pl	went+
207. 'WHETHER'	
208. 'WHITHER'	
209. 'WHY'	
210. 'WITEN'	
211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv	w ^l outy ² /// withoutyn
212. 'WORSE' sup	

Item

Form

213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb. adj

214. 'YE'

ʒe///// ye///// ʒhe

215. 'YOU'

yow//////////////////////////////////// ʒou ʒow

you

216. 'YOUR'

ʒour//

217. 'YEAR'

218. 'YOUNG'

Text: Adv MS 19.2.2.(1) *Brwys* Scribe: John Ramsay

Folios: 4a.4b.5a.5b.6a

Date: 1489

ITEM

FORM

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. 'THE' | ye//////////, |
| 2. 'THESE' | |
| 3. 'THOSE' | yon gone |
| 4. 'SHE' | |
| 5. 'HER' | |
| 6. 'IT' | it////, |
| 7. 'THEY' | yai//////////, |
| 8. 'THEM' | yaim////////, |
| 9. 'THEIR' | y//////// yar yair |
| 10. 'SUCH' | sic// |
| 11. 'WHICH' | |
| 12. 'EACH' | ilk ilkane
ilkan |
| 13. 'MANY' | mony// |
| 14. 'MAN' | man// mann |
| 15. 'ANY' | |
| 16. 'MUCH' | mekill // |
| 17. 'ARE' | ar///// |
| 18. 'WERE' | wer// war////////// |
| 19. 'IS' | is///// |
| 20. 'WAS' | wes//////////
was// |
| 21. 'SHALL' sg. pl | sall//////// |
| 22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl | suld// |
| 23. 'WILL' sg. pl | will |
| 24. 'WOULD' sg.pl | wald// |

ITEMFORM

25. 'TO' + sb	to////////// till//////////
26. 'TO' + inf	to////////// till///
27. 'FROM'	ffra/ fra/ for
28. 'AFTER'	ϣeft eftyr eft
29. 'THEN'	yan yen///// syne/////
30. 'THAN'	yan
31. 'THOUGH'	
32. 'IF'	gyff/ giff// gyf
33. 'AS'	as//
34. 'AS' + 'AS'	
35. 'AGAINST'	aganys agayn
36. 'AGAIN'	agayne/
37. 'ERE' conj	or
38. 'SINCE' adv. conj	sen
39. 'YET'	zeit/ yheit yheyt
40. 'WHILE'	quhile quhill//
41. 'STRENGTH' vb	
42. 'LENGTH', vb	
43. 'WH'	quh //
44. 'NOT'	na not////////
45. 'NOR'	na/
46. 'A', 'O'	a/
47. 'WORLD'	
48. 'THINK'	tho't//////// think thought yo't// yocht
49. 'WORK' sb, vb	
50. 'THERE'	yar/// ϣ////////
51. 'WHERE'	

ITEMFORM

52. 'MIGHT' vb. 2sg. pl	ma myt/ mycht
53. 'THROUGH'	throw//
54. 'WHEN'	quhen////////+ qwheyn
55. Substantive plural	-ys////////// -is/// ph ////////// es/
56. Present participle	-yng and////////
57. Verbal substantiv	-ing//////// yng//
58. 3sg. present indicative	-ys/// \emptyset -is
59. Present plural	-is/ ys
60. Weak preterite	-it//// -yd yt//////////
61. Weak past participle	-it////////// yt//////////
62. Strong past participle	-n//// yn
63. 'ABOUT' adv. pr	about
64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr	
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	eft ^w wart eft ^w wart syne//////// syn
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all////////
68. 'AMONG' adv. pr	amang
69. 'ANSWER' sb. vb	
70. 'ASK'	askyt
71. 'AT' + inf	
72. 'AT' rel	
73. 'AWAY'	
74. 'BE' ppl	bene
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	befor//
76. 'BEGAN TO'	gan//////// ga
77. 'BEHOVES' pt	
78. 'BENEATH' adv. pr	
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	

ITEMFORM

80. 'BLESSED'

81. 'BOTH'

bat/

82. 'BROTHER'. pl

brod^u

brodyr

83. 'BUSY' adj, vb

84. 'BUT' adv

but///////// bot//////////

85. 'BY'

by/+

86. 'CALL' pt, ppl

callyt

callit//

87. 'CAME'

com/

come//

88. 'CAN' pl

can

89. 'CAST'. pt, ppl

90. 'CHOOSE' pt, ppl

91. 'CHURCH'

kyrk

92. 'COULD' sg,pl

93. 'DAUGHTER'. pl

94. 'DAY'

day//

95. 'DEATH'

dede

96. 'DIE'. pt

deyt deis

97. 'DO' pt sg

do////

did//

done

98. 'DOWN'

99. 'EARTH'

100. 'EAST'

101. 'EIGHT' ord

102. 'EITHER' pro

ilk

103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'

ayir/

104. 'ELEVEN' ord

105. 'ENOUGH'

inewch

106. 'EYE' pl

107. 'FAR' cpv

108. 'FATHER'

109. 'FELLOW'

ITEMFORM

110. 'FIGHT'	fy ^t ////////(v) fecht(v) fycht(v) fycht(n)
111. 'FIRE'	
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst
113. 'FIVE' ord	
114. 'FLESH'	
115. 'FOLLOW'	
116. 'FOUR' ord	
117. 'FOWL'	
118. 'FRIEND'	freynd (pl)/ ffrend (pl) frenschyp
119. 'FRUIT'	
120. 'GAR' . pt. ppl	gert/////
121. 'GIVE' . pt. ppl	gave// gaiff gevyn gaff
122. 'GOOD', sb	gud//////// gude
123. 'GROW'	
124. 'HAVE'. inf. 3sg 2sg. pl	have/ haiff had// haid/ has:// had/////
125. 'HEAD'	hewid
126. 'HEAVEN'	hevy hewyn
127. 'HEIGHT'	hycht
128. 'HELL'	
129. 'HIGH' cpv. sup	hy // hyer
130. 'HIM'	hym////////// hɪ him
131. 'HITHER'	
132. 'HOLY'	
133. 'HOW'	how

134. 'HUNDRED'

ITEM

FORM

135. 'KNOW'

wate wyt wat

136. 'LADY'

137. 'LAUGH' pt

lauch(and)

138. 'LAW'

139. 'LESS'

140. 'LIFE' pl

lyff//

141. 'LITTLE'

litill/

142. 'LIVE' vb

143. 'LORD'

lord///, lording

144. 'LOVE' sb, vb

145. 'LOW'

146. 'MAKES' contr

ma

147. 'MAY' pl

may/////

148. 'MON'

149. 'MONTH'

150. 'MOON'

151. 'MOTHER' pl

152. 'MY'

153. 'NAME' sb

154. 'NEITHER' pron

155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'

156. 'NEVER'

new

157. 'NEW'

158. 'NIGH' vb

159. 'NINE' ord

ITEMFORM

160. 'NORTH'

161. 'NOW'

now//

162. 'OLD'

eldrŕ "elders"

163. 'ONE' adj, pron

164. 'OR'

or

165. 'OTHER' indef, def

oyŕ///// oyir// toyŕ

166. 'OUR'

our///

167. 'OUT'

out/ owt/

168. 'OWN' adj

awyne

169. 'PEOPLE'

170. 'POOR'

171. 'PRAY'

172. 'RUN'

173. 'SAY'

sayd sayis said//////// say///

174. 'SEE'

se//// saw// seyn

175. 'SEEK'

soŕ

176. 'SELF' , pl

177. 'SEVEN' ord

178. 'SIN' sb, vb

179. 'SISTER' pl

180. 'SIX' ord

181. 'SOME'

sum////

182. 'SON'

son

183. 'SORROW' sb, vb

184. 'SOUL' pl

185. 'SOUTH'

186. 'STAR' pl

187. 'STEAD'

steid sted

188. 'SUN'

ITEMFORM

189. 'TAKES' contr. ppl	tuk/ tak//////// tane/ tais ta
190. 'TEN'	
191. 'THEE'	
192. 'THOU'	
193. 'THY'	yi//
194. 'THITHER'	yidd ^θ //
195. 'THOUSAND'	
196. 'THREE'	
197. 'TOGETHER'	
198. 'TRUE'	trew(v) trow(v)
199. 'TWELVE' , ord	
200. 'TWENTY'	
201. 'TWO'	twa
202. 'UPON'	apon
203. 'WAY'	way/
204. 'WEEL' pl	
205. 'WELL' adv	weill////////// weile//
206. 'WENT' pl	went(pptc) went//////// wend /
207. 'WHETHER'	quheyir quhey ^ʝ /
208. 'WHITHER'	
209. 'WHY'	
210. 'WITEN'	wate
211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv	forowtyn//// forowty ^ʝ
212. 'WORSE' sup	
213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb. adj	worschip
214. 'YE'	ze//////////

ITEM

FORM

215. 'YOU'

ʒow///// y^u yow// yhe

216. 'YOUR'

ʒ²/ ʒour ʒowr

217. 'YEAR'

218. 'YOUNG'

ʒoung

Text: Adv MS 19.2.2.(1) *Brwys*

Scribe: John Ramsay

Folios: 24a -26a

Date: 1489

ITEM

FORM

1. 'THE'	ye/////////
2. 'THESE'	yir
3. 'THOSE'	
4. 'SHE'	scho//
5. 'HER'	hyr//
6. 'IT'	it.
7. 'THEY'	yai/////////
8. 'THEM'	gaim///// yaim///////// yame
9. 'THEIR'	y///////// yar// ya
10. 'SUCH'	swilk sic// sik
11. 'WHICH'	
12. 'EACH'	ilk
13. 'MANY'	menge mony.
14. 'MAN'	man/ mege
15. 'ANY'	
16. 'MUCH'	mekill
17. 'ARE'	ar//
18. 'WERE'	war.////// wer'
19. 'IS'	is////
20. 'WAS'	wes////// was//
21. 'SHALL' sg. pl	sall////
22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl	suld////
23. 'WILL' sg. pl	will
24. 'WOULD' sg.pl	wald////
25. 'TO' + sb	to// till////

ITEMFORM

26. 'TO' + inf	to//	till//	til
27. 'FROM'	fra		
28. 'AFTER'	eftir/		
29. 'THEN'	yen///	yan/	yeð
30. 'THAN'			
31. 'THOUGH'			
32. 'IF'	gyff	giff//	
33. 'AS'	as		
34. 'AS + 'AS'			
35. 'AGAINST'	agayne		
36. 'AGAIN'	agayn/	agane//	agað
37. 'ERE' conj			
38. 'SINCE' adv, conj	sen /		
39. 'YET'	geit		
40. 'WHILE'	quhile//	quhill	ye quhill
41. 'STRENGTH' vb			
42. 'LENGTH', vb	langer		
43. 'WH'	quh ///		
44. 'NOT'	na	not, nott, nott	nocht/
45. 'NOR'	na		
46. 'A', 'O'	ane hart		
47. 'WORLD'			
48. 'THINK'			
49. 'WORK' sb, vb			
50. 'THERE'	yar.	ð.	ð
51. 'WHERE'	quhar///		
52. 'MIGHT' vb, 2sg, pl	myt///	mycht	
53. 'THROUGH'	throw//		

ITEMFORM

54. 'WHEN'	quhen////////+
55. Substantive plural	-is// ① ƒ//// -ys////////
56. Present participle	-and////////
57. Verbal substantitve	-ing//////// -yng/
58. 3sg. present indicative	-in -ys
59. Present plural	-ys
60. Weak preterite	-yt////////// it -t
61. Weak past participle	-yt//////// it
62. Strong past participle	-yn -ne
63. 'ABOUT' adv pr	abovt
64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr	
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne/
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all////+
68. 'AMONG'	amang (pr) /
69. 'ANSWER' sb. vb	
70. 'ASK'	
71. 'AT + inf	
72. 'AT' rel	
73. 'AWAY'	away
74. 'BE' ppl	bein hene
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	
76. 'BEGAN TO'	gan// begouth to
77. 'BEHOVES'	
78. 'BENEATH' adv. pr	
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	
80. 'BLESSED'	
81. 'BOTH'	bath
82. 'BROTHER' pl	broyd brodyr

ITEMFORM

83. 'BUSY' adj. vb

84. 'BUT'

bot (adv)///////// but(cj)////

bot cj//// but(adv)

85. 'BY'

by// be

86. 'CALL' pt. ppl

87. 'CAME'

come//

88. 'CAN' pl

can/

89. 'CAST'. pt. ppl

kest

90. 'CHOOSE' pt. ppl

91. 'CHURCH'

92. 'COULD' sg. pl

93. 'DAUGHTER'. pl

94. 'DAY'

day/

95. 'DEATH'

96. 'DIE'. pt

de

97. 'DO' pt- sg

done (ppl) did (pt pl)

98. 'DOWN'

down/ doune

99. 'EARTH'

erd

100. 'EAST'

101. 'EIGHT' ord

102. 'EITHER' pron

ayır ilka

103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'

104. 'ELEVEN' ord

105. 'ENOUGH'

yneucht

106. 'EYE' pl

107. 'FAR' cpv

108. 'FATHER'

ITEMFORM

109. 'FELLOW'	falowis
110. 'FIGHT'	fycht
111. 'FIRE'	
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst
113. 'FIVE' ord	v
114. 'FLESH'	
115. 'FOLLOW'	
116. 'FOUR' ord	
117. 'FOWL'	
118. 'FRIEND'	
119. 'FRUIT'	
120. 'GAR' . pt. ppl	gart ger gert //
121. 'GIVE' . pt. ppl	gaff
122. 'GOOD'. sb	gud
123. 'GROW'	
124. 'HAVE'. inf. 3sg 2sg. pl	haiff (pl)/ has (3sg) had(3sgpt)// haf(3sgp.i) haiff(nonf inf) had (pt pl)
125. 'HEAD'	
126. 'HEAVEN'	
127. 'HEIGHT'	
128. 'HELL'	
129. 'HIGH' cpv. sup	hy' /
130. 'HIM'	hym//// him///// hy' /
131. 'HITHER'	hyddyrtwart
132. 'HOLY'	
133. 'HOW'	how/ . . .
134. 'HUNDRED'	hund ^o
135. 'KNOW'	kend knaw (inf)

ITEMFORM

136. 'LADY'	
137. 'LAUGH'	
138. 'LAW'	
139. 'LESS'	
140. 'LIFE'	
141. 'LITTLE'	
142. 'LIVE' vb	
143. 'LORD'	lord
144. 'LOVE' sb. vb	
145. 'LOW'	
146. 'MAKES' contr	mak
147. 'MAY' pl	may////
148. 'MON'	
149. 'MONTH'	
150. 'MOON'	
151. 'MOTHER' pl	
152. 'MY'	
153. 'NAME' sb	
154. 'NEITHER' pron	
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'	noy ^tne
156. 'NEVER'	
157. 'NEW'	
158. 'NIGHT' vb	
159. 'NINE' ord	
160. 'NORTH'	north
161. 'NOW'	
162. 'OLD'	
163. 'ONE' adj. pron	ane/
164. 'OR'	

ITEMFORM

165. 'OTHER' indef. def	oy / toy
166. 'OUR'	
167. 'OUT'	owt /
168. 'OWN' adj	
169. 'PEOPLE'	
170. 'POOR'	
171. 'PRAY'	
172. 'RUN'	rane (pt pl)
173. 'SAY'	
174. 'SEE'	se /// saw // sene (ppt)
175. 'SEEK'	
176. 'SELF' , pl	
177. 'SEVEN', ord	
178. 'SIN' sb, vb	
179. 'SISTER' pl	
180. 'SIX' ord	sex
181. 'SOME'	sum ///
182. 'SON'	sonys
183. 'SORROW' sb, vb	
184. 'SOUL' pl	
185. 'SOUTH'	
186. 'STAR' pl	
187. 'STEAD'	sted / steid
188. 'SUN'	
189. 'TAKES' contr. ppt	ta / tane (ppt) /
190. 'TEN' ord	
191. 'THEE'	
192. 'THOU'	
193. 'THY'	

ITEMFORM

194. 'THITHER'	
195. 'THOUSAND'	thowsand
196. 'THREE'	thre/// thrid/
197. 'TOGETHER'	
198. 'TRUE'	
199. 'TWELVE' . ord	
200. 'TWENTY'	
201. 'TWO'	twa//
202. 'UPON'	apon
203. 'WAY'	way
204. 'WEEL' pl	
205. 'WELL' adv	weile/// wele weyle weil/
206. 'WENT' pl	went/
207. 'WHETHER'	
208. 'WHITHER'	
209. 'WHY'	
210. 'WITEN'	
211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv	forowtyn// forowty ² //
212. 'WORSE' sup	
213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb. adj	
214. 'YE'	ye
215. 'YOU'	ȝour// ȝe///// ȝow//
216. 'YOUR'	
217. 'YEAR'	
218. 'YOUNG'	

Text: Adv MS 19.2.2.(1) *Brwys*

Scribe: John Ramsay

Folios: 44a - 46a

Date: 1489

ITEM

1. 'THE'
2. 'THESE'
3. 'THOSE'
4. 'SHE'
5. 'HER'
6. 'IT'
7. 'THEY'
8. 'THEM'
9. 'THEIR'
10. 'SUCH'
11. 'WHICH'
12. 'EACH'
13. 'MANY'
14. 'MAN'
15. 'ANY'
16. 'MUCH'
17. 'ARE'
18. 'WERE'
19. 'IS'
20. 'WAS'
21. 'SHALL' sg. pl
22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl
23. 'WILL' sg. pl
24. 'WOULD' sg.pl
25. 'TO' + sb
26. 'TO' + inf

FORM

ye///+
yir

scho/

it +
yai////////+
yaim//////// yað/ yað//
ȝ/// yar ȝis/
sic////

ilk ilka
mony /////
men//////// menge man/ mað///
ony/
mekill
ar// er
war//////// wer//
is+
wes//////// was/ wais
sall////////
suld//
will/
wald//
to till////////
to//////// till////////

ITEMFORM

27. 'FROM'	fra/
28. 'AFTER'	eftyr
29. 'THEN'	ya / yan gen
30. 'THAN'	ya
31. 'THOUGH'	
32. 'IF'	giff
33. 'AS'	
34. 'AS + 'AS'	
35. 'AGAINST'	agayne
36. 'AGAIN'	agayne// agane
37. 'ERE'	or ar/
38. 'SINCE' adv. conj	sen
39. 'YET'	zete/ zeyt zet
40. 'WHILE'	quhill//
41. 'STRENGTH' vb	strenth
42. 'LENGTH'. vb	
43. 'WH'	quh / / / / /
44. 'NOT'	no ^t / / / / nocht
45. 'NOR'	
46. 'A' . 'O'	
47. 'WORLD'	
48. 'THINK'	tho ^t
49. 'WORK' sb, vb	
50. 'THERE'	yar / / / y / / / /
51. 'WHERE'	quhar/
52. 'MIGHT' vb, 2sg, pl	mycht/ myt / / / / / / / / / / / / myty

ITEM

FORM

53. 'THROUGH'	through//
54. 'WHEN'	quhen/// qwhen
55. Substantive plural	-is//////// ys//// -p////////// s θ
56. Present participle	-and////////
57. Verbal substantiv	-ing//
58. 3sg. present indicative	-ys
59. Present plural	
60. Weak preterite	-yt////////// it//
61. Weak past participle	-yt////////// it////
62. Strong past participle	-yn -ne in
63. 'ABOUT' adv pr	about/
64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr	
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne///
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all////////
68. 'AMONG'	amang/
69. 'ANSWER' sb. vb	
70. 'ASK'	askit
71. 'AT + inf	
72. 'AT' rel	
73. 'AWAY'	away//
74. 'BE' ppl	hene////
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	hefor/ air' ere
76. 'BEGAN TO' pl	gan/
77. 'BEHOVES' pt	
78. 'BENEATH' adv. pr	benewth (pr)
79. 'BETWEEN' pr	
80. 'BLESSED'	

ITEM

FORM

81. 'BOTH'	bathe	bath/
82. 'BROTHER'	broy/	
83. 'BUSY' adj, vb		
84. 'BUT'	bot//////////	but///
85. 'BY'	be	by
86. 'CALL' pt, ppl	call·	
87. 'CAME'	com////	cum/
88. 'CAN'	can//	
89. 'CAST', pt, ppl	kest	cast
90. 'CHOOSE' pt, ppl	cheys	
91. 'CHURCH'	kirk	
92. 'COULD' sg, pl		
93. 'DAUGHTER'		
94. 'DAY'		
95. 'DEATH'	ded	
96. 'DIE', pt	dede	deed
97. 'DO'	do	downe (ppl) did (3sg pt) done
98. 'DOWN'	doune	doun
99. 'EARTH'	erd	
100. 'EAST'		
101. 'EIGHT' ord		
102. 'EITHER' pro	ay/	
103. 'EITHER' 'OR'		
104. 'ELEVEN' ord		
105. 'ENOUGH'	snou	
106. 'EYE' pl		
107. 'FAR' cpv		
108. 'FATHER'		
109. 'FELLOW'		

ITEMFORM

110. 'FIGHT'

ficht///// fycht// fyt

feland/// fyt faucht felting/

111. 'FIRE'

112. 'FIRST'

113. 'FIVE' ord

fif/

114. 'FLESH'

fless

115. 'FOLLOW'

116. 'FOUR' ord

117. 'FOWL'

118. 'FRIEND'

119. 'FRUIT'

120. 'GAR' . pt. ppl

gert//

121. 'GIVE' . pt. ppl

gaf/ geff gave gaff

122. 'GOOD' . sb

gud// gude

123. 'GROW'

124. 'HAVE' . inf. 3sg

had (3sg pt) haff (nonf)

haiff(pt sg) haff(pt pl)

2sg. pl

125. 'HEAD'

126. 'HEAVEN'

127. 'HEIGHT'

hyt/

128. 'HELL'

129. 'HIGH' cpv. sup

hy//

130. 'HIM'

him///// hi// hy

131. 'HITHER'

132. 'HOLY'

133. 'HOW'

how

134. 'HUNDRED'

hund^{oo}

ITEMFORM

135. 'KNOW'	ken
136. 'LADY'	
137. 'LAUGH' pt	
138. 'LAW'	
139. 'LESS'	
140. 'LIFE'	
141. 'LITTLE'	litill/
142. 'LIVE' vb	lif
143. 'LORD'	lord/ lord
144. 'LOVE' sb. vb	luftyt (vb pt)
145. 'LOW'	
146. 'MAKES' contr	ma
147. 'MAY' pl	may//
148. 'MON'	
149. 'MONTH'	
150. 'MOON'	
151. 'MOTHER'	
152. 'MY'	
153. 'NAME' sb	namys (pl)
154. 'NEITHER' pron	
155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'	
156. 'NEVER'	neud
157. 'NEW'	
158. 'NIGH'	
159. 'NINE'	
160. 'NORTH'	
161. 'NOW'	
162. 'OLD'	
163. 'ONE' adj. pron	ane///

ITEMFORM

164. 'OR'			
165. 'OTHER' indef. def	oy////	toy//	
166. 'OUR'			
167. 'OUT'			
168. 'OWN'	awn		
169. 'PEOPLE'			
170. 'POOR'			
171. 'PRAY'			
172. 'RUN'	ran		
173. 'SAY'	said		
174. 'SEE'	se////////	sene	
175. 'SEEK'			
176. 'SELF' , pl	yaim selwy	selff	
177. 'SEVEN'	sevin		
178. 'SIN' sb, vb			
179. 'SISTER' pl	sist ^o		
180. 'SIX' ord			
181. 'SOME'	som	sum//	
182. 'SON'			
183. 'SORROW' sb, vb			
184. 'SOUL' pl			
185. 'SOUTH'			
186. 'STAR' pl			
187. 'STEAD'	steid/	sted/	stad
188. 'SUN'			
189. 'TAKES' contr, ppl	ta/(inf)	tane(ppl)	
190. 'TEN'			
191. 'THEE'			
192. 'THOU'			

ITEMFORM

193. 'THY'		
194. 'THITHER'	yidd ^ʃ ward	yidd ^ʃ wart
195. 'THOUSAND'	thousand/	
196. 'THREE'	thre	thrid
197. 'TOGETHER'	to gydd ^ʃ	
198. 'TRUE'		
199. 'TWELVE' , ord		
200. 'TWENTY'		
201. 'TWO'	twa//	two
202. 'UPON'	apon/	
203. 'WAY'	way//	
204. 'WEEL' pl		
205. 'WELL' adv	weile weill////////	wele //////////
206. 'WENT' pl	geid	went
207. 'WHETHER'	ye quhey ^ʃ	
208. 'WHITHER'		
209. 'WHY'		
210. 'WITEN'	wist//	wat
211. 'WITHOUT' pr, adv	forowty ^ʃ //	w ^t owty ^ʃ w ^t out
212. 'WORSE' sup	wer	
213. 'WORSHIP' sb, vb, adj	worschip	
214. 'YE'	ge//	gow ^ʃ yow
215. 'YOU'		
216. 'YOUR'	gour///	
217. 'YEAR'		
218. 'YOUNG'		

Text: Adv MS 19.2.2.(1) *Brwys*

Scribe: John Ramsay

Folios: 64a - 66a

Date: 1489

ITEM

FORM

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. 'THE' | ye/// |
| 2. 'THESE' | yir |
| 3. 'THOSE' | ʒon |
| 4. 'SHE' | |
| 5. 'HER' | |
| 6. 'IT' | it |
| 7. 'THEY' | yai |
| 8. 'THEM' | yaim//////////
yaɗ//////// |
| 9. 'THEIR' | y////////// |
| 10. 'SUCH | sic// swilk// |
| 11. 'WHICH' | |
| 12. 'EACH' | ilk ilkane ilke ilka |
| 13. 'MANY' | mony |
| 14. 'MAN' | maɗ man maɗheid |
| 15. 'ANY' | |
| 16. 'MUCH' | mekill |
| 17. 'ARE' | ar er |
| 18. 'WERE' | war
wer weir |
| 19. 'IS' | is |
| 20. 'WAS' | wes
was wais |
| 21. 'SHALL' sg. pl | sall |
| 22. 'SHOULD' sg.pl | suld |
| 23. 'WILL' sg. pl | will |

ITEMFORM

, 24. 'WOULD' sg.pl

wald+

25. 'TO' + sb

to till/////////+

26. 'TO' + inf

to/////

till////////

27. 'FROM'

ffra(line initial)// fra eft

28. 'AFTER'

eftir eftre/// eft²

29. 'THEN'

ya²/// yan/// yen gen yane

30. 'THAN'

31. 'THOUGH'

thouch

32. 'IF'

gif// giff/////

33. 'AS'

as

34. 'AS + 'AS'

alsone... as eg. 66r.6.2 p162. 617

35. 'AGAINST'

aganys

36. 'AGAIN'

agayn/// agane///// agayne/

37. 'ERE' conj

ar// er/

38. 'SINCE' adv. conj

sen//

39. 'YET'

geyt geit

40. 'WHILE'

quhill////

41. 'STRENGTH' vb

strenth'

42. 'LENGTH', vb

43. 'WH'

quh'

44. 'NOT'

no^t/// nocht/

45. 'NOR'

46. 'A', 'O'

47. 'WORLD'

48. 'THINK'

tho^t think

49. 'WORK' sb, vb

50. 'THERE'

yar²/// ²///////// thar

ITEMFORM

51. 'WHERE'	quhar/
52. 'MIGHT' vb. 2sg. pl	mycht/ myt'//////// maucht macht
53. 'THROUGH'	throw//
54. 'WHEN'	quhen///// quhē'/////
55. Substantive plural	-ys//////// is//////// ϕ'////////
56. Present participle	and////////,
57. Verbal substantiv	yng/// ing/// / yn
58. 3sg. present indicative	is ϕ
59. Present plural	
60. Weak preterite	yt////////// it//////// it
61. Weak past participle	it///// t' d' yt////////
62. Strong past participle	yn/ y''
63. 'ABOUT' adv pr	about
64. 'ABOVE' adv. pr	
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne
66. 'AIR'	
67. 'ALL'	all .
68. 'AMONG'	amang/ /
69. 'ANSWER' sb, vb	ansuar (sb)
70. 'ASK'	ask
71. 'AT' + inf	
72. 'AT' rel	
73. 'AWAY'	away
74. 'BE' ppl	beine bene beis
75. 'BEFORE' adv. pr	befor
76. 'BEGAN TO'	gan
77. 'BEHOVES'	

ITEM

FORM

78. 'BENEATH' adv. pr

79. 'BETWEEN' pr

80. 'BLESSED'

81. 'BOTH'

bath/

82. 'BROTHER'

broy brod^oys(pl)

83. 'BUSY' adj. vb

84. 'BUT'

bot//////// but//

85. 'BY'

be/ by

86. 'CALL' pt. ppl

87. 'CAME'

com come

88. 'CAN' pl

can

89. 'CAST', pt. ppl

90. 'CHOOSE' pt. ppl

91. 'CHURCH'

92. 'COULD'

coutht

93. 'DAUGHTER'

doucht

94. 'DAY'

day

95. 'DEATH'

ded dede

96. 'DIE', pt

dey

97. 'DO'

do did (pt pl) done doyn(ppl)

98. 'DOWN'

doyne down^o doune^o

99. 'EARTH'

erd

100. 'EAST'

101. 'EIGHT' ord

102. 'EITHER' pro

athyr

103. 'EITHER' + 'OR'

104. 'ELEVEN' ord

105. 'ENOUGH'

inew

106. 'EYE' pl

ITEMFORM

107. 'FAR' cpv

108. 'FATHER' pl

109. 'FELLOW'

110. 'FIGHT'

111. 'FIRE'

112. 'FIRST'

113. 'FIVE' ord

114. 'FLESH'

115. 'FOLLOW'

116. 'FOUR' ord

117. 'FOWL'

118. 'FRIEND'

119. 'FRUIT'

120. 'GAR' , pt. ppl

121. 'GIVE' , pt. ppl

122. 'GOOD' , sb

123. 'GROW'

124. 'HAVE' , inf. 3sg

2sg. pl

125. 'HEAD'

126. 'HEAVEN'

127. 'HEIGHT'

128. 'HELL'

129. 'HIGH' cpv. sup

130. 'HIM'

fellone? 66r a9 p160 567

fycht(vb) fecht/ fe^l(vb) fe^l yn

fyt(Inf)

fyr pl / fyr/

gert- ger

git(nonf) gift(nonf)

gave(3sg p.t.)

gud

hat pl hass haft(Inf) had

(3 sg pl) haft (imp) hat(3 sg pl)

have (inf) haft (pl)

mað herd

hy

him

hD

ITEMFORM

131. 'HITHER'

132. 'HOLY'

133. 'HOW'

how

134. 'HUNDRED'

hund /

135. 'KNOW'

ken knawn knew

136. 'LADY'

137. 'LAUGH' pt

138. 'LAW'

139. 'LESS'

140. 'LIFE'

141. 'LITTLE'

litill /

142. 'LIVE' vb

143. 'LORD'

lord /

144. 'LOVE'

145. 'LOW'

146. 'MAKES'

ma

147. 'MAY' pl

may

148. 'MON'

mon

149. 'MONTH'

150. 'MOON'

151. 'MOTHER'

mod^o

152. 'MY'

my

153. 'NAME' sb

surnome 64v 9.31

154. 'NEITHER' pron

155. 'NEITHER' + 'NOR'

156. 'NEVER'

157. 'NEW'

new

158. 'NIGHT'

159. 'NINE'

ITEMFORM

160. 'NORTH'	north// north
161. 'NOW'	now/
162. 'OLD'	auld
163. 'ONE' adj. pron	
164. 'OR'	
165. 'OTHER' indef. def	oy // / / / / / other toy othyr /
166. 'OUR'	our
167. 'OUT'	owt
168. 'OWN'	
169. 'PEOPLE'	
170. 'POOR'	
171. 'PRAY'	
172. 'RUN'	
173. 'SAY'	say
174. 'SEE'	se sene(ppl) sawe
175. 'SEEK'	sek (inf)
176. 'SELF' , pl	
177. 'SEVEN'	sewyn
178. 'SIN' sb. vb	
179. 'SISTER' pl	
180. 'SIX' ord	
181. 'SOME'	sum
182. 'SON'	some
183. 'SORROW' sb. vb	
184. 'SOUL' pl	
185. 'SOUTH'	
186. 'STAR' pl	
187. 'STEAD'	sted

ITEMFORM

188. 'SUN'

189. 'TAKES' contr. ppl

190. 'TEN'

191. 'THEE'

192. 'THOU'

193. 'THY'

194. 'THITHER'

195. 'THOUSAND'

196. 'THREE'

197. 'TOGETHER'

198. 'TRUE'

199. 'TWELVE' , ord

200. 'TWENTY'

201. 'TWO'

202. 'UPON'

203. 'WAY'

204. 'WEEL' pl

205. 'WELL' adv

206. 'WENT' pl

207. 'WHETHER'

208. 'WHITHER'

209. 'WHY'

210. 'WITEN'

211. 'WITHOUT' pr. adv

212. 'WORSE' sup

213. 'WORSHIP' sb. vb. adj

214. 'YE')

215. 'YOU')

216. 'YOUR'

ta(n)e/tane///// (ppl)tais(3sg pl)ta

ten

yidd^g

thousand' / thowsand

thre

twa' / /

apon /

way

wele weil

wele' /

well

wist wit

forowty^g

worschip

ȝe ȝow

ȝhe yow

ȝour

ȝowr

ITEM

FORM

217. 'YEAR'

ɣer////

218. 'YOUNG'

ɣing

ɣoung

LINGUISTIC PROFILES: SUMMARY BY TRANCHE

ITEM	<u>W1</u>	<u>W2</u>	<u>W3</u>	<u>W4</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>B4</u>
1. THE	ye The	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye	ye
2. THESE	yir	yir	yir	yir	-	yir	yir	yir
3. THOSE	-	-	-	ʒon	yon ʒ ne	-	-	ʒon
4. SHE	scho	scho	-	scho	-	scho	scho	-
5. HER	hir. hyr (((her)))	hyr. hir (her))	hyr. hir	-	hyr	hyr	-	-
6. IT	-	it	it	it	it	it	it	it
7. THEY	yai	yai	yai	yai	yai	yai	yai	yai
8. THEM	yaim. yaḏ	yaim.((yaḏ))	yaim.	yaim	yaim	yaim.ʒaim	yaim ((ya))	yaim
	paim	((((yaḏ)))	((((yaḏ)))	((((yaḏ)))	((yame)))	((yaḏ))	((yaḏ))	ʒ ʒ ʒ
9. THEIR	yar ((ḏ))	yar ḏ	yar	ḏ yar (yair) ḏ	((yar)) ḏ	((yar)) ḏ	((yar)) ḏ	ḏ
			((yair)))	((yair)))				
10. SUCH	sic	sic	sic	sic	sic	sic (sik)	sic	swilk
						(swilk)		sic
11. WHICH	quhilk	quhilk	quhilk	quhilk	-	-	-	-
12. EACH	ilk (ane)	-	-	ilka (ilk)	ilk	ilk	ilk	ilk

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
13.MANY	mony	feyll. feill	mony	mony	mony	mony	mony	mony
14.MAN	man. mǎ	mǎman	mǎman	man. (((mǎ)))	man	man	mǎman	man. mǎ-
15.ANY	-	-	ony	ony	-	-	ony	-
16.MUCH	-	mekill	mekill	mekill	mekill	mekill	mekill	mekill
17.ARE	ar. art	ar. art	ar	ar	ar	ar	ar(er)	ar
18.WERE	war	war	war	war	war	war	war	war
20.WAS	was	was (wes)	was	was	wes	wes ((was))	wes.	wes ((was))
			(((wes)))	(((wes)))	(((wer)))	(((wer)))	(((was))	(((wais)))
					(((was)))	(((was)))	(((wais)))	
21.SHALL	sall	sall	sall	sall	sall	sall	sall	sall
	sg.pl							
22.SHOULD	suld	suld	suld	suld	suld	suld	suld	suld
	sg.pl	(((sulde)))						

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
23. 'WILL'	will	-	will	will	will	will	will	will
sg.pl			((wyll))					
24. 'WOULD'	wald	wald	wald	wald	wald	wald	wald	wald
sg.pl								
25. 'TO'+sb	till [to]	to till	to till	to till	till [to]	till to	till((to))	till((to))
				((tyll))				
26. 'TO'+inf	to(((till)))	to (till)	to ((till))	to (((till)))	to (till)	to till(till)	to till	till [to]
27. 'FROM'	fra	fra [ffra]	fra (ffra)	fra (ffra)	fra ffra (for)	fra	fra	fra (ffra) !
28. 'AFTER'	efr	efr	efr	efr	efr ² efr	efrir	eftyr	eftyr efire efr
29. 'THEN'	yan ((yin))	yan (syne)	yan syn	yan (syn)	yen (yan))	yan yan	yan yen	yǎ yan ((gen yen
	(syn)	((ya))		((syne))	syne	((yǎ))	yǎ gen	yane))
30. 'THAN'	yan ((yǎ))	yan	-	yan	-	-	yǎ	-
31. 'THOUGH'	yocht yo ^t	yocht	yo ^t ((yo))	yo ^t	-	-	-	though
		through						
32. 'IF'	gif. giff	gyff	gyff	gyff	giff. gyff. gyf	giff (gyff)	giff	giff.gif

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
33.AS	als as	-	as ((als))	as	as	as	-	as
34.AS+AS	als...as	als...as	als...as	als...as	-	-	-	-
35.AGAINST	agayne	agayne	agayn	agayn	agany's	agayne	agayne	agany's
		agany's		agane	agayn	agane	agane	
36.AGAIN	agayne	agayne	agayn	agayn	agayne	agane	agayne	agane agayn
			((agane)))			agayn agane	agane	((agayne)))
								((agane)))
37.ERE conj	-	or		or	or		ar. or	ar. er
38.SINCE	sen adv	sen adv	sen adv	sen adv	sen	sen adv	sen adv	sen adv
adj.conj	syne adv		sensyn cj					
	sensyne adv							
39.YET	zeit sit	zeit	zet	zeit	zeit yheit	zeit	zete zeyt	zeyt zeit
					yhey't		zet	
40.WHILE	quhill	quhill	quhill	quhill	quhill	quhile	quhill	quhill
			((quhyll)))		(quhile)			

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
41 STRENGTH	-	streuth	streuth	streuth	-	-	streuth	streuth
vb				streuth(is)				
42. 'LENGTH'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
vb								
43. 'WH_'	quh-	quh-	quh-	quh-	quh-	quh-	quh-	quh-
44. 'NOT'	no't (nocht)	no't (nocht)	no't nocht	no't	no't ((na))	no't (nocht)	no't	no't nocht
	((nocht)))			((nocht)))		(na)	((nocht)))	
45. 'NOR'	-	nor	nor	nor	na	na	-	-
46. 'A' 'O'	-	-	-	-	a	ane	-	-
47. 'WORLD'	-	warld	warld	warld	-	-	-	-
48. 'THINK'	-	think	-	-	think tho't	tho't	tho't	think tho't
49. 'WORK'	-	-	-	work (sb)	-	-	-	-
sb, vb				wyrk (sb)				

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
55. Substantive <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
plural	-ys, -is	-ys	-is, -ys	-ys, -is	-ys,	-ys, (-is)	-is	(-ys), ((is))
	((\emptyset))	(((-is))	(((- \emptyset)))	(((-s)))	(-is),	((\emptyset))	(-ys)	(((\emptyset)))
		(((-es -s \emptyset)))			(((-es \emptyset)))		(((\emptyset -s)))	
56. Present participle	-and	-and.	-and, ((-n, -in))	-and	-and,	-and	-and	-and
		(((-ande.	(((-n, -in)))		(((-yng)))			
		-ing)))						
57. Verbal substantive	-yng.	-yng.	-yng, (-ing)	-yng, (-ing)	-ing, -yng	-ing, ((-yng))	-ing	-ing, -yng
substantive	(((-ing)))	(((-y [?] -yng.	-ing)))					
		-ing)))						
58. 3sg pi	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
	-is, -	-is, (<i>f</i> , -ys)	-is -	-is, (-ys)	-ys ((\emptyset))	-ys, -in	-ys	-is,
		(((-ys)))		(((-ys)))	(((<i>f</i>)))			
59. Present plural	-	-	\emptyset	-	-is, ys	-ys	-	<i>f</i>

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
60. Weak	-yI.-It.	-It.-yI	-yI.-It	-yI.(-It)	-yI((It))	-yI.	-yI(((-It))	-yI.-It.(((-d)))
preterite	(((-d.-t)))	(((-t)))	(((-t.-d)))	(((-t.-d.-Id.((-yD)))	(((-It.-t)))			
	(((-de. ed)))			-yD. -ed)))				
61. Weak past	-It.-yI	-yI.-t	-yI.-It.-t	-yI.	-It.-yI	-yI	-yI.-It	-yI.-It.(((-t.-d)))
participle	(((-t)))	(-t)	(((-d)))	(((-ed.-t. -d)))				
62. Strong past	-yN.-yNe.-n	-n	-n.-In.-yN	-yN.-In	-n.(((-In. -yN)))	(((-ne)))		
participle	((((-yN. -n)))							
63. ABOUT	about	about	about	about	about	about	about	about
adv. pr								
64. ABOVE	abuffe	abuff.abow	-	abuff	-	-	-	-
adv. pr								
65. AFTER	syn(syne)	syne	syn	syn	syne((syn. syne	syne	syne	syne
WARDS			((syne)))		eftwarr)))			
66. AIR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
67.ALL	all	all	all	all	all	all	all	all
68.AMONG	amang.	amang	-	amang	amang	amang(pr)	amang	amang
	adv.pr	amange						
69.ANSWER	ansuerd	ansuer	ansuer	ansuer (sb)	-	-	-	ansuar
	sb.vb	(ansuer)	ansuerd	ansuerd				
70.ASK	-	-	-	ask.asky1	asky1	-	askit	ask
71.AT + inf	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
72.AT rel	-	-	-	at	-	-	-	-
73.AWAY	away	-	-	away	-	away	away	away
74.BE ppl	bene.beyne	beyne	beyn	beyn.bene	bene	bene.bein	bene	bene (beine)
75.BEFORE	befor	befor.beforn	befor.	befor	befor	-	befor.ere	befor
	adv.pr		beforn	((beforn))		air		
76.BEGANTO	-	began to	-	-	gan(((ga)))	gan	gan	gan
	p1					((begouth to)))		
77.BEHOVES	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
78.BENEATH adv.pr	-	-	-	-	-	-	beneuth(pr)	-
79.BETWEEN pr	-	betuene	betweyn	-	-	-	-	-
80.BLESSED	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
81.BOTH	bathe (bairh)	bath. baith	bathe.bath (bat)	balthe baith	bat	bath	bath.baith	baith
82.BROTHER pl	broʝ	broʝ	brodyr	broʝ	broð	broʝ	broʝ	broʝ
brodys(pl)					brodyr	brodyr		
83.BUSY adj.vb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
84.BLT	bot(((bur)))	bot(((bur)))	bot. bur	bot.(((bur)))	bot. bur	bot (adv)	bot.(bur)	bot.
						bot (cj)		'bur;
						but (cj)		
						((bur))	adv	
85.BY	be (((by)))	be	be. by	be (by)	by	by. (be)	be. by	be. by
86.CALL	-	calld (pt).	call.callyt	call	callit	-	call	-
pt. ppl		call	(ppl) callit(ppl)		(callyt)			
87.CAME	come	come	com	com	come. com	come	com (cum)	come(can)
88.CAN pl	can	can	can(((ca)))	can	can	can	can	can
89.CAST	kest(pt)	cast	kest	kest(pt)	-	kest	kest.cast	-
pt. ppl	cast(pt)							
90.CHOOSE	-	chewys	chesy1	-			chey's	
pt. ppl		chesit	(pt sg pl)					
91.CHURCH	-	kyrk	kyrk	-	kyrk		kirk	-

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
92.COULD	coud.couthe	couth	couth	couth.coud	-	-	-	courhr
sg.pl	(coude)							
93.DAUGHTER	dochr ^P	-	-	-	-	-	-	douchr ^P
pl								
94.DAY	day	day	day	day	day	day	day	day
95.DEATH	dede	dede.(ded)	ded	ded	dede	ded	ded	ded dede
96.DIE pl	de.deit	de	de.deit	de	deyt. deis	de	de.dede.deid	day (nonf)
97.DO pl-sg	do.dois	did	doyn(pl3sg)	did(pl1'3sg)	do.did.done	done (ppl)	do.did(pl3sg) do	
	dox'is.		do (inf)	done(pl 2sg)	did (pl pl)	doyne	did (ppl pl)	
	dide.did		did(pl 2sg)	dois(3sg.p.i)	done	done	done	
			do (inf) do					
98.DOWN	doun	doune.	down	doun(down)	down.doune	down.doune	doune	doune
	downe		adoun			down	down	down
								((doyne))

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>W1</u>	<u>W2</u>	<u>W3</u>	<u>W4</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>B4</u>
99.EARTH	-	erd	erd	-	-	erd	erd	erd
100.EAST	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
101.EIGHT	-	-	auchi	-	-	-	-	-
ord								
102.EITHER	athyr	-	ayŷ	ayŷ	ayir.ilK	ayir.ilka	ayŷ	athyr
pron (athir)								
103.EITHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
+ OR								
104.ELEVEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
105.ENOUGH	ynew	ynew	-	-	inewch	yneuchi	ynew	inew
106.EYE pl	eyne	eyne	-	-	-	-	-	-
107.FAR cpv	forthir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
108.FATHER.	fadyr	-	fadyr	fadyr	-	-	-	-
pl								
109.FELLOW	-	-	fellowschip	fellow(schipo	-	fallowis	-	fellonne
				folow(is)				

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
110.FIGHT	-	-	-	fycht(v)	fy't (v)	fycht	fycht	fycht
							fy't	fecht
					((fecht))) v			
					((fecht))) v		fel'tand	fecht -
					((fycht))) n	fel'ting	fel'	
						faucht	fel'yn	
								fy't (inf)
								lall vsl
111.FIRE	-	fyr	-	fyr	-			fyr.fyre
112.FIRST	fyrst	fyrst	fyrst	fyrst	fyrst	fyrst	-	-
113.FIVE ord	-	-	-	-	-	v	fif	-
114.FLESH	-	-	-	-	-	-	fless	-
115.FOLLOW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
116.FOURord	-	-	-	four	-	-	-	-
117.FOWL.pl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
118.FRIEND	-	-	frend	freynd	frend e (pl)	-	-	-
			frend(is/ys)		ffrend e (pl)			
			(pl) frendschip		frendschyp			
119.FRUIT	-	-	froyte	-	-	-	-	-
120.GAR	ger.gert	gar. ger	gert	gert	gert	gert.(gart)	gert	gert
	pl.pl	((gart))	gert.gart	((gart).	ger	ger	ger	ger
			gerre					
121.GIVE	gyff.giff	gyff.(to)	gyff.gaiiff	gyff	gave.gaiiff	gaff	gaff(pl sg)	gift(nonf)
	pl pl	gaiiff. gawe	geiff.geyff		gaff. gevyn		geff(pl pl)	gift(nonf)
			gaiiff				gave(pl pl)	gare(3sg pl)
122.GOOD	gud	gud	gud	gud	gud	gud.	gud.(gude)	gud
	sb	((gude))			((gude))			
123.GROW	-	-	grew(pl)	wox(pl)	-	-	-	-

ITEM	<u>W1</u>	<u>W2</u>	<u>W3</u>	<u>W4</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>B4</u>
124.HAVE	haf (inf)	haiff(inf)	has(3sg)	haiff(1sg)	have.haiff	haiff(nonf)	haiff(nonf)	haf
	haiff.haif	haiff(3sg)	haiff	haiff(pl)	has.had.	haiff(pl)	had(3sg pl)	(haiff)inf)
2sg.	haiff.hawe	haiff(pl)	have(2sg)	has(2sg)	(haid)	has(3sg)	haiff(pl sg)	haiff(inf)
	has	has(3sg)	haiff(pl)			has(3sg p.i)	haiff(pl pl)	have(inf)
		has(pl)				had(3sg p.i)		haiff(pl)
						had(pl pl)		had(3sg
								pl. pl)
125.HEAD	hede.hed	heid.hede	-	m ^h heid	newid			m ^h heid
		hed						
126.HEAVEN	-	newyn	newin	newin	new ^h	newyn	-	-
127.HEIGHT	-	-	hycht	hicht	hycht	-	hy ^t	-
128.HELL	hell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
129.HIGH	houch. hie	hye.(heich. hie (hye)	hie	hie	hy(((hye)))hyer	hy	hy	hy
		hie)						

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
130.HIM	him (((hym))) (((hy)))	him (((hym)))	him (((hym)))	him	him hym (((hy)))	him hym	him (((hy)))	him (((hy)))
131.HITHER	-	-	-	-	-	hydyrwart	-	-
132.HOLY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
133.HOW	-	how	how	how	how	how	how	how
134.HUNDRED	-	hundreth	-	-	-	hund	hund	hund
135.KNOW	knew kend knaʷ	ken.knew	knaʷ.ken	knew.ken. knaʷis(2sgp.i)	wate.wyt.wat kend	ken	ken	ken
136.LADY	lady(e)	lady	-	-	-	-	-	-
137.LAUGHpt	-	-	-	-	lauch(and)	-	-	-
138.LAW	-	-	law	vt law	-	-	-	-
139.LESS	less	-	-	les	-	-	-	-
140.LIFE pl	lyff (lif)	lyff	lyff, lyffe(pl)	lyff	lyff	-	-	-
			lyʷys					

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
152.MY	-	my	my(((my n +V)))	my	my	-	-	my
153.NAME'	-	name	nam	nam	-	-	namys(pl)	surname
sb								
154.NEITHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
pron								
155.NEITHER	-	-	-	noy..nor	-	noy...ne	-	-
+NOR								
156.NEVER	new	new	new	new	new	-	new	-
157.NEW	-	new	new	new	-	-	-	new
158.NIGHvb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
159.NINE ord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
160.NORTH	-	-	north	north	-	north	-	north
161.NOW	now	now	now	now	now	-	-	now
162.OLD	-	ald	-	ald	-	-	-	ald

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
163. ONE	ane	ane	ane(((one)))ane	ane	-	ane	ane	-
adj.pron							anys	
164. OR	or	-	-	or	or	-	-	-
165. OTHER	oy	oy	oy	oy	oy	oy	oy	oy
	oyir		ayir	(oyir)	(oyir)	oy	(oy)	((roy))
	((roy))			(oy)	oy			((royr))
	((ather))			(oyir)				((other))
166. OUR	-	-	our	our	our	-		our
167. OUT	out	out	out	out.(((owt)))out.owt	owt	owt	-	owt
168. OWN adj	awn.awne	-	awn	-	awyne	-	awn	-
169. PEOPLE	-	pepill	-	-	-	-	-	-
170. POOR	-	pur	-	-	pur	-	-	-
171. PRAY	-	pray	pray	pray	pray	-	-	-
172. RUN	ran	-	-	ran(pl)	-	rane(pl pl)	ran	-
173. SAY	say.said	-	say	say say.said.(((sayd)))	sayd	sayd	sayd	say

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
174.SEE	se	se	se	se	se.seyn	se.saw.sene	se	se.sawe
						(ppl)		sene
175.SEEK	seke.socht	-	-	sek(inf)	so ^t	-	-	sek(inf)
176.SELFpl	-	selff	selff	selff.sell	-	-	selff	-
				so ^t socht			-selw ^y	
177.SEVEN	-	sewyn	-	-	-	-	sevin	sewyn
ord								
178.SIN sb vb	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
179.SISTER	sys ^t	sist ^r	-	sys ^t	-	-	sist ^r	-
pl								
180.SIX ord	-	-	-	sex	-	sex	-	-
181.SOME	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum	sum.	sum
							((som)))	

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>W1</u>	<u>W2</u>	<u>W3</u>	<u>W4</u>	<u>B1</u>	<u>B2</u>	<u>B3</u>	<u>B4</u>
182.SON	sone.son	sone	-	sonny's	son	sony's	-	sone
183.SORROW	-	SOROW	-	SOROW	-	-	-	-
sb.vb		((sorou)))						
184.SOUL.pl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
185.SOUTH	-	-	-	south	-	-	-	-
186.STAR.pl	-	-	-	stern(ys)	-	-	-	-
187.STEAD	sted.steid	stede.steid	steid.sted	sted	steid.sted	sted.steid	steid	sted
	stede						sted.stad	
188.SUN	-	-	son	son	-	-	-	-
189.TAKES	tak.tane	-	-	ta.tane	tak.(((tais)))	ta.tane(pp1)	ta.tane(pp1)	(((ta
contr.ppl					3sgp.i. tane.tuk			(n)e)))
								tane.ta
								tais
tais3sgpi								
190.TENord	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ten

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
191.THREE	ye	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
192.THOU	yow,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
193.THY	yi (hi)	yi	yi	yi	yi	-	-	-
194.THITHER	-	-	-	yidd	yidd	-	yidd	yidd
195.THOUSAND	-	thousand	thousand	thousand,	-	thousand	thousand	thousand (thousand)
196.THREE	thre	thre	thre	thre	-	thre.rhrid	thre.rhrid	thre
197.TOGETHER	-	-	-	toɣydd	-	-	toɣydd	-
198.TRUE	trew	trew	trew	trew	trew(v)	-	trow(v)	-
199.TWELVE	-	tuelff	-	-	-	-	-	-
	ord							
200.TWENTY	-	-	twenty	twenty	-	-	-	-
201.TWO	tw'a	tw'a	tw'a	tw'a	tw'a	tw'a	tw'a(((two)))	tw'a
							rhyme	

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
202. UPON	apon	apon	apon	apon	apon	apon	apon	apon
203. WAY	-	way	-	way	way	way	way	way
204. WEEK.pl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
205. WELL.	weill,weyle	weill(weyll)	weill,(weyll)	weill.	weill(weile)	welle,(weile)welle	weill	weill
adv	((weyile			((weyll)))		((weile))	((welle))	(wele)
	weille)))					((weyle))		((weile))
206. WENT	went	went	went	went	went	went	seid,went	
207. WHETHER	quhey	quhey	-	-	quhey	quhey	ye quhey	
					quhey	ir		
208. WHITHER	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
209. WHY	quhi,(quhy)	quhy	-	-	-	-	-	-
210. WITEN	-	-	-	-	wate	-	wist,wai	wist,wit

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
211. WITHOUT	w'ouyʃ	w'ouyʃ	w'ouiyʃ	w'ouiyʃ	forowiy.n.	forowiy.n.	forowiyʃ	forowiyʃ
pr. adv	(w'louit pr)	(w'louit)	(w'louit)	(withoutiy.n)	(forowiyʃ)	(forowiyʃ)	(w'louit)	(w'louit)
	without	(w'louity.n)	(without)				(w'louiyʃ)	
212. WORSE. sup -	-	-	werst	-	-	-	wer	-
213. WORSHIP -	worschip	worschip	worschip	-	worschip	-	worschip	worschip
sb. vb adj								
214. YE	ye.ʒhe.ʒe	ʒe.ye.	ʒe.(ye.ʒhe)	ye.ʒe	ʒe.(((y'he)))	ʒe.(((ye)))	ʒe	ʒe(((ʒhe)))
	((((ʒhe)))	((((ʒhe)))	((((ʒhe)))	((((ʒhe)))				
215. YOU	ʒow.	yow.	yow(ʒow)	yow.	ʒow (yow)	ʒow	ʒow	ʒow.
	(yow)	((((ʒow)))	((((you)))	((((ʒow)))	((((y'U)))	((((yow)))	(yow')	
	((((you)))		((((you)))	((((ʒow)))				
	(ʒou)		((((you)))	((((you)))				

ITEM	W1	W2	W3	W4	B1	B2	B3	B4
216.YOUR	YOUR	YOUR	YOUR	YOUR	YOUR.YOUR	YOUR	YOUR	YOUR
217.YEAR	-	ser	ser	-	-	-	-	ser
218.YOUNG	songe.song	song.sing	-	-	song	-	-	song
	song	song						sing(rh)

LINGUISTIC PROFILES: COMPARISON OF TEXTS

Appendix 1C: LP of the scribe in Adv. MS 19.2.2:comparison of texts.

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
1. 'THE'	ye	ye (((The)))
2. 'THESE'	yir	yir
3. 'THOSE'	ʒon. yon. ʒone	ʒon
4. 'SHE'	scho	scho
5. 'HER'	hyr	hyr. hir. (((her)))
6. 'IT'	it	it
7. 'THEY'	yai	yai
8. 'THEM'	yaim. ((yai)). (((ʒaim))), (((yame)))	yaim. ((yai)). (((paim)))
9. 'THEIR'	ȝ. (((yar))). (((yair))) (((yai))). (((ȝ)))	yar. ȝ. (((yair)))
10. 'SUCH'	sic. (swilk). (((sik)))	sic
11. 'WHICH'	-	quhilk
12. 'EACH'	ilk	ilk. ilka
13. 'MANY'	mony	mony. (((ma)))
14. 'MAN'	man. (ma). (((ma)))	man. (ma)
15. 'ANY'	ony	ony
16. 'MUCH'	mekill	mekill
17. 'ARE'	ar. (((er)))	ar
18. 'WERE'	war. ((wer)). (((weir)))	war
19. 'IS'	is	is
20. 'WAS'	wes. ((was)). (((wais)))	was. (((wes)))
21. 'SHALL'	sall	sall
22. 'SHOULD'	suld	suld. (((sulde)))
23. 'WILL'	will	will
24. 'WOULD'	wald	wald

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
25. 'TO' + sb	+v till	till. (((to)))
	+c to. (till)	to. (((till))), (((tyll)))
	+h till. (((to)))	till. (((to)))
26. 'TO' + inf	+v till. (((to)))	till. (((to)))
	+c to. (((till)))	to. (((till)))
	+h till. (to)	to. till
27. 'FROM'	fra. ffra [line initial]	fra. ffra [line initial]
28. 'AFTER'	eftir. (eftyr). (eft ^r) (((eft)))	ef ^r
29. 'THEN'	yen. (yan). (ya) (((zen))). ((ye)). (((yane)))	yan. (((yin))).(((ya))) ((syn)). ((syne))
30. 'THAN'	ya	yan
31. 'THOUGH'	thouch	yo ^t . (yocht). ((yo)))
32. 'IF'	giff. (gif). (gyff)	gyff. (gif). (giff)
33. 'AS'	as	as. (((als)))
34. 'AS + 'AS'		als.....as
35. 'AGAINST'	aganys. agayne. agayn	agayn. agayne. aganys agane
36. 'AGAIN'	agane. agayne. agayn (((aga ⁿ)))	agayn. agayne. (((agane)))
37. 'ERE'	ar. (or). (er)	or
38. 'SINCE'	sen [adv]	sen[adv] . (((syne))) sensyne. sensyn [cj]
39. 'YET'	zeit. (zete). (zeyt) ((yheit)). ((yheyt)). ((zet))	zeit. (((zit))). (((zet)))
40. 'WHILE'	quhill. (quhile)	quhill. (((quhyll)))

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
41. 'STRENGTH'	strenth	strenth
42. 'LENGTH'		
43. 'WH-'	quh-	quh-
44. 'NOT'	no ^t . (((nocht))), (((na)))	no ^t . (nocht). (((noucht)))
45. 'NOR'	na	nor
46. 'A', 'O'		
47. 'WORLD'	-	warld
48. 'THINK'	think	think
49. 'WORK'	-	werk [sb] . wyrk [vb]
50. 'THERE'	ȝ (yar). (((ȝ))), (((thar)))	ȝ yar. ((yair)). (((ȝ)))
51. 'WHERE'	quhar	quhar
52. 'MIGHT'	my ^t . (((mycht))) (((moucht))). (((maucht)))	my ^t . (mycht). (((my ^t)))
53. 'THROUGH'	throw. (throuch)	throuch. throw. (((throu))). (((thro ^t)))
54. 'WHEN'	quhen. (((quhe))) (((qwheyn)))	quhen. (((quhe)))
55. Sub + pl	ȝ .(ys). (is) (((θ))) (((es))).(((s)))	ȝ .(is). (ys).(((θ))).(((s))) (((es)))
56. Pres ptcpl	and. (((-yng)))	and. (((ing))). (((ande))). (((n))) (((yn))). (((in)))
57. Verbal sb	ing. (yng). (((yn)))	yng. ((ing)).(((y))) (((ynge)))
58. 3sg. p.i.	is. (((ys))). (((θ)))	is. ((ys)). (ȝ)

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
59. Pres pl	-	-
60. Wk pt	-yt. ((-it)). (((-yd))) (((t))), (((-d)))	-yt. (-it). (((- t))). (((-d))). (((ed))). (((-id))). (((-yd)))
61. Weak ppl	-yt. (-it). (((-t))). (((-d)))	-yt. (-it). (((-t))). (((-d)))
62. Strong ppl	-n. (-yn). ((-in)).(((ne)))	-yn. -n. -ne.(-in).(((-yne)))
63. 'ABOUT'	about	about
64. 'ABOVE'	-	abuff. abuffe. abow
65. 'AFTERWARDS'	syne. (((syne))). (((eftwart)))	syn. ((syne))
66. 'AIR'	-	-
67. 'ALL'	all	all
68. 'AMONG'	amang	amang. (((amange)))
69. 'ANSWER'	ansuer [sb]	ansuer [sb] , ansuered [vb]
70. 'ASK'	ask. ask-	ask
71. 'AT + inf		
72. 'AT'+ rel		at
73. 'AWAY'	away	away
74. 'BE' ppl	bene. (((bein))). (((beine)))	beyn. beyne. bene
75. 'BEFORE'	befor	befor. (beforn)
76. 'BEGAN TO'	gan. (((ga))). (((begouth to)))	began to
77. 'BEHOVES'		
78. 'BENEATH'	henewth [pr]	
79. 'BETWEEN'		betuene. betweyn
80. 'BLESSED'		
81. 'BOTH'	bath. (ba ^t). (((bathe)))	bathe. (bath). ((baith))) (((ba ^t))

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
82. 'BROTHER'	broy, brod, brodyr. (brod-)	broy ((brodyr))
83. 'BUSY'	-	-
84. 'BUT'	bot. (but)	bot. (((but)))
85. 'BY'	by. ((be))	be. ((by))
86. 'CALL'	call. [pt]	call
87. 'CAME'	come. com. (((cum)))	come. cum
88. 'CAN'	can	can. (((ca)))
89. 'CAST'	kest. cast	kest. cast
90. 'CHOOSE'	cheys	chewys
91. 'CHURCH'	kyrk	kyrk
92. 'COULD'	coutht	couth. (coud). (((coude)))
93. 'DAUGHTER'	doucht	docht
94. 'DAY'	day	day
95. 'DEATH'	dede. ded	ded. dede
96. 'DIE'	dey. de. deis. deyt	de. deit
97. 'DO'	-	-
98. 'DOWN'	doune. (doun)	doun. (((downe))), (((down)))
99. 'EARTH'	erd	erd
100. 'EAST'		
101. 'EIGHT'		aucht
102. 'EITHER'	athyr. ayir. (ay). (ilk)	athyr. (athir). ay
103. 'EITHER OR'		
104. 'ELEVEN'		
105. 'ENOUGH'	inewch. yneucht. ynew inew	ynew
106. 'EYE'		eyne
107. 'FAR'		
108. 'FATHER'		fadyr. (((forthir)))
109. 'FELLOW'	falow	falow

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
110. 'FIGHT'	fyt, fet-, fycht. (((fecht))) (((fet)))	fycht [vbl]
111. 'FIRE'	fyr, fyr-	fyr
112. 'FIRST'	fyrst	fyrst
113. 'FIVE'	fif	-
114. 'FLESH'	-	-
115. 'FOLLOW'	-	-
116. 'FOUR'	-	four
117. 'FOWL'	-	-
118. 'FRIEND'	freynd-, ffrend-.frend-	frend, freynd, frend-.freynd-
119. 'FRUIT'	-	-
120. 'GAR'	ger, gert, (((gert)))	gar, gert, ((gart)), (((gere))) (((ger)))
121. 'GIVE'	gif gave, gaff, (((gaiff))) (((geff))), gevyn. [pp1]	gyff, (giff), (geiff), (((geyf))), (((geyff)))
122. 'GOOD'	gud, (((gude)))	gud
123. 'GROW'		grew, [pt] . wox
124. 'HAVE' inf		haiff, haf
sg		hawe, has
3sg		haiff, (((has))), (((haif))), (((haff)))
pl		haiff, (((has)))
125. 'HEAD'	hewid, heid	heid, hede, hed, heid
126. 'HEAVEN'	hevy	hewin, hewyn
127. 'HEIGHT'	hyt, hycht	hycht, hicht
128. 'HELL'		hell

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
129. 'HIGH'	hy. (((hye)))	hie. (hye). (((houch))). (((heich)))
130. 'HIM'	him. (hym). (((hy))) (((hɪ)))	him. (((hym))). (((hy)))
131. 'HITHER'	hyddyrwart	-
132. 'HOLY'	-	-
133. 'HOW'	how	how
134. 'HUNDRED'	hund ^ɔ	hundreth
135. 'KNOW'	know. ken-. ken	know. ((ken)). (((know-)))
136. 'LADY'	-	lady. lady-
137. 'LAUGH'	lauch-	-
138. 'LAW'	-	law. -law
139. 'LESS'	-	less
140. 'LIFE'	lyff. (lift)	lyff. (((liff)))
141. 'LITTLE'	litill.	litill
142. 'LIVE'	-	leiff. (leyff). (((leiffe))). (((leff)))
143. 'LORD'	lord. lord	lord
144. 'LOVE'	luff-	luff. (((lowe))) [sb] . luff [vb]
145. 'LOW'		law
146. 'MAKES'contr	ma	ma
147. 'MAY'	may	may
148. 'MON'	mon	
149. 'MONTH'		moneth. moneth
150. 'MOON'		
151. 'MOTHER'	mod ^ɔ	modyr
152. 'MY'	my	my. (((myn))). [v]
153. 'NAME'	nam . none	naym. name
154. 'NEITHER'		

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
155. 'NEITHER-NOR' -		noy... nor
156. 'NEVER'	new	new
157. 'NEW'	new	new
158. 'NIGH'	-	-
159. 'NINE'	-	-
160. 'NORTH'	north, north-	north
161. 'NOW'	now	now
162. 'OLD'	auld	ald, auld, eldest
163. 'ONE'	ane	ane. (((one)))
164. 'OR'	or	or
165. 'OTHER'	oy. (toy), (((oyir))), (((othyr))), (((other)))	oy. (oyir), (((toy))), (((toyir))), (((ayir))), (((athir)))
166. 'OUR'	our	our
167. 'OUT'	owt	out, (((owt))), ((owt-))
168. 'OWN'	awn, awyne	awn, ((awne))
169. 'PEOPLE'		pepill
170. 'POOR'		pur
171. 'PRAY'	-	pray, pray
172. 'RUN'	ran, rane [pt]	ran [pt]
173. 'SAY'	say, say -	say, said [pt], say
174. 'SEE'	se	se
175. 'SEEK'	sek / so ^t	seke, sek. / socht, (so ^t)
176. 'SELF'	selff, selw	selff, (((sell)))
177. 'SEVEN'	sevin, sewyn	sewyn
178. 'SIN'		
179. 'SISTER'	sist	syst, (((sist))
180. 'SIX'	sex	sex
181. 'SOME'	sum, (((som)))	sum

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
182. 'SON'	son, sone, son-	sone, son, sonn
183. 'SORROW'	-	sorow, ((sorou))
184. 'SOUL'	-	-
185. 'SOUTH'	-	south
186. 'STAR'	-	stern-
187. 'STEAD'	sted, steid	sted, steid, (stede)
188. 'SUN'	-	son
189. 'TAKES'contr	tais, [3sg p.i.], tane [ppl] ta [nont]	ta, tane
190. 'TEN'	-	-
191. 'THEE'	-	see 'ye'
192. 'THOU'	-	see 'you'
193. 'THY'	yi	yi, (((thi)))
194. 'THITHER'	yidd, yidd ^f	yidd ^f
195. 'THOUSAND'	thowsand, thousand	thousand, (((thowsand)))
196. 'THREE'	thre, thrid	thre
197. 'TOGETHER'	togydd ^f	togydd ^f
198. 'TRUE'	-	trew
199. 'TWELVE'	-	-
200. 'TWENTY'	-	twenty
201. 'TWO'	twa, (((two)))	twa
202. 'UPON'	apon	apon
203. 'WAY'	way	way
204. 'WEEL'	-	-
205. 'WELL'	weill, (wele), (weite), (((weyle))), (((weill)))	weill, ((weyll)), (((weyle))) (((weyll))), (((weille))),
206. 'WENT'	went	went
207. 'WHETHER'	quheyir, quhey ^ſ , quhey ^ſ	quhey ^ſ
208. 'WHITHER'	-	-

<u>Item.</u>	<u>Bruce (1489)</u>	<u>Wallace (1488)</u>
209. 'WHY'	-	quhi. quhy
210. 'WITEN'	-	-
211. 'WITHOUT'	[adv] forowytn. forowty)	w ^t out) ((w ^t out)).
	[pr] w ^t out. w ^t out)	((with ^t out)).
		((w ^t lowtyn)).
		((withowtyn)).
		((withowt))
212. 'WORSE'	wer	werst
213. 'WORSHIP'	worschip	worschip
214. 'YE'	ge. ((yhe)). ((ye)). ((ghe))	ge. ye. ghe
215. 'YOU'	gow. (yow). ((y ⁴))	yow. (gow). ((gou)). ((you))
216. 'YOUR'	gour. ((gour)). ((gair)). ((g ²))	gour
217. 'YEAR'	ger	ger [sg & pl]
218. 'YOUNG'	goung. ((ging))	gong. ((gonge)). ((goung)). ((ging)). (<u>ghong</u>).

APPENDIX TWO: THE WRITTEN LANGUAGE PROFILE

The Written Language Profile

		<u>Bruce</u>	<u>Wallace</u>
The initial consonant in	'the'	y	y(((th)))
	'these'	y	y
	'those'	ʒ.y	ʒ
	'thy'	y	y(((th)))
The medial consonant in	'other'	y(((th)))	y(((th)))
	'brother'	y.d	y((d))
	'either'	y.th	y.th
The initial consonant in	'thither'	y	y
	'thousand'	th	th
	'three'	th	th
	'think'	th	th
The final consonant in	'both'	th	th
	'north'	th	th
The initial consonant in	'yet'	ʒ(((yh)))	ʒ
	'ye'	ʒ(((yh.y. ʒh)))	ʒ (ʒh) y
	'you'	ʒ(((y)))	y(((ʒ)))
The penultimate consonant in	'might'	ch	ch
	'daughter'	ch	ch
The vowel in	'it'	i	i
	'five'	i	

	'my'	y	y
	'thy'	y	y
The second consonant in	'two'	w	w
	'(-)sw-'	u	u
The vowel in	'how'	o	o
	'now'	o	o
The initial consonant in	'can'	c	c
The same consonant in	'-ck()words	-	---
The initial consonant in	'sh ' words	sch	sch
The medial consonant in	'-sh' words	-sch	sch
The final consonant in	'-sh' words	- -	-
The initial consonant in	'v' words		
The medial consonant in	'seven'	v, w	w
The vowel in	'upon'	a	a
The final consonant in	'if'	ff (f)	ff (f)
The final consonant in	'shall'	ll	ll
	'will'	ll	ll
The final consonant in	'at'		
	'it'	t	t

The medial vowel in

'-oo-' words

u

u

The final vowel in

'too'

APPENDIX THREE: THE GRAPHETIC PROFILES

THE FOLIOS SURVEYED FOR LETTER SHAPES

The National Library of Scotland is currently undergoing substantial refurbishment. Consequently, Adv 19. 2. 2 is not available for consultation or photographing. The following reproductions were printed from a microfilm copy of the MS and are of lesser quality than photographs.

THE FOLIOS PROFILED

Handwritten header text at the top of the page.

Main body of handwritten text, likely a historical or literary manuscript, written in a cursive script.

shape of p

P

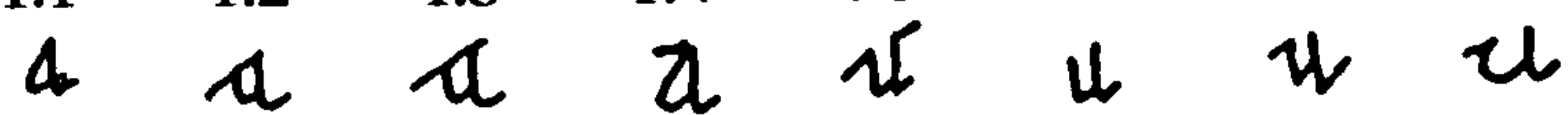
What is this
mak.
Med = knowledge

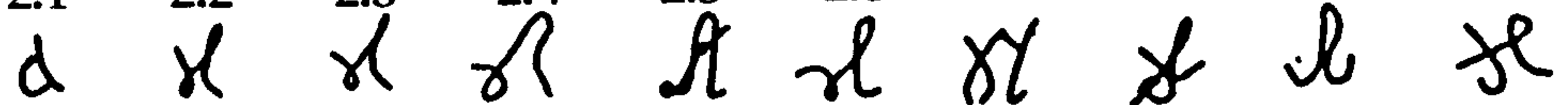
46


BKI


LETTER SHAPES IDENTIFIED IN THE SURVEY


Some letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2.(1) Bruce


a1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6 1.7 1.8


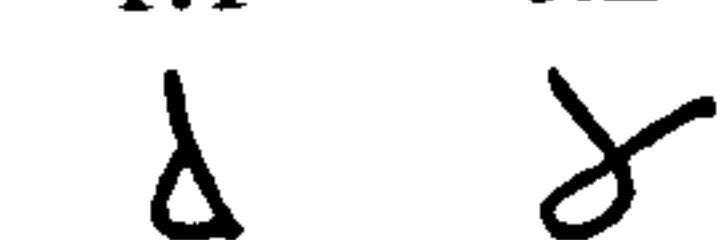
a2 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4 2.5 2.6 2.7 2.8 2.9 2.10


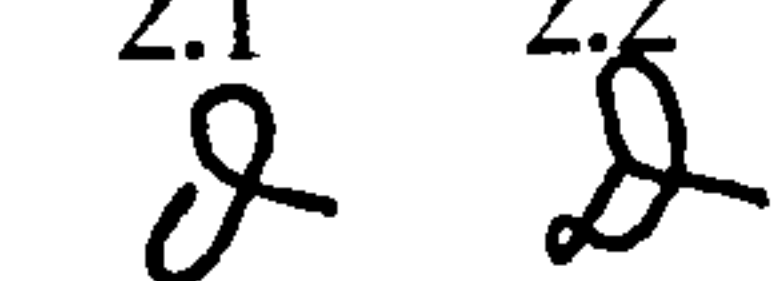
b1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4



b2 2.1



b3 3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4 3.5



b4 4.1 4.2 4.3 4.4 4.5 4.6 4.7


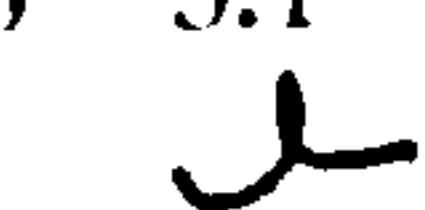
d1 1.1 1.2


d2 2.1 2.2


d3 3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4


e1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6


e2 2.1 2.2 2.3


e3 3.1


letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2. (1) Bruce

f1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6 1.7
F F F F F F F

f2 2.1 2.2
F F

g 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6 1.7
g g g g g g g

h1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6 1.7 1.8
h h h h h h h h

h2 2.1
h

h3 3.1 3.2 3.3 3.4 3.5 3.6 3.7 3.8
h h h h h h h h

h4 4.1 4.2
h h

k1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6
k k k k k k

k2 2.1
k

letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2. (1) Bruce

r1 1.1 1.2 1.3
2 2 2

r2 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4
v v v w

r3 3.1 3.2 3.3
r r r

s1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5
p p p p p

s2 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4
b b b b

s3 3.1 3.2 3.3
b b b

long -sc 1.1 1.2
r r

t1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5
t t t t t

t2 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4 2.5
t t t t t

Some letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2.(2) Wallace

a1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.6 1.7 1.9 1.10 1.11
 a a a a u u l u a

a2 2.3 2.12 2.13 2.14 2.15 2.16 2.17 2.18 2.19
 k π ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ

b1 1.1 1.3 1.5
 b b b

b2 2.1 2.2 2.3
 b b b

b3 3.3 3.6
 B B

b4 4.1 4.2 4.8 4.9 4.10 4.11 4.12
 B B B B B B B

d1 1.1 1.3
 d d

d2 2.1 2.2
 d d


d3 3.2 3.5 3.6 3.7 3.8
 d d d d d


e1 1.2 1.3 1.7
 e e e


e2 2.2 2.4 2.5
 e e e


e3 3.2
 e


letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2. (2) Wallace


f1 1.1 1.3 1.4 1.6


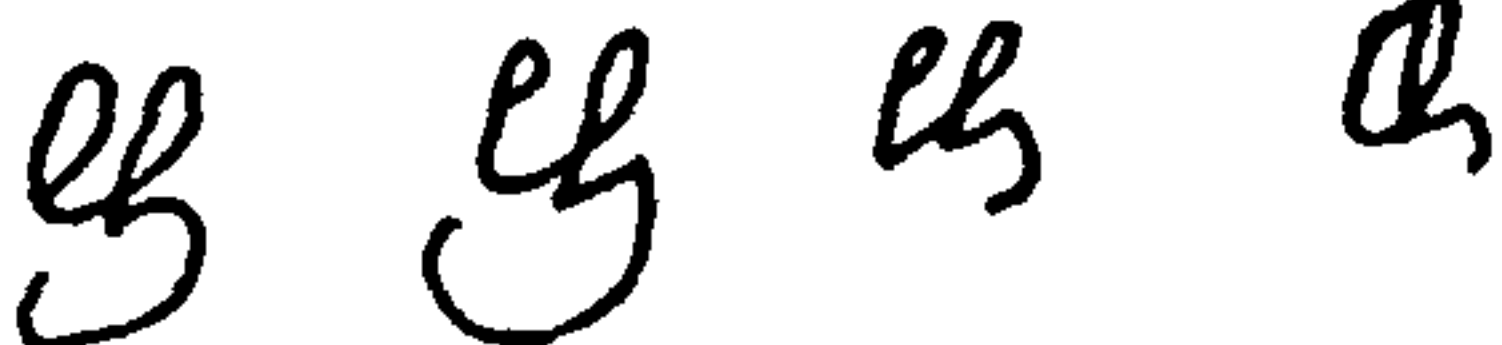
f2 2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4 2.5 2.6 2.7 2.8



g 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.5 1.6 1.8


h1 1.1 1.3 1.9 1.10 1.11


h2 2.1 2.2 2.3


h3 3.1 3.4 3.5 3.9 3.10


h4 4.1 4.3 4.4 4.5


k1 1.1 1.4 1.5 1.6 1.7 1.8 1.9


k2

letter shapes found in Adv. 19.2.2. (2) Wallace

r1 1.1 1.3
z z

r2 2.2
v

r3 3.1 3.4 3.5 3.6
R R R R

r4 ∅

s1 1.1 1.2 1.3 1.6
s s s s

s2 2.4 2.5 2.6 2.7 2.8 2.9 2.10 2.11
o o o o o o o o

s3 3.1 3.2
B B

long -sc 1.1
t

t1 1.1 1.2 1.6
t t f

t2 2.6 2.7 2.8 2.9
t t t t

THE PROFILES

text:

Bruce

folio: 17r

initial

medial

final

1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.3} a ^{1.5}	a ^{1.1} (a ^{1.3})	a ^{1.7}
		((a ^{1.6})))	((a ^{1.7})))	a ^{1.1}
		a ² a ^{2.6}		
2. b	b ¹	a b ^{1.1}	b ^{1.3}	
	b ²	((b ^{2.1})))		
	b ³	6 b ^{3.3}	b ^{3.2}	
	b ⁴	((b ^{4.4} b ^{4.6})))		
3. d	d ¹			((d ^{1.1})))
	d ²			
	d ³	d ^{3.1}		d ^{3.2}
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.1}	e ^{1.1}	e ^{1.1}
	e ²			
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.1} ((f ^{1.5})))	f ^{1.1}	
	f ²			f ^{2.1} f ^{2.2}

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.1} ((g ^{1.2}))	g ^{1.1} (((g ^{1.5})))	g ^{1.1} g ^{1.2}
7. h	h ¹	20 h ^{1.4} ((h ^{1.1}))	h ^{1.4}	((h ^{1.1}))
	h ²		((h ^{2.1}))	
	h ³	14 h ^{3.2} (h ^{3.1})	((h ^{3.1}))	
		(h ^{3.5})		
	h ⁴	(h ^{4.1})		
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.5} ((k ^{1.4}))	k ^{1.4}	k ^{1.2} k ^{1.4}
	k ²	((k ^{2.1}))		
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	((r ^{1.1}))
	r ²		r ^{2.4}	r ^{2.2} ((r ^{2.1}))
	r ³	((r ^{3.1}))		
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.1}	s ^{1.1} (((s ^{1.3})))	
	s ²	s ^{2.2}		s ^{2.2}
	s ³			((s ^{3.1} ; s ^{3.3}))
11. long	sc	sc ^{1.1}	sc ^{1.1}	
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.4}	t ^{1.2}	t ^{1.2}
		t ² t ^{2.1}		

text:

Bruce

folio: 33r

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.3} a ^{1.2}	a ^{1.2} a ^{1.1} (((a ^{1.3})))	
	a ²	a ^{2.7} a ^{2.8}		
2. b	b ¹	(b ^{1.1})		
	b ²			b ^{2.1}
	b ³	b ^{3.3}		
	b ⁴	(((b ^{4.5} b ^{4.6})))		
3. d	d ¹			
	d ²	(((d ^{2.1} d ^{2.2})))	(((d ^{2.1})))	(((d ^{2.1})))
	d ³	d ^{3.1} (d ^{3.2})	d ^{3.2}	d ^{3.2} (((d ^{3.4})))
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.2} e ^{1.4}	e ^{1.1} ((e ^{1.4}))	e ^{1.1} (e ^{1.4})
	e ²			
	e ³			(((e ^{3.1})))
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.6} (f ^{1.2})	f ^{1.2}	f ^{1.1} (((f ^{1.3})))
		(((f ^{1.4})))		
	f ²			f ^{2.2}

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.7})))	g ^{1.2}	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.1} g ^{1.5})))
7. h	h ¹	h ^{1.6} h ^{1.4} (((h ^{1.1})))	h ^{1.5} (h ^{1.6} h ^{1.4})	h ^{1.5}
	h ²	(((h ^{2.1})))		
	h ³	(((h ^{3.2} h ^{3.1})))		
	h ⁴			
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.3} k ^{1.5}	k ^{1.3} k ^{1.4}	k ^{1.5}
	k ²			
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.1} r ^{1.3}	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.2}
	r ²		(((r ^{2.2})))	
	r ³	(((r ^{3.2} r ^{3.3})))		
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.1} s ^{1.4}	s ^{1.1} s ^{1.4}	
	s ²	s ^{2.2}		s ^{2.4}
	s ³			(s ^{3.3}) (((s ^{3.1})))
11. long	sc	sc ^{1.1} sc ^{1.2}	sc ^{1.2}	
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.4}	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}
		t ² t ^{2.4} 2.5		

text:

Bruce

folio: 49r

	initial	medial	final
1. a	a1 a1.2 (a1.1) a2 (((a2.9 A 2.10))) a2.6 a2.5	a1.1 a1.3 a 1.6)))	a1.1
2. b	b1 (((b1.1 b1.3))) b2 b3 b3.3 b4 b4.7	b3.1 b3.2	
3. d	d1 d2 d3 d3.1	d3.2	d3.2 (((d3.2)))
4. e	e1 e1.2 e1.4 e2 e2.1 e2.3	e1.1	e1.1 (((e1.4)))
5. f	f1 f1.4 (((f1.1))) f2 (((f2.1)))	f1.3	f1.7 (f1.2) (((f1.1)))

6.	g	g ¹	g ^{1.2}	g ^{1.2}	g ^{1.7}
7.	h	h ¹	h ^{1.1} h ^{1.4}	h ^{1.3} (((h ^{1.4}))) (((h ^{1.8})))	h ^{1.3}
		h ²			
		h ³	(h ^{3.1}) (((h ^{3.7} h ^{3.2})))	(((h ^{3.8})))	
		h ⁴	(((h ^{4.2})))		
8.	k	k ¹	k ^{1.3}	k ^{1.2} k ^{1.4}	k ^{1.3}
		k ²			
9.	r	r ¹	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	(r ^{1.1})
		r ²		(((r ^{2.2})))	r ^{2.2}
		r ³	(((r ^{3.1})))		
10.	s	s ¹	s ^{1.1}	s ^{1.1}	
		s ²	(((s ^{2.2})))		s ^{2.4}
		s ³			(((s ^{3.1}))) s ^{3.3}
11.	long	sc		sc ^{1.1}	
12.	t	t ¹	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}
		t ²	t ^{2.1}		

text:

Bruce

folio: 63r

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a1	a1.2 a1.7 a1.3	a1.1 a1.8 a 1.4	a1.1
	a2	a2.8 a2.9 (((a2.10.11)))		
			[1 each]	
2. b	b1	(((b1.3)))	(b1.4 b1.3 b1.1)	
	b2			
	b3	b3.1 (b3.5)	b3.3	
	b4	(((b4.6)))		
3. d	d1			
	d2			(((d2.1)))
	d3	d3.1	d3.2	d3.2 (((d3.1)))
4. e	e1	e1.4 e1.2	e1.1 e1.4	e1.1 (((e1.4)))
	e2			
5. f	f1	f1.4 (((f1.6, 1.1)))	f1.3	f1.3
	f2	(((f2.1)))	f2.1	f2.1 (((f2.2)))

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.6})))	g ^{1.1} g ^{1.2}	g ^{1.2} g ^{1.1} g ^{1.7}
7. h	h ¹	h ^{1.4} h ^{1.5}	h ^{1.5} (h ^{1.2} h ^{1.1})	h ^{1.3}
		(h ^{1.7} h ^{1.8} h ^{1.3})	((((h ^{1.8})))	
	h ²			
	h ³	h ^{3.4} (h ^{3.5})	((((h ^{3.2})))	((h ^{3.1}))
		((((h ^{3.2})))		
	h ⁴	(h ^{4.1})		
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.3} k ^{1.2}	k ^{1.1} k ^{1.2} k ^{1.4}	k ^{1.2} k ^{1.1}
	k ²			
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	((((r ^{1.1})))
	r ²		((((r ^{2.2})))	r ^{2.2}
	r ³	((((r ^{3.1})))		
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.1} (((s ^{1.4} s ^{1.2})))	s ^{1.1} (((s ^{1.2})))	
	s ²			s ^{2.4}
	s ³			(s ^{3.2}) ((s ^{3.1}))
11. long	sc		sc ^{1.1}	
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.4}	t ^{1.6} t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}
	t ²	t ^{2.1}		

text:

Wallace

folio: 1r

initialmedialfinal

1. a	a1	a1.2 a1.6	((a1.9 a 1.2))	a1.1
			a1.1 ((a1.10 a1.6))	
	a2	a2.12 a2.2 a2.13		
2. b	b1	b1.1	b1.1	
	b2	((b2.1))		
	b3	((b3.6))	b3.3	
	b4	((b4.1))		
3. d	d1			((d1.3))
	d2	d2.2 ((d2.1))	d2.1	(d2.1)
	d3	((d3.5 d 3.2))		d3.5
4. e	e1	e1.2 e1.3 e1.7	e1.2 e1.6	e1.2
	e2	e2.2 e2.1		
				e3.2
5. f	f1	f1.6 ((f1.1 f1.3))	f1.6	f1.1 f1.4 ((f1.6))
	f2			f2.2 f 2.3

		<u>initial</u>	<u>medial</u>	<u>final</u>
6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.3})))	g ^{1.1} ((g ^{1.2}))	g ^{1.5}
7. h	h ¹	h ^{1.1}	h ^{1.3}	h ^{1.3}
	h ²	(((h ^{2.1})))	(((h ^{2.1})))	
	h ³	h ^{3.1} (h ^{3.9})	(((h ^{3.9})))	
	h ⁴	(((h ^{4.3} h ^{4.1})))		
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.1} k ^{1.4} k ^{1.7}	k ^{1.5} k ^{1.7}	k ^{1.7} k ^{1.6}
	k ²			
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.3}	r ^{1.1}	(((r ^{1.1})))
	r ²		(((r ^{2.2})))	r ^{2.2}
	r ³	r ^{3.4} r ^{3.1} r ^{3.5}		
	r ⁴			r ^{4.1}
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.3} (((s ^{1.1} s ^{1.2})))	s ^{1.1}	
	s ²	(((s ^{2.5})))		s ^{2.4} (((s ^{2.6})))
	s ³			(s ^{3.2}) ((s ^{3.1}))
11. long	sc	sc ^{1.1}		

12. t t^1 $t^{1.2}$ $t^{1.1}$ $t^{1.3}$ $t^{1.1}$ $t^{1.2}$ $t^{1.1}$
 t^2

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.7} (((a ^{1.1} , 1.11)))	a ^{1.6} (a ^{1.1} a ^{1.10}) (((a ^{1.3})))	
	a ²	a ^{2.14} a ^{2.13} a ^{2.12} a ^{2.2}		
2. b	b ¹	b ^{1.3}		
	b ²	(b ^{2.1})	b ^{2.1}	
	b ³	(((b ^{3.6})))	b ^{3.3}	
	b ⁴	(((B ^{4.1})))		
3. d	d ¹			
	d ²	d ^{2.1}	d ^{2.1}	d ^{2.1}
	d ³			d ^{3.2} (((d ^{3.7})))
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.1} e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.5} e ^{1.2} e ^{1.1}
	e ²			
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.6} (f ^{1.1})	f ^{1.1} f ^{1.6} f ^{1.4}	(((f ^{1.6})))
	f ²	(((f ^{2.2})))	f ^{2.1}	f ^{2.1} (((f ^{2.4})))

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.2} (g ^{1.8})	g ^{1.8} g ^{1.1}	g ^{1.2} g ^{1.5}
7. h	h ¹	((h ^{1.3})) ((h ^{1.9} h ^{1.1})))	h ^{1.3} (((h ^{1.10})))	
	h ²			
	h ³	h ^{3.1}	(((h ^{3.10})))	
	h ⁴	(((h ^{4.4})))		
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.5}	k ^{1.3}	k ^{1.2}
	k ²			
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.3} r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	(((r ^{1.2})))
	r ²			r ^{2.2}
	r ³	r ^{3.1}		
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.3} (s ^{1.1}) (((s ^{1.2})))	s ^{1.1} (s ^{1.3})	
	s ²	(((s ^{2.5})))		(s ^{2.4})
	s ³			s ^{3.3} s ^{3.1}
11. long	sc	sc ^{1.1}	sc ^{1.1}	
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.1} t ^{1.2}	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}
	t ²			

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.6} (((a ^{1.2})))	a ^{1.6} ((a ^{1.1}))	
	a ²	(a ^{2.9}) (((a ^{2.15} , 2.16, 2.17)))		
2. b	b ¹	(b ^{1.1})		
	b ²	b ^{2.3} ((b ^{2.1}))	b ^{2.3}	
	b ³	b ^{3.6} ((b ^{3.2}))	b ^{3.6}	
	b ⁴			
3. d	d ¹			
	d ²	d ^{2.1}	d ^{2.1}	(d ^{2.1})
	d ³		d ^{3.1} d ^{3.6}	d ^{3.2} (((d ^{3.6})))
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.1}	e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.2}
	e ²			
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.6,1.2,1.4,1.1}		(((f ^{1.6})))
	f ²		f ^{2.1}	(f ^{2.5}) f ^{2.4} f ^{2.2}

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.8} g ^{1.1}	g ^{1.1} (((g ^{1.5} g ^{1.8})))	g ^{1.1} g ^{1.5}
7. h	h ¹	h ^{1.1} ((h ^{1.6}))	h ^{1.3} (((h ^{1.1})))	h ^{1.3}
		((h ^{1.9}))		
	h ²	((h ^{2.3}))		
	h ³	(h ^{3.1})	((h ^{3.1}))	
	h ⁴	((h ^{4.4} h ^{4.5}))		
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.6} (k ^{1.1})	((k ^{1.8}))	k ^{1.9}
	k ²		(k ^{1.4}) k ^{1.7}	k ^{1.7} ((k ^{1.4}))
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	((r ^{1.1}))
	r ²		((r ^{2.2}))	r ^{2.2}
	r ³			
	r ⁴		((r ^{4.1}))	
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.6} ((s ^{1.1} s ^{1.2}))	s ^{1.1}	
	s ²	(s ^{2.5}) (s ^{2.7} s ^{2.8})		s ^{2.4}
	s ³		((s ^{3.1}))	(s ^{3.1} s ^{3.3})
11. long	sc		sc ^{1.1}	
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1} t ^{1.2}	t ^{1.2} t ^{1.1}
	t ²			

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.2} (((a ^{1.3} a ^{1.8})))	a ^{1.1} (((a ^{1.10})) (((a ^{1.7})))	
	a ²	a ^{2.12}		
2. b	b ¹	b ^{1.3} b ^{1.1}		
	b ²			
	b ³	b ^{3.6}	b ^{3.3}	
	b ⁴	b ^{4.2} b ^{4.11}		
3. d	d ¹	(((d ^{1.1})))		
	d ²	d ^{2.2} d ^{2.1}		
	d ³	(((d ^{3.5})))		
4. e	e ¹		e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.2}
	e ²		e ^{2.2}	
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.4} ((f ^{1.6} f ^{1.1}))	f ^{1.4} f ^{1.1}	
	f ²			f ^{2.2} (f ^{2.6} f ^{2.4})

6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.5} g ^{1.8})))	g ^{1.2} (((g ^{1.1})))	g ^{1.1} (((g ^{1.2})))
7. h	h ¹	(((h ^{1.3} h ^{1.4})))	h ^{1.3} (h ^{1.10})	
	h ²	(((h ^{2.1})))		
	h ³	h ^{3.5} (((h ^{3.4})))	(((h ^{3.1})))	
	h ⁴			
8. k	k ¹	k ^{1.2} k ^{1.1} k ^{1.7}	k ^{1.2} k ^{1.7}	k ^{1.7} k ^{1.2} k ^{1.1} k ^{1.6}
	k ²		k ^{2.1}	
9. r	r ¹	r ^{1.1}	r ^{1.1}	((r ^{1.1}))
	r ²		(((r ^{2.2})))	r ^{2.2}
	r ³			
	r ⁴		(((r ^{4.1})))	
10. s	s ¹	s ^{1.4} s ^{1.1} (((s ^{1.2})))	s ^{1.1}	
	s ²	s ^{2.5}		(((s ^{2.4})))
	s ³			s ^{3.2} ((s ^{3.1}))
11. long	sc			
12. t	t ¹	t ^{1.6} t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}	t ^{1.1}
	t ²	t ^{2.6}		

text:

Wallace

folio:83r

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.2} (a ^{1.7})	a ^{1.1} (a ^{1.2} a ^{1.7})	a ^{1.7}
	a ²	((a ^{2.18} 2.12)))		
2. b	b ¹	(b ^{1.3})		
	b ²	((b ^{2.2})))		
	b ³	b ^{3.6} b ^{3.3}	b ^{3.3}	
	b ⁴	(b ^{4.1})		
3. d	d ¹			
	d ²	d ^{2.2} (d ^{2.1})		
	d ³	((d ^{3.5})))		
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.1}	e ^{1.1}
	e ²			
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.6} f ^{1.1} f ^{1.4} f ^{1.1}		
	f ²	f ^{2.7} f ^{2.2}		f ^{2.1} f ^{2.3} f ^{2.8}
6. g	g ¹	g ^{1.8} (g ^{1.1})	g ^{1.1}	g ^{1.1} ((g ^{1.2}))

((g1.6))

7. h	h1	h1.1 (h1.9)	h1.5 (h1.1 h1.9)	h1.8 ((h1.1))
	h2		((h2.1))	
	h3	((h3.1))		
	h4			
8. k	k1		k1.8	k1.1 k1.5
	k2		k1.4	
9. r	r1	r1.1	r1.1	
	r2		((r2.2))	r2.2
	r3	r3.6		
10. s	s1	s1.4	s1.1	
	s2	((s2.9, 2.5, 2.10,2.11))		(s2.4)
	s3			((s3.1))
11. long	sc			
12. t	t1	t1.1	t1.1	t1.1
	t2	t2.8 t2.9		

text:

Wallace

folio: 103r

		initial	medial	final
1. a	a ¹	a ^{1.2} (((a ^{1.3} a ^{1.7})))	(((a ^{1.2} a ^{1.6} a ^{1.10})))	a ^{1.1} a ^{1.11}
	a ²	(((a ^{2.5} a ^{2.12} a ^{2.18} a ^{2.19})))		
2. b	b ¹	(((b ^{1.5} b ^{1.3})))		
	b ²	(((b ^{2.2})))		
	b ³	b ^{3.6}		
	b ⁴	(b ^{4.1}) (((b ^{4.12})))		
3. d	d ¹			(((d ^{1.1})))
	d ²	d ^{2.2}	d ^{2.2}	(d ^{2.1})
	d ³		d ^{3.5}	d ^{3.7} (d ^{3.8}) (((d ^{3.2})))
4. e	e ¹	e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.2}	e ^{1.2}
	e ²	(((e ^{2.2})))		
	e ³			(((e ^{3.2})))
5. f	f ¹	f ^{1.1}		
	f ²			f ^{2.2}

6. g g¹ g^{1.5} g^{1.2} g^{1.1} g^{1.8} g^{1.1} g^{1.8}
g^{1.6}

7. h h¹ h^{1.1} (((h^{1.10}))) h^{1.3} (((h^{1.9})))
h²
h³ (((h^{3.10} h^{3.5})))
h⁴ (((h^{4.3})))

8. k k¹ k^{1.1}
k² k^{1.4}

9. r r¹ r^{1.1} r^{1.1}
r² (((r^{2.2}))) r^{2.2}
r³ r^{3.6}
(((r^{4.1})))

10. s s¹ s^{1.1} (((s^{1.2} s^{1.6}))) s^{1.1}
s² (s^{2.4})
s³ s^{3.2} (((s^{3.1})))

11. long sc sc¹

12. t t¹

t^{1.1} t^{1.6}

t^{1.1}

t^{1.1}

t²

APPENDIX THREE: THE CODICOLOGICAL PROFILES

CORRECTIONS

The numbers in the grid indicate the MS lines at which the methods of correction indicated at the top of the grid can be observed. Differences in grid sizes are explicable in mechanical terms. The grids were created on a spreadsheet program and those cells in which no information was entered (i.e. because the relevant feature did not appear in the tranche) were not printed.

Adv 19.2.2 Corrections Text: *Bruce Tranche B1*

folio	erasure	cancel	epunct	u/score	oblit	va-cat	diss	supimp.	supscr	in line	above	margin	caret
4R													2.35
4V													2.26
5R							1.25						2.37
5V													
6r		2.12+								1.23			x2.72

Adv. 19. 2. 2 Corrections Text: *Bruce* Tranche B4

folio	erasure	cancel	epunct	u/score	oblit	va-cat	diss	supimp.	supscr	in line	above	margin	caret	addition	
64r														1.48	2.32
64v														2.27	1.4+
65r														1.5	2.2
65v															
66r														1.38	

Adv. 19. 2. 2 Corrections Text: *Wallace* Tranche W 1

folio erasure cancel expunct u/score oblit va-cat diss supimp. supscr in line above margin addition

4r 17+ 26

4v

5r 27+

5v

6r 4+

6v 31v

7r 20+

7v 48

8r

42+

Adv 19. 2. 2 Corrections Text: *Wallace* Tranche W2

folio	erasure	cancel	ecpunct	u/score	oblit	va-cat	diss	supimp.	supscr	in line	above	caret
34r												
34v	20											
35r												
35v	14											
36r	4											
36v	36+											
37r	8-											
37v	23-							11				
38r	5											

Adv 19. 2. 2 Corrections Text: *Wallace* Tranche W3

folio	erasure	cancel	epunct	u/score	oblit	va-cat	diss	supimp.	supscr	in line	above	margin	space
74r	42+												
74v													
75r	33												
75v													
76r	9+												18
76v								11					32
77r													
77v													
78r	3+4+												

Adv 19. 2. 2 Corrections Text: *Wallace* Tranche W4

folio	erasure	cancel	ecpunct	u/score	oblit	va-cat	diss	supimp.	supscr	in line	above	margin
114r	6+											24-
114v												
115r												
115v												
116r		2										
116v	6+											
117r	34+							41				
117v	34+											
118r	1+1+											

ABBREVIATIONS

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: BRUCE TRANCHE B1

FOLIO	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	4.1	9.1	7.1	16	17	18	
4r	/	/	/	/				/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/				
4v	/						/		/		/		/		/			/	/			
5r	/	/	/	/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/		/			
5v	/	/	/	/	/			/			/		/				/		/			
6r	/	/	/			/				/		/		/					/			/
6v																						

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: BRUCE TRANCHE B3

Fol.	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
44r	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
44v	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
45r	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
45v	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
46r	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: BRUCE TRANCHE B4

Folio	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
64r	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
64v	/	/	/						/					/		/	/				/					/	
65r	/	/	/		/	/				/	/	/	/				/	/				/		/			
65v	/	/	/			/				/	/	/	/				/	/									
66r	/	/	/				/			/		/			/	/	/	/									

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: WALLACE TRANCHE W1

Folio	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
4r	/	/	/	/					/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/									
4v	/	/	/	/	/					/								/								/	
5r	/	/	/	/		/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/									
5v	/	/	/	/	/				/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/								/	
6r	/	/	/	/					/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/									
6v	/	/	/	/					/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/			/						
7r	/	*	/	/	/				/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/									
7v	/	/	/	/		/			/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/									
8r									/						/			/									

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: WALLACE TRANCHE W2

Folio	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
34r	/	/	/		/		/					/	/	/	/	/	/								
34v	/	/	/	/	/			/									/								
35r	/	/	/									/		/	/	/	/							/	
35v	/	/	/	/					/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/								
36r	/	/	/				/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/				/				
36v	/	/	/				/		/								/								
37r	/	/	/						/		/	/	/	/	/	/	/								
37v	/	/	/						/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/								
38r	/	/	/						/								/								

ADV 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: WALLACE TRANCHE W3

Folio	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
74r	/	/	/	/			/										/											
74v	/	/							/			/				/	/	/										
75r	/	/	/	/					/	/		/				/	/	/										
75v	/	/	/			/			/		/					/	/	/										
76r	/	/	/						/	/		/				/	/	/										
76v	/	/	/						/	/		/				/	/	/										
77r		/	/						/	/		/				/	/	/										
77v	/	/	/			/			/	/		/				/	/	/								/		
78r	/	/	/						/	/		/				/	/	/										

ADV. 19. 2. 2 ABBREVIATIONS TEXT: WALLACE TRANCHE W4

Folio	1	2	3	4	4.1	5	6	7	7.1	8	9	9.1	10	11	12	13	13.1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	23.1
114r	/		/			/			/	/	/																	
114v	/	/	/						/					/				/				/						
115r	/	/	/						/	/								/				/					/	
115v	/	/	/															/				/						
116r	/	/	/						/	/	/							/				/						
116v	/	/	/						/					/				/				/						
117r	/	/	/										/					/				/					/	
117v	/	/	/						/					/				/				/						
118r	/		/						/					/				/				/					/	

