



FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

On the origin, development and sociolinguistic status of Scots

Grao en Lingua e Literatura Inglesas
Autora: Claudia Lamas Fernández
Titora: Belén Méndez Naya

2021/2022



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Título: On the origin, development and sociolinguistic status of Scots

Resumo:

Scots is a Germanic language whose origin is to be found in the variety of Old English spoken by the Angles in the Lowlands of Scotland about 1400 years ago.

For a long time, Scots has been the subject of great controversy among linguists. Many scholars have tried to provide an answer for a key question, whether Scots is an independent language or a variety of English. The existence of a *dialect continuum* between broad Scots and Scottish Standard English (Maguire 2012: 53), which makes many Scots and English dialects mutually intelligible, is one of the main reasons why this issue is so difficult to solve.

The study of Scots is very rewarding, due to its complex origin, its high degree of linguistic variation, the changes in prestige it has undergone over time (Millar 2016: 49, 50) and its long history of contact with other languages.

The aim of this dissertation is to offer an account of the history and evolution of Scots across centuries, as well as its most relevant linguistic features.

The dissertation is divided into two parts. In the theoretical part, I will carry out a study of Scots, focusing on those aspects of the external history of Scotland which play an important role in its evolution and sociolinguistic status (among others, Union of the Crowns in 1603 and the vernacular revival of the 18th century). Other important issues such as absence of standardization and predominance of oral transmission will also be addressed. Moreover, this part will include a description of the variety, paying attention to its main phonological, grammatical and lexical features, comparing them with English.

The empirical part of the dissertation will be devoted to the analysis of a selection of texts belonging to different periods of Scots; early Scots (1350-1450), Middle Scots (1450-1700) and Modern Scots (1700-present day), where the relevant linguistic features will be identified.

Basic references:

Maguire, W. 2012. English and Scots in Scotland. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *Areal Features of the Anglophone World* (pp. 53-78). Berlin: Mouton.

McColl Millar, R. 2016. *Contact: The Interaction of Closely Related Linguistic Varieties and the History of English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Santiago de Compostela, 8 de Outubro de 2021.

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SRA. PRESIDENTA DA COMISIÓN DO TRABALLO DE FIN DE GRAO

Declaración de orixinalidade

Dona Claudia Lamas Fernández, con DNI 32721668M, declaro que o presente Traballo de Fin de Grao é íntegramente orixinal, e que non ten sido empregada ninguna fonte sen ser referenciada, sendo consciente do delito de plaxio que constitúe o contrario.

Para que así conste, asino o presente documento,

En Santiago de Compostela, a 29 de xuño de 2022.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'claudia', with a long horizontal flourish underneath.

Acknowledgements

To Belén, for all the help and tireless support.

Ás nenas, por salvarme a vida e ensinarme a vivila.

A mamá, papá e Martín, por confiar plenamente en min.

A toda a xente que me fixo ser quen son.

None of this would have been possible without you. Grazas infinitas.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Historical background: Scotland	3
2.1. Before the fourteenth century: The earliest settlements	3
2.1.1. <i>The Anglian Settlements</i>	3
2.1.2. <i>The Viking Invasions</i>	5
2.1.3. <i>The Norman Conquest</i>	5
2.2. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: from King Robert II to King James I.....	7
2.3. Sixteenth Century: The Protestant Reformation	8
2.4. Seventeenth Century. King James VI: The Union of the Crowns (1603)	10
2.5. Eighteenth Century	11
2.5.1. <i>The Union of the Parliaments (1707)</i>	11
2.5.2. <i>Jacobite Rebellions</i>	12
3. Scots across Centuries: History and Evolution	13
3.1. Pre-Literary Scots (c. 600 - 1350).....	13
3.1.1. <i>Northumbrian and Old Norse</i>	14
3.1.2. <i>Normanization</i>	15
3.1.3. <i>The Increasing Prestige of ‘Inglis’</i>	16
3.2. Early and Early Middle Scots (1350-1550)	17
3.2.1. <i>A National Language: Consolidation</i>	17
3.2.2. <i>The Scottish Makaris</i>	18
3.2.3. <i>Standardization</i>	19
3.3. Late Middle Scots (1550-1700)	20
3.3.1. <i>Dialectal Variation</i>	20
3.3.2. <i>Decline: Causes and Consequences</i>	22
3.4. Modern Scots (1700-)	24
3.4.1. <i>Dialectalization and Anglicization</i>	24
3.4.2. <i>The Vernacular Revival</i>	27
3.4.3. <i>The Emergence of Scottish Standard English</i>	28
3.4.4. <i>A Language or a Dialect?</i>	30
4. Linguistic Features of Scots	31
4.1. Phonology	32

4.1.1. <i>The Vowel System</i>	32
4.1.2. <i>The Consonant System</i>	35
4.2. Morphosyntax	37
4.2.1. <i>Nouns</i>	38
4.2.3. <i>Verbs</i>	39
4.2.4. <i>Negation and Negative Constructions</i>	40
4.3. Lexis: Main Sources	40
5. Scots Illustrated: Late Middle Scots (1550-1700)	43
5.1. Spelling	44
5.1.1. <i>Consonants</i>	44
5.1.2. <i>Vowels</i>	46
5.2. Grammar	48
5.2.1. <i>Nouns</i>	48
5.2.2. <i>Pronouns</i>	48
5.2.3. <i>Verbs</i>	49
5.3. Vocabulary.....	50
6. Conclusion	52
References	55
Appendix	61

1. Introduction

One of the most problematic aspects of linguistics is concerned with the establishment of a boundary between what is a language and what is a dialect. This is a very complex issue in which both extra and intralinguistic factors are involved. Furthermore, there are many varieties whose linguistic status changes over the years: some of them are initially dialects and evolve into languages or vice versa. The sociolinguistic situation of the different speech communities also plays an important role in this controversy, as a community's perception of a particular variety highly influences its future development.

This is the case of Scots, which was originally a Germanic language derived from the Old English Anglian dialects spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland about 1400 years ago. Over the centuries and due to a high influence of external factors, it went from being an autonomous language distinct from English to a period of decline and anglicization that ended in its dialectalization under Scottish Standard English. As a result of these rapid and drastic changes, a debate has arisen among linguists today as to whether Scots is still an independent language or whether it should be considered a special variety of English.

I have always been especially interested in this controversy and the debates concerning different languages and dialects in speech communities where different varieties coexist. My main objective in this dissertation is to study what and to what extent external factors and language contact situations have influenced the development of Scots and the evolution of its sociolinguistic status. In addition, I also intend to observe how these developments are reflected in the internal structure of the language and in particular written texts.

For this purpose, I will examine the history and progress of Scots over the centuries, paying attention to what external aspects were decisive in bringing the language to its present situation. Some of these aspects include events in the history of Scotland, different languages with which Scots was in contact at different times, and especially the relationship and

influence exerted by England and English in the process of anglicization and dialectalization of the language. Moreover, I will also make a description of the linguistic characteristics of Scots during one of its most complex and controversial moments (Late Middle Scots) and support that description with a fragment of a literary work from the same period.

Even though the history of Scotland as a whole is not the main focus of this dissertation, it is essential to know something about it to better understand the situation of the Scots language over the years. Chapter 2, therefore, provides an overview of the main episodes in Scottish history between the 5th and 18th centuries that were central to the development of Scots.

Chapter 3 deals with the history and evolution of Scots itself, analysing its different periods from the 7th to the 21st century. Each period contains information regarding the state of the language at that particular moment in time, the different factors that led to this situation, its contact with other languages, changes in its status and other relevant details.

Chapter 4 develops the most salient linguistic features of Scots during the Late Middle Scots Period (1550-1700) at the phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical level, comparing and contrasting them with those of English (when relevant). This period is one of the most important in terms of the linguistic evolution of Scots, especially due to its relationship with the neighbouring language of the south.

Finally, chapter 5 selects an excerpt from one of the most important writings of the period explained in the previous chapter: James VI's *Basilicon Doron*. Two different editions of the same book, one from 1598 and the other from 1603, are analysed to illustrate the linguistic characteristics of Late Middle Scots and to determine to what extent the process of the anglicization of Scots affected the composition and revision of the work.

“The history of a language is intimately related to the history of the community of its speakers, so neither can be studied without considering the other.” (Algeo 2001: 1)

2. Historical background: Scotland

In line with Algeo’s words, it can be affirmed that languages are an intangible property of different peoples and directly reflect everything that happens to their speakers. In such a manner, Scots is closely linked to all the historical events that occurred in Scotland.

This chapter offers a general overview of certain moments in the history of Scotland, mostly between the 5th and 18th centuries. These events are key to understanding the development of the Scots language and constitute the essential backdrop for the following chapters.

2.1. Before the fourteenth century: The earliest settlements

2.1.1. The Anglian Settlements

As will be explained below, scholars usually agree on the fact that Scots did not emerge until the fourteenth century. However, before that moment, the language had been progressively developing for a long time.

The available information from the earliest centuries of Scottish history is a mixture of historical accuracy and legendary accounts. One of the reasons why it is so troublesome to obtain reliable data lies on the fact that the territory known today as Scotland was inhabited by many different peoples, such as the Picts or the Britons (Olivier 2008).

For many years, the borders between these peoples, as well as the Scotland-England divide, underwent numerous changes. However, the beginning of the historical journey of Scots is signalled by the language itself, since “the most significant component in the makeup of Scots is the Old English, be it the local Anglian dialect of the Lothians” (The University of Edinburgh 2017).

Focusing on the previous quotation, the first people to be of special importance for Scots's history are the Anglo-Saxons. Anglo Saxons arrived at what it is today the South-East of modern Scotland around the 5th century, expelling the Britons, who were to settle in Wales. By the 7th century, the Anglo-Saxons held the Kingdom of Northumbria. The Angles lived mostly north of the kingdom and the Saxons towards the south (Ford 2004: 2). “[The] Kingdom of Northumbria [is] the northernmost Anglo-Saxon territory. Stretching from the Humber to the Firth of Forth” (Alcorn et al. 2017: 5). Specifically, the Anglo-Saxons who exerted a major influence in the emergence of Scots were those who lived in the Lothian area. This area was located in “[t]he northern part of Northumbria, Bernicia” (Mitchison 2002: 8), which had previously been an independent kingdom.



Figure 1

Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria, circa 8th century. (Wikimedia Commons)

2.1.2. The Viking Invasions

As Maguire (2012: 53) points out, another language that plays an important role in the constitution of Scots is Old Norse, taking into consideration the Viking invasions and posterior settlements of northern and eastern England. For that reason, the Vikings are also to be mentioned as especially relevant as far as Scottish history is concerned.

The first Vikings arrived at the British Isles towards the end of the 8th century. When they first reached the island, they were only interested in looting, stealing all the treasures they could get and destroying what stood between them and their objectives. Nonetheless, “a generation later the emphasis was on conquest and settlement” (Mitchison 2002: 9). Hence, by the end of the 9th century, once they settled in the North of England, the aforementioned kingdom of Northumbria was already divided into two: Northumbria and the Norse Kingdom of York. The Vikings had settled in the southern part of the kingdom, in a territory known as the Danelaw (to which York belonged).

As is often the case when there is a considerable displacement of population from one place to another, whether due to emigration, refugee crises or wars; the Vikings brought with them to the British Isles their families, their traditions, their laws and their language. Over the centuries, they converted to Christianity and began to marry members of other communities that already lived on the island (Mitchison 2002: 9). Consequently, their cultures and everything that came with them began to fuse, languages included. Language contact and borrowings between Old Norse and the Anglian dialects of the frontier between Northumbria and the Danelaw are crucial in what is later going to become the Scots language.

2.1.3. The Norman Conquest

Three centuries after the arrival of the first Vikings at the British Isles, a major historical event took place that will be important concerning the history of Scotland and the Scots

language: the Norman Conquest. The Normans arrived in England in 1066, led by William the Conqueror, who was soon to become king. They tried to conquer Scotland as well, but they did not succeed.

Especially relevant in the period following the Norman Conquest is the figure of the Scottish King Malcolm III (1058-1093). He had spent some years in England and he was married to Margaret, the sister of the former king of England Edgard Atheling. As a consequence of the time he spent in the south of the island, he spoke English and he was a great admirer of the English traditions and institutions. Therefore, his reign in Scotland would be already marked by these slight ‘Anglophile’ influences brought from the exile (McColl Millar 2012b: 1953).

Malcolm III had tried to invade numerous times the northernmost areas of what is England today. “[I]n 1072, his invasion [...] brought William [the Conqueror] on a land and sea campaign to Scotland” (Mitchison 2002: 16). After several failures, Malcolm III had to surrender and submit to William’s authority. In order to do this, he sent his two male sons, Alexander and David, as hostages to be educated with the Normans.

Already in England, the Normans had implemented a great number of modifications in many areas such as feudal law, military organization or administration. “It was from this new amalgam that [Malcolm III’s sons] Alexander I [...] and his brother David I [...] brought the elements that reorganized Scotland” (Mitchison 2002: 21). They introduced many of the innovations around which they had been brought up, in a process known as ‘Normanization’ (Alcorn et al. 2017: 6). David I (1124-1153) was of special relevance, since he married Matilda, the great-niece of William the Conqueror, and awarded Scottish lands and positions of power to members of the Anglo-Norman elite (Bowles 2017). Thus, the process of Normanization had important effects on the language. As far as Scots is concerned, Norman

influence brought many French and Latin words, primarily through religion (Alcorn et al. 2017: 7).

Nonetheless, it is difficult to determine accurately up to what extent the Vikings or the Normans influenced the already existing languages, because there is “practically no direct evidence for the descendants of Old English north of the border between the second half of the tenth century and the final years of the fourteenth” (Alcorn et al. 2017: 5).

2.2. Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: from King Robert II to King James I

It will not be until the last years of the 14th century that the first written testimonies started to be found in which writers refer to Scots (albeit with many different names), as an independent language. Specifically, it is necessary to mention the figure of King Robert II, the first monarch of the *Stewart* (Stuart) dynasty. Historically speaking, his rule (1371-1390) is not especially relevant. However, it is of great importance from the linguistic point of view.

According to Dr Dauvit Horsbroch of the Scots Language Centre (Horsbroch n.d.a), Robert II is the first king intimately related to Scots. The first diplomatic acts and administrative documents of the council of Edinburgh issued in the language belong to the time of his reign. Scots becomes with this monarch a kingly patronage. The royal family of Scotland was Scots-speaking for the time of Robert II (Horsbroch 2011). What is more, it is in 1375 that John Barbour, who was archdeacon of Aberdeen and a very important man in Robert II’s court, writes the epic poem *The Brus* (*vid.* Chapter 3). This poem is notably significant, as it is the oldest known literary text in Scots (Horsbroch n.d.a).

Robert II was succeeded by his son, Robert III, in 1390. Resembling his father, his reign was not particularly prolific; even though he is credited with the first known document issued by a monarch in Scots: a marriage contract dated 1397 (Horsbroch n.d.a). Robert III

died in 1406 when he was already very ill, upon learning that his little son James had been captured by the English, in his attempt to take refuge in France (Mitchison 2002: 60).

It is precisely James, one of the first young monarchs of Scotland (Mitchison 2002: 60), who will prove to be the most successful ruler of the three. As he was captive in England, he did not return to Scotland until 1424. His figure is worth mentioning not only politically but also linguistically speaking. Seeing that he was raised in the South from a very young age, he grew up to be “an intelligent boy interested in English methods of government” (Mitchison 2002: 61). Consequently, on his return, he undertook numerous political and economic reforms. Likewise, it is relevant to mention that despite his English education, the vast majority of official documents issued during his reign are written in Scots. “Records of parliament begin to be kept regularly in Scots (‘in wlgar tunge’) from which period a continuous register of enactments is maintained” (Horsbroch n.d.a). Besides, he wrote *The Kingis Quair*, which is considered to be the first literary work in Scots attributed to a member of the Scottish royal family (Horsbroch n.d.a).

2.3. Sixteenth Century: The Protestant Reformation

At the beginning of the 16th century, Scotland had very prolific relations with France, which did not particularly please Henry VIII, who was ruling England at the time. Henry VIII had performed the Protestant Reformation in England (beginning 1532), through which he had broken with Rome and proclaimed himself the main figure of the newly created Anglican Church. Accordingly, as Mitchison (2002: 103) points out, the fact that Scotland continued to be Catholic and also related to one of its major enemies did not favour his newly released religious independence. For this reason, the English king began to devise a plan to unify, at least at a religious level, both territories, and get Scotland to also leave Rome’s rule. This plan entailed the arrangement of the marriage between his young son and Mary I, who at that

time was Queen of Scotland despite being a little girl. What is more, he would take advantage of the fact that “[t]here was an unsatisfied demand in Scotland for vernacular Bibles and psalters” (Mitchison 2002: 103), to introduce books that supported English Protestantism, which is going to be reflected in the linguistic situation (*vid.* Chapter 3).

Regardless of the fact that initially the Scots were not very much in favour of this union, numerous factors such as the wealth of England, the fear of starting a war with her, or the influence of Lutheran books arriving from Europe (Mitchison 2002: 104, 105), caused many people to begin to “prefer an English to a French alliance” (Mitchison 2002: 105).

Despite Henry VIII’s numerous and violent attempts to expedite the fulfilment of his plan, the process of religious alliance with England slowed down when he died in 1547, and when his daughter Mary Tudor ascended the throne in 1553. Nevertheless, in Scotland, the population was increasingly dissatisfied with how the Catholic Church functioned, and Protestantism received more and more support (Mitchison 2002: 112). Tensions progressively increased, culminating in 1558 with the accession of Elizabeth I to the throne of England. Eventually, after many years of conflicts, “[t]he political victory of 1560 decided that Scotland was to be Protestant” (Mitchison 2002: 123). Scotland breaks its ties with the Catholic Church and adopts Protestantism.

The religious alliance between Scotland and England is already an indication of what will later be the progressive loss of Scottish independence at all levels. In the linguistic field, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the absence of official liturgical texts in Scots will favour the introduction of English through religion. This, among other factors, will be a serious blow to the independence of the language (Horsbroch n.d.b). By the end of the 16th century, “God spoke English in Scotland” (McColl Millar 2012a: 68).

2.4. Seventeenth Century. King James VI: The Union of the Crowns (1603)

In 1567, at just one year of age, James VI became king of Scotland. After a period of regencies, he took active control of the throne in 1578, when he came of age. Unlike many of his predecessors, James was a very educated and intelligent man, whose rule is considered to be one of the most prosperous in the country. “He was conscientiously educated to do credit to his royal position, and responded to the education” (Mitchison 2002: 140).

During his reign, he worked a lot for the welfare and especially for the culture of Scotland. Besides, he wrote numerous literary works, such as the famous *Basilicon Doron* (1598). The main aim of this book was to offer a series of advice to his son, regarding how he should maintain his reign properly managed (Mitchison 2002: 142). Moreover, while he ruled in Scotland, he was a loyal defender of Scots, a language he used in his writings. According to Mitchison (2002: 141), James himself, in the already mentioned *Basilicon Doron* (*vid.* Chapters 3, 5), originally written in Scots, wrote that ‘it becometh a king to purifie and make famous his owne language’.

Notwithstanding, the situation radically changes when Elizabeth I dies in 1603 and leaves James as her heir. Consequently, England and Scotland were to share the same monarch from that moment onwards. This is what is known as The Union of the Crowns, and James VI of Scotland would also be James I of England. At this moment, everything he had defended in his publications and the lifestyle he had known changed forever. When he moved to England he adopted the routines and traditions of the place, he made new acquaintances and, in summary, “soon learnt to enjoy a level of comfort that he could not hope to maintain in Scotland” (Mitchison 2002: 162).

The accession to the throne of England also leads James VI to adopt the language and linguistic habits of the south, abandoning his previous defence and use of Scots. For instance, “[m]any of his works were republished in a revised English that reflected that of the London

court” (Ford 2004: 6). This, together with many other factors derived from this political event, had very negative consequences for the language (*vid.* Chapter 3).

James I only went back to Scotland once during the rest of his life. His son and future monarch, Charles I, grew up in England alien to what had been the Scottish culture and language of his father: “He could not follow his father in teasing them [his Scots subjects] in colloquial Scots” (Mitchison 2002: 163). In conclusion, the Union of the Crowns brought to an end all James had performed for spreading and preserving the language during his years as king of Scotland.

2.5. Eighteenth Century

2.5.1. The Union of the Parliaments (1707)

In the years following the Union of the Crowns, Scotland became very dependent on England. Trade, economy or foreign policies were subject to what the English considered most convenient, since England was much more powerful both politically and economically (Mitchison 2002: 304). Relations between both countries were deplorable, and neither side was satisfied. In this way, they did everything possible to cause the other the greatest damage. One of the few options Scotland had was to become politically independent again, but this would not be beneficial at all, as it would further harm the country's economy and increase poverty levels (Mitchison 2002: 304-205). In addition, poor relations between the two countries also threatened political stability within Scotland itself.

In order to try to “peacefully” solve this problem, England passed the so-called Alien Act in 1707, which stipulated that the Scots had until Christmas 1705 to decide if they wanted to start the negotiations towards a Union of Parliaments (Mitchison 2002: 307). Despite the fact that at first, the Scots did not receive this proposal with good terms, the hope of being able to reach considerable peace led them to begin negotiating the union. As

Mitchison (2002: 309, 310) points out, from this union, among other decisions, the Hanoverian dynasty would reign in both countries, there would be free trade, the same currency, the same metric system, etc. Finally, and after many years of tension and conflict, the United Kingdom of Great Britain was born on 1 May 1707 (Horsbroch n.d.c).

As expected, this union brought with it a disparity of opinions. In Scotland in general, nobody was particularly in favour of it, but many knew that it was the only solution, especially to their financial problems. England remained the greater power of the two, so Scottish views or proposals were rarely taken into account (Mitchison 2002: 311, 312).

Linguistically speaking, as will be developed in Chapter 3, the Union of the Parliaments meant that English was the only language considered appropriate to deal with official affairs (politics, economy, administration), and other languages remained in a considerably lower position. Scots in particular will witness the loss of the kingly patronage it had achieved in the 14th century with Robert II (Horsbroch 2011) and will be replaced by English in many of the areas where it was once the dominant language.

2.5.2. Jacobite Rebellions

As mentioned above, the 1707 Union placed the Hanoverian as the main dynasty to rule both territories. This fact, along with the unpopularity of the union in general, “also produced a flurry of Jacobite plotting” (Mitchison 2002: 321). The Jacobites, who were in favour of the Stewart dynasty ruling, were concentrated mainly in the north of England and the whole of Scotland. However, despite supporting a common cause, the Jacobite movement was considerably disorganized.

Of all the uprisings that were attempted, the most relevant and at the same time important from the point of view of the history Scots was that of 1745-1746. Charles Edward Stewart, who was the son of the last Stewart monarch James VIII, interrupted the union with

England and declared George II of Hanover a usurper. However, the uprising was a failure, and the Scots were violently suppressed at the Battle of Culloden Moor in 1746 (Horsbroch n.d.c). Nevertheless, these rebellions had positive consequences for Scots, as they “inspire[d] much poetry and song in the Scots language” (Horsbroch n.d.c).

3. Scots across Centuries: History and Evolution

The history of Scots is quite complicated and is characterized by continuous variation (Meurman-Solin 1997: 21). It goes through many stages in which the variety underwent several changes as regards its status. The main aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the development of Scots: from its complex origins to a period of differentiation from English, consolidation and incipient standardization, until its decline and dialectalization under Scottish Standard English (Meurman-Solin 1997: 7; McColl Millar 2012b: 1951). The issues addressed in this chapter are also fundamental for understanding the ongoing debate concerning the linguistic status of Scots: is it an independent language or rather a variety of English?

3.1. Pre-Literary Scots (c. 600 - 1350)

Before the appearance in the 14th century of the earliest written records in Scots, the language had been developing for a long time. A large number of different languages were involved in its initial evolution. These languages reached Scotland through diverse historical and social events, most of which have already been mentioned in Chapter 2.

Languages and dialects such as Old Norse, Norman French, Gaelic, Dutch, German or Central French are part of the composition of Scots to different extents, and the result of the

combination of all of them is “a West Germanic language that is closely related to English” (Alcorn et al. 2017: 9).

3.1.1. Northumbrian and Old Norse

As already clarified in Chapter 2, the dialect that is considered to have played the most important role in the make-up of Scots is Northumbrian Old English. In particular, it was the local dialect of the Angles of the Lothian region of Bernicia.

The varieties spoken by the Anglo-Saxons who settled in Northumbria between the 5th and 7th centuries already differed from those spoken further south in England. Experts have found several inscriptions in Scotland where it is possible to observe that the dialects pertaining this region were much more conservative or archaic than other Old English dialects (McColl Millar 2012b: 1952). Therefore, in its most primitive version, Scots maintained those conservative traces of its straightforward ancestors. For example, the preservation of the /h/ phoneme in clusters such as /hn, hl, hr, hw/, when it was already disappearing in onsets in southern dialects (Johnson 1997: 52, 53).

Nevertheless, the Scandinavian invasions between the 8th and 11th centuries brought the Anglo-Saxon dialects into contact with another language that would also influence Scots: Old Norse. Even though the territory of Bernicia was not as much affected as other territories further south by the invasions (McColl Millar 2012b: 1953), the language of the Scandinavians did coexist with pre-literary Scots. The linguistic contact between the two languages is reflected in the presence of borrowings of Old Norse in Scots, and especially in the elimination of that conservatism which had hitherto characterized the Anglian dialects of the Scottish Lowlands (McColl Millar 2012b: 1952).

3.1.2. Normanization

In addition to the Anglian dialects and Old Norse, the Norman Conquest of the 11th century added another fundamental component to the composition of Scots: Norman French. During the reigns of Alexander I and his brother David I, Edinburgh became a very important royal, cultural and linguistic centre (McColl Millar 2012b: 1953). The political and economic innovations introduced by both kings (*vid.* Chapter 2) which initiated the process known as ‘Normanization’ also affected the language.

The members of the Anglo-Norman elite who moved to Scotland with these two kings are responsible for the creation of the *burghs*. The *burghs* are considered to be the main places where Scots established itself as a quasi-independent language. They were little market-towns or small economic centres originally intended to raise the country’s economy. Many people migrated to these towns from the north of England, who at that time spoke a dialect heavily influenced by Old Norse (former area of the Danelaw) (McColl Millar 2012b: 1954).

Therefore, as a result of Normanization, Scots was enriched with new lexical items that entered the language in two different ways. Firstly, there are many borrowings from Norman French and Latin, especially through religion and more formal contexts (administration, law...). Some of them are, for example, *eterne*, *discerne* or *modern*, which come simultaneously from French and Latin (Macafee and Aitken 2002). Secondly, the burghers coming from the north of England introduced many indirect borrowings from Old Norse through the spoken language of everyday communication (*kirk* ‘church’, *speir* ‘ask an impolite question’ are two relevant examples). These borrowings had already entered the Anglian dialects before its speakers moved to Scotland. According to McColl Millar (2012b: 1954), “Modern Scots is the result of the combination of the original Bernician dialects of Lothian and these new colonial dialects”.

3.1.3. The Increasing Prestige of ‘Inglis’

During the early years of the *burghs*, two main languages would have coexisted. On the one hand, Gaelic, spoken by the majority of the population who had moved to the south of Scotland from the Highlands. On the other hand, the aforementioned Anglian dialect that had resulted from the migratory flows of people from the north of England. However, due to various economic, social, cultural and political reasons, Anglian, the “colonial” dialect began to gain more and more prestige between the 13th and 14th centuries (McCull Millar 2012b: 1954).

At this time and even before the appearance of the first written records, speakers of Scots called it ‘Inglis’ or ‘Ynglis’. This is the only label by which the language was known until around the 15th century (Alcorn et al. 2017: 6). The process of differentiation of the language as independent from the Anglian dialects and the adoption of the current name was a very long one. Likewise, the change from ‘Inglis’ to ‘Scots’ did not occur at the same time in all places of Scotland. The term ‘Inglis’ “reflects the recognition of a close relationship with contemporary English dialects” (Alcorn et al. 2017: 6). Just as it would take many years for the borders between the two countries to become completely distinct, it was also very difficult to establish a linguistic boundary between speakers: “Ynglis” was just the northernmost variety of “English” (Ford 2004: 5).

Over time the inhabitants of the burghs who were monolingual speakers of Gaelic began a process of language shift and started to educate their children in ‘Inglis’, which was already the main language of prestige. The usage of Gaelic declined in the centre and south while it was eventually confined to the north of Scotland. Despite many years of contact between Gaelic and Scots, most varieties of Scots have only a small percentage of vocabulary from Gaelic, concentrated in terms of topography or cultural elements. Some of these include *loch* ‘substantial body of standing fresh or salt water’ or *tocher* ‘bride-price’: “the money, goods

or estate that a woman brings to a marriage” (McColl Millar 2012b: 1954). It is only in the northernmost Scots varieties that a higher Gaelic influence can be found.

All in all, the prestige that ‘Inglis’ gained in the early years of the *burghs* did not prevent other languages besides Gaelic from exerting their influence on it. At that time in Scotland, there were very few skilled professionals who could work in the workshops of the *burghs*. For this reason, the landowners brought in many people from abroad who had the necessary preparation. A large number of these immigrants were speakers of Low German and Dutch, two languages that came to coexist daily with Scots in the *burghs*. Their influence over the latter can be seen especially in surnames (*Bremmer, Fleming*) or basic everyday vocabulary (*cruisie* ‘oil lamp’, *loon* ‘boy, young man’) (McColl Millar 2012b: 1955).

Finally, in pre-literary Scots, it was not only Norman-French that affected the language in one way or another. Scotland’s close relations with France as early as the beginning of the 14th century (*vid.* Chapter 2) meant that many borrowings entered the language from Central French through many of its domains and registers. Some examples of these borrowings are *ashet* ‘large dish’, *canon* ‘senior priest in a cathedral’ or *peirie* ‘child’s whipping top’ (McColl Millar 2012b: 1955).

3.2. Early and Early Middle Scots (1350-1550)

3.2.1. A National Language: Consolidation

From the second half of the 10th century onwards, there is very little written evidence of the descendants of Old English in the south of Scotland (Alcorn et al. 2017: 5). It is in the second half of the 14th century when the first documents appear that provide clear data on the linguistic situation of the territory. One of the most important written texts of the period is John Barbour’s *Brus* (or *The Brus*), which is considered to be the first major literary work in

Scots. It is an epic poem from 1375 reflecting the most important deeds of King Robert I during his life (McColl Millar 2012b: 1955).

Scotland's growing political and socio-cultural independence contributed greatly to the differentiation of Scots from the English of the North of England (Meurman-Solin 1997: 3). As the prestige of 'Inglis' (Scots) increased in the *burghs*, monarchs and members of the upper class progressively adopted it as their first language. 'Inglis' began to develop as a national language that had the paramount support of the Edinburgh court (McColl Millar 2012a: 66). Kings Robert II, Robert III and James I (*vid.* Chapter 2) turned the language into a kingly patronage and encouraged its use in all domains.

Hence, 'Inglis' gradually replaced French and even Latin as the main language of 'high' functions, that is, prestigious domains such as administration, religion, finances, education, etc. (McColl Millar 2012b: 1955). It began to be used for court and parliamentary writings, similar to the use of London English in England (Ford 2004: 7). All types of official documents were written in Scots: laws, wills, marriage contracts, speeches, letters, etc. (*vid.* Chapter 2). At the beginning of James I's reign (1424), parliamentary sessions in Scotland began to be recorded in Scots, and this would continue to be the case for many years (Horsbroch n.d.a.). The political, economic and cultural capitals of Scotland (Edinburgh, Stirling and Glasgow) were during these years the major centres for the development and promotion of the national language (Ford 2004: 7).

3.2.2. *The Scottish Makaris*

Between 1350 and 1550 some of the most important literary works in Europe were written in Scots. Especially during the late 15th and the early 16th centuries, Scots experienced a very productive literary period. Particularly noteworthy are the Scottish poets, known as *makars* or *makaris*, including Robert Henryson, Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar (McColl Millar

2012b: 1955). All these poets contributed greatly to the diffusion and consolidation of Scots as a national language and medium of literary expression.

In particular, William Dunbar is the first known author who “self-consciously declared independence for Scots” (McCull Millar 2012b: 1955). In his translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid* he used the label *Scottis* for the first time to refer to his language. This term had hitherto been used exclusively to refer to Gaelic, but it gradually came to be used with its current meaning from the late fifteenth century onwards (McCull Millar 2012b: 1955-1956). Initially, the use of this term to refer to what was formerly ‘Inglis’ still retained the negative connotations it had for Gaelic (which was considered to be a vulgar tongue, a language of savages) (Ford 2004: 4). However, as the name ‘Scots’ spread throughout Scotland, it progressively lost this negative flavour. According to John Ford (2004: 8), it seems that the Scots were becoming increasingly aware that what they spoke was not merely a dialect of English. The new name itself indicated a clear differentiation from their southern neighbours: “Whereas before they had called their speech “Ynglis”, now they were calling it “Scots” (Ford 2004: 8).

3.2.3. Standardization

In the last years of the 15th century and especially during the first half of the 16th century, Scots initiated a process of differentiation from the Northern English dialects towards the creation of a standard of its own (Meurman-Solin 1997: 12). The term “standard” is understood in this case as the existence of a prestigious variety of language used within a community of speakers in official spheres (administration, law, official correspondence, etc.) with a fixed, institutionalized norm.

This is considered to be the highest point the prestige of the language ever reached. “The usage of Edinburgh began to be copied elsewhere in Scotland, both by private individuals and institutions” (McCull Millar 2012a: 66). Scots became the main language of

the country's administration and official events, in what is seen as a process toward an "endonormic standardisation" (McColl Millar 2016: 49). "Endonormic" implies the creation of a Scots idiosyncratic standard, without relying on other varieties or languages, like London English, for example. The Edinburgh norm had its own autonomous and systematized spelling system, with many borrowings from Latin and Greek (McColl Millar 2012b: 1956).

Of particular importance in the process of standardization was the printing press, since it became the main instrument that helped to establish and fix the regional norm. Thanks to the printing press it is possible to observe how the standard variety manifested itself mainly through the main genres of the written language. In texts going back to the first half of the sixteenth century, Scottish variants appear very frequently. These variants help to distinguish Scots' regional norm from the English norm. (Meurman-Solin 1997: 14-15).

However, as McColl Millar (2012a) states:

Scots nearly became a standard language, but elements in the identity associations its speakers had with the language, along with the loss of political and economic independence, led to retrograde effects [...]. (76)

The standardization process was circumstantial and was not officially supervised by institutions in the way that many languages are today. Social and historical events from the second half of the 16th century onwards led to a period of variation that ended with the decline of the language. Scots was never to recover its former prestige.

3.3. Late Middle Scots (1550-1700)

3.3.1. Dialectal Variation

As stated above, around the second half of the 16th century, a series of events took place that brought the privileged position enjoyed by Scots completely to an end. Firstly, a large part of the Scottish nobility and aristocracy disappeared as a result of several battles fought against

England. Thus, the prolific literature of James IV's court was severely downgraded. There were very few aristocratic patrons to support writers, and the printing of works became increasingly difficult to finance.

Secondly, the conversion of Scotland to Protestantism in 1560 (*vid.* Chapter 2) had certain consequences whose effect was to be felt especially in the 17th century. As Scotland had no economic power to translate its own Bibles, it was the English texts that found their way throughout the Scottish population. Moreover, many of the Scottish reformers had spent much time with English people, which had influenced their linguistic habits. All those Scots who wished to spread their ideas about Protestantism would do so by following the English standard to reach a wider audience (McColl Millar 2012b: 1956). Religion was therefore a key domain for the introduction of English in Scotland.

These events are reflected at the linguistic level in a high degree of dialectal variation in Scots. The language during the second half of the 16th century is characterized by “overlapping processes of de-anglicisation and anglicisation” (Meurman-Solin 1997: 17). After the 15th century tendency to differentiate from Northern English dialects, texts resembling Southern Standard English now coexist with those tending to differentiate from it. This is what is known as ‘mixed speech’ (Meurman-Solin 1997: 7, 10, 21). However, the percentage of Scotticisms found in texts varies considerably depending on many factors, such as the type of text, the context, the degree of formality or the sex of the speaker. For example, there is a clear difference between printed and manuscript texts, the latter retaining a higher number of Scotticisms. In general, the more formal the context, the less vernacular features are attested: “local records in general [...] retain vernacular Scottish features longer than Parliamentary Acts” (Meurman-Solin 1997: 11-12).

Notwithstanding, the genre in which this phenomenon of ‘mixed speech’ is best observed is private correspondence. Available texts show that letters written by women contain a

greater number of vernacular elements both throughout the 16th century and in the early 17th century. Likewise, there is also a higher percentage of Scotticisms in letters written by men to people of lower social class. Moreover, in both men and women, there is a clear predominance of Scots characteristics the closer and more intimate the relationship between the writer and the addressee (Meurman-Solin 1993a: 180-3, as cited in Meurman-Solin 1997: 18).

Despite this high degree of variation, by the end of the 16th century, there is an unequivocal preference for English variants. However, “the internal heterogeneity [towards anglicization] of Scots is most prominent during the first decades of the seventeenth century” (Meurman-Solin 1997: 21). Still, the tendency that had predominated in the previous century will continue: a noticeable difference between private manuscripts and printed writings.

3.3.2. Decline: Causes and Consequences

After the period of variation in the latter half of the 16th century, the 17th century shows the decline of Scots in favour of English. As with all other stages of the language, there are numerous political, economic, social and cultural reasons for this decline.

Firstly, Scotland was a less populated and much poorer country than its southern neighbour. Many Scots who wished to increase their economic power moved to England to improve their living conditions. Therefore, “[t]he need to have a knowledge of the developing Standard English must have been considerable” (McColl Millar 2012a: 67).

Secondly, the Protestant Reformation of the late 16th century (*vid.* Chapter 2) spread its effects throughout the 17th century. England had much more money for printing liturgical texts and generally all kinds of books that came to Scotland written in Standard English. Except for elementary education, all other school materials were printed following the London model (McColl Millar 2012a: 67, 70).

Finally, the Union of the Crowns in 1603 (*vid.* Chapter 2) is one of the historical events that most influenced Scots. The king and the nobility moved to England and their linguistic habits changed completely. Hence, the importance of Scots as a quasi-independent language diminished, and London English began to gain prestige throughout Scotland (Ford 2004: 7). This had consequences that directly reflected upon written language use (McColl Millar 2012a: 68). On the one hand, king James IV stopped writing in Scots and his works published before 1603 were republished in Standard English. Thus, there are two versions of many of his pre-Union writings. The most famous one is the reprint of the *Basilicon Doron*, which he had written for his son in 1598 (McColl Millar 2012a: 69). In his works, a major decrease in the number of Scotticisms can be noticed after his move to the English court. On the other hand, the nobles who had sponsored literature in Scots started to support literature in English once they moved to England with the king. Therefore, writers who used to write in Scots had to follow the same path to make a living (McColl Millar 2012a: 69).

As a consequence of all these events, the shift towards an “exonormic standard” occurred so rapidly that by the middle of the 17th century literate people in Scotland wrote only in English (McColl Millar 2012a: 49). “Exonormic” implied the use of a norm designed on the basis of a foreign non-Scottish variety, in this case, London English. At the beginning of the century, the tendencies of the previous century continued, and a coexistence of English and Scots variants was still to be found in texts (Meurman-Solin 1997: 7). However, as the century progressed, each generation used fewer Scottish features in their writing (McColl Millar 2012a: 69).

This shift towards an “exonormic standard” manifests itself differently in different types of writings. Literary texts are those in which the anglicising tendency is most rapid and evident, although not much more than in other texts. These texts are followed by official and semi-official documents and finally by private letters (McColl Millar 2012a: 69). Manuscript

texts that were not aimed at a wider readership were much more conservative. In particular, letters that were written to relatives or people in a close circle maintain the greatest number of vernacular Scots features. On the other hand, public texts addressed to a wider audience were much more innovative, made almost no use of Scots and avoided any traces of stigmatized language (Meurman-Solin 1997: 19, 21, 22). In Parliamentary Acts, for example, “there is a dramatic decrease of Scottish variants [...] after the Union of the Crowns” (Meurman-Solin 1997: 8).

Towards the end of the century, accounts of Scots as an independent language are still to be found, but also others that “equate English and Scots, normally as part of the same cultural and linguistic unit” (McColl Millar 2012a: 70). However, there were many people (Scots included) who conceived what they spoke as a language not entirely separated from southern English. These attitudes led to the dialectalization of Scots under Standard English in the late 17th and especially the 18th century (McColl Millar 2012a: 66).

Notwithstanding, it is necessary to establish a difference between written and spoken Scots. Even though by the mid-17th century most people wrote almost exclusively in English, they spoke only in their local dialect in what can be described as a diglossic situation, that is the existence in a speech community of two languages used for distinct functions, one being more prestigious than the other (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957). Thus began a period in which the language would survive orally, and would continue to develop different dialects (Ford 2004: 8).

3.4. Modern Scots (1700-)

3.4.1. Dialectalization and Anglicization

By the early 18th century, it was already very difficult to differentiate the written language of literate people in Scotland from that of the English (McColl Millar 2012a: 71). Scots was no

longer the primary language of the upper classes, religion, law, etc. (Mitchison 2002: 363). The historical and social events of the century were definitive in moving the language away from its initial prestige and towards dialectalization and anglicization.

The first of the events that marked the history of the language at the beginning of the 18th century was the Union of Parliaments in 1707 (*vid.* Chapter 2). As Maček (2003: 620) points out, “The Union of Parliaments [...] is held responsible for the steady decline of Scots, and in some opinion of its death”. As a consequence of the union, the Scottish parliament was dissolved and all those politicians whose mother tongue was Scots moved to London. Even though they tried to defend the interests of their territory, they were constantly subject “to ethnic and linguistic intolerance” (Horsbroch n.d.c). Apparently, the laws and the skeleton of the Scottish Church were to be protected by the Union agreements. However, in reality, all governmental matters of vital importance were decided and discussed in London (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957). English was considered the only appropriate language for dealing with “high” affairs, which means that very few official writings had elements of Scots in them, at any level of the language (McColl Millar 2012a: 69).

Secondly, in connection with the relocation of the political and economic centre to England, the expanding urban lower middle class began to shift to English at the expense of Scots (McColl Millar 2016: 53). Thus, as the century progressed, the Scottish population became increasingly divided. A large majority of the rural and lower classes continued to speak Scots, while the upper class and upper-middle class spoke almost exclusively English. Printing press owners were advocates of the southern language, and both literature and educational books were printed in London English. Scots was associated with the past, rurality and backwardness —while English was seen as the language of success and the future (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957).

The Union of Parliaments, the language shift of the middle class, and the similarity between the two languages meant that “a piece-by-piece move from Scots to English was possible” (McColl Millar 2016: 49). However, as a large majority of the population were still Scots speakers, there was a certain degree of ‘slippage’ from spoken Scots to written English (McColl Millar 2012a: 71). Some features of Scots were sometimes accidentally used in texts. Those members of the middle classes who were switching to English became aware of this, so they started a campaign to remove all Scotticisms, especially from the written language (McColl Millar 2016: 50). Around the middle of the century, many authors published handbooks with lists of Scotticisms to avoid, mainly of a lexical nature (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957). These manuals were intended to instruct people in general and teachers in particular in how to properly use London English (McColl Millar 2012a: 71).

Attitudes towards Scots were therefore overtly negative. Although the majority spoke Scots, these “language cleansing” campaigns led to a progressive shift towards London SE (Standard English) first in written and then in the speech of the rest of the population (McColl Millar 2012a: 72). In short, as Meurman-Solin (1997:4) states, “the later anglicisation process was chiefly realized in written Scots and can be viewed as a change on a more conscious level of language use”. Nevertheless, despite all these factors, Scots was still present (although sparingly) in people’s linguistic habits. This happened for several reasons (McColl Millar 2016: 51-53):

Firstly, because of the close relationship between the two languages, it is very likely that people were not aware on all occasions that they were code-switching (alternating between the two languages) or code-mixing (that is, mixing both languages within a single speaker’s turn). Many used Scotticisms because they did not know that those were not Standard English forms:

It was often a matter of gradually changing spellings (preferring <ee> to <ei> for /i(:)/, for instance, or choosing to write *home* rather than *hame*, even though your own pronunciation was more accurately represented by the latter). (McColl Millar 2012a: 69)

Secondly, there were words or expressions particularly related to the Church and Scottish law which had no direct equivalent in English. Therefore, much vocabulary from these areas continued to be used in an English-speaking context. Moreover, printing costs were still high, and there were not enough SE models for all those who were switching to English. Many newly-literate people did not have as much contact with the anti-Scots movement of the upper-middle classes and still introduced some Scots into their daily language. Particularly noteworthy in this context are the figures of teachers and priests, who exerted a great deal of linguistic influence on those they interacted with.

Finally, the vernacular revival of the end of the 18th century also had a considerable influence on the presence of Scots in English, especially at the literary level.

3.4.2. The Vernacular Revival

Paradoxically, it was at this decadent time for the language at the end of the 18th century that a period of prolific literary production in Scots began, with authors such as Robert Burns (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957). This is what is known as the Vernacular Revival, and thanks to it “Scottish national symbols [...] began to be aired regularly in print and elsewhere” (McColl Millar 2016: 53).

One of the main reasons for the beginning of this literary movement is considered to be the discontent arisen in Scotland after the Union of Parliaments in 1707. Authors were writing about Scotland in Scots as a way of reacting to the process of Anglicization that was taking

place at all levels. They sought to somehow separate themselves and their culture from their southern neighbours (McColl Millar 2012a: 73, 74). Thus, the blooming of English literary forms that had prevailed until that moment was replaced in the early 19th century by “a regret for the passing of the ‘old ways’” (McColl Millar 2016: 52).

Nevertheless, not all the consequences that the Vernacular Revival had for Scots were positive. On the one hand, it is true that the movement helped to spread the use and knowledge of Scots among the population. From this point onwards, a ‘Romantic’ use of Scots is encouraged and is seen as a suitable language for dealing with ‘high emotions’ and feelings (McColl Millar 2012a: 75; McColl Millar 2012b: 1958). On the other hand, despite this, Scots returned in literature but with an orthography based almost completely on southern Standard English (McColl Millar 2012a: 73). Besides, the authors’ intention to highlight the differences between the vernacular and English created the opposite effect. Scots started to be seen by many as flawed English; as an imperfect, rural, and rudimentary variant of London SE (McColl Millar 2012b: 1958).

The vernacular revival declines in the early years of the 19th century since the Scots language had already lost much prestige in all areas. Sir Walter Scott, who died in 1832, is considered the last representative of this movement, even though in his novels the use of Scots had been relegated solely to dialogue (Horsbroch n.d.d).

3.4.3. The Emergence of Scottish Standard English

As is the case in most communities where there is a diglossic situation, the confluence of languages and different linguistic habits in Scotland had consequences. Between the late 18th and early 19th centuries, “the specifically Scottish version of Standard English” was created (McColl Millar 2012a: 72). This variety is known as Scottish Standard English (SSE).

SSE emerged as the result of a mixture of conscious use of Scots vocabulary by the elite (motivated by the vernacular revival) and the ‘slippage’ or unconscious introduction of Scots lexis and structures into the language of the lower middle classes who had switched to English. SSE replaced the more Anglocentric version of English that was being promoted in Scotland (McColl Millar 2012a:75). That is why Scottish English nowadays presents characteristics that are not applicable to London Standard English (McColl Millar 2012a: 72). Two types of Scotticisms can be found in SSE today, covert and overt (McColl Millar 2016: 50). On the one hand, covert Scotticisms are those terms or expressions from Scots which entered SSE because speakers were (and are) not aware that what they were saying was not SE. What is more, the use of covert Scotticisms since the creation of SSE is thought to be one of the reasons why Scots survived so well in Scottish English (McColl Millar 2012a: 75). As people did not know that certain words were not London English, they did not ‘clean’ them from their linguistic repertoire. Some of them are *collie* (the dog breed), *erie* ‘affected by a fear of the supernatural’, *wraith* ‘angry’ or *popeseye* ‘a specific cut of steak’ (McColl Millar 2012a: 72, 73; *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, s.v.v. *erie*, *wraith*).

On the other hand, overt Scotticisms are those words (usually related to Scottish culture and traditions) that speakers consciously use, such as *kenspeckle* ‘well known’, *braw* ‘good, exciting’ or *footer* ‘to mess about’ (McColl Millar 2012a: 72, 73). These terms often have emotional connotations, and their purpose is usually to mark identity and solidarity; to differentiate themselves as a group (McColl Millar 2012b: 1957; McColl Millar 2016: 50). Many of these Scotticisms entered SSE as a consequence of the Vernacular Revival (McColl Millar 2016: 53).

After so many centuries of progressive prestige decline, Scots’ only solution was to survive through SSE. In Scotland today, many people constantly shift from Scots to SSE (Ford 2004: 9). The degree of codeswitching and codemixing is so high that it shows “how great a

nationally driven resource the former is for the latter” (McColl Millar 2012a: 73). As Scots speakers decrease every year, there are a large number of Scottish people “whose only contact with Scots is via their use of Scottish Standard English” (McColl Millar 2012a: 75).

3.4.4. A Language or a Dialect?

After all the changes Scots has undergone throughout its history, one of the most controversial debates among linguists is whether it is (or remains) an independent language or a dialect of English. One of the reasons why this issue is so difficult to solve is that it is quite problematic to establish a clear separation between what is a dialect and what is a language. Several criteria, both extralinguistic and intralinguistic, have been proposed to establish the distinction between language and dialect. One of the most important extralinguistic criteria involves political issues: whether a particular variety is spoken in an independent country or not. A crucial intralinguistic criterion is mutual intelligibility: dialects of the same language are mutually intelligible, whereas speakers of different languages have difficulties understanding each other. However, these criteria are not without problems. There are varieties considered to be dialects of the same language but which are not mutually intelligible (Chinese dialects, for example). Moreover, certain languages belonging to different independent countries are mutually intelligible, like Norwegian and Danish. Over time, even certain varieties which were considered to be dialects became languages for different reasons. The opposite may be the case for Scots.

As most speakers constantly and unconsciously mix SSE and Scots, they themselves do not know where the Scots part separates itself from the English one (Ford 2004: 9, 10). This happens because, due to the close relationship between both languages, Scots and English have always formed some kind of *continuum* which makes it almost impossible to identify two entirely independent varieties. This is usually referred to as the ‘bipolar Scots-

English continuum’, with SSE and SE at one end and Scots and the vernacular dialects at the other (Maguire 2012: 1, 2). Nevertheless, as stated by Maguire (2012: 4), the matter is not as simple as defining the speakers’ expressions as being more Scots and less standard or vice versa. There are many different types of classifications for a single variant: “Scots, SSE, Scotland-but-not-England, working class [...] cool, different, old-fashioned, Catholic”.

Nowadays, Scots is taught at some educational centres and it has even continued to be used in literature. The government’s attitude is increasingly positive, and there have been several attempts to preserve and protect the language, but they have been ineffective. Hence, the dialectalization process which had begun towards the end of the 17th century continues and makes the position of Scots as an independent language more and more difficult to defend (McColl Millar 2012b: 1959). The majority of the Scottish citizens speak Scottish English, which is by default the language used in education, administration, media, etc. (Maček 2003: 621).

Moreover, the speakers’ standpoint toward Scots is not precisely positive. Many people see the language as inferior to English, and new generations are being educated in the idea that it is some “slang” or an incorrect way of speaking (Maček 2003: 621, 623). It is evident that the Scottish still need to express their identity somehow through language, but they are doing it within a “Standard English framework” (McColl Millar 2012a: 76).

4. Linguistic Features of Scots

Similarly to other languages and varieties, Scots has undergone many changes over the centuries, and the state of the language at a particular moment in time cannot be generalized to its whole history. Moreover, Scots is divided into many different dialects and subdialects (Insular, Northern, Mid, Southern) each with its characteristics and evolution. For that reason, something that occurs in one dialect may not happen in another and vice versa.

With this in mind, this chapter aims to provide an overview of the linguistic features which are more or less shared by all Scots dialects during the Late Middle Scots period (1550-1700) and which distinguish it from Southern London English. Some of the mentioned elements will be used in Chapter 5 to contrast and compare two editions of the *Basilicon Doron*; one written before and the other after the Union of the Crowns (1603). The chapter also deals with some linguistic changes which occurred in previous centuries, but are relevant to an understanding of the state of the language at this historical moment. Many of the linguistic features have already undergone changes over time, so they may not completely correspond to current Scots (or SSE).

4.1. Phonology

As far as their sound system is concerned, all Scots dialects share the same vowel and consonant inventory, except for a few differences. Compared to 16th and 17th century London English, the Scots vowel system was characteristically more innovative than that of the South. Contrarily, its consonants were much more conservative (Maguire 2012: 6, 7).

4.1.1. The Vowel System

4.1.1.1. Vowel Quantity.

Following Johnston's words (1997: 65) the vocalic systems of English and Scots show a clear long-short dichotomy and are very similar in terms of the changes they have undergone over time: peripheral vowels (long vowels) rise and non-peripheral vowels (short vowels) are lowered. The main differences between London English and Scots lie in lexical incidence. A short southern vowel in certain words tends to correspond to a long northern vowel, and vice versa.

Among many other phenomena, the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR) or Aitken's Law is worth mentioning regarding vowel quantity. As Maguire (2012: 6) points out, it is a "pan-Scottish feature", occurring in all Scots (and even present-day SSE) varieties. In the late 16th century, a change began in the West Mid dialectal area whereby all non-centralized vowels were lengthened before voiced fricatives /v, z, ð, ʒ/, /r/ or a morpheme-boundary. In parallel, long vowels are shortened in all other environments before a consonant (Johnston 1997: 67). For example, the vowel in *leaf* would be pronounced [lif] in Scots (vs. English [li:f]); while in contact with a voiced fricative as in *leaves*, it would be pronounced [li:vz] (Aitken 1981, 2015: 135).

There are just two sounds which are not subject to SVLR: the high short vowels /i/ and /ʌ/. The rest of the vowels in the Scots' inventory are affected by the rule, with some exceptions in certain dialects (Aitken 1981, 2015: 134). Moreover, the SVLR is also reflected in spelling, with <i> frequently appearing after another vowel grapheme to indicate a lengthening: *hait* 'hot', *meit* 'meet or meat', etc. (Aitken 1985: XIV; Ford 2004: 5).

In addition to SVLR, Scots also differs from English in other phenomena such as homorganic lengthening, which took place in the late 8th century. This refers to the lengthening of short vowels before clusters composed of consonants with the same place of articulation. Scots is much more conservative in lengthening vowels than English. This can be observed, for example, in words like OE *hund* /hund/, which became *hound* /hu:nd/ in Middle English, but remained unchanged in Scots. Contrarily, other processes such as the 13th-century Open Syllable Lengthening (syllables ending in a vowel) are more generalized in Scotland than in England. Some English words like *summer* or *cousin* have short vowels in English, but long ones in Scots (Johnston 1997: 66, 67).

4.1.1.2. Vowel Quality.

Besides the differences between the Scots and English vocalic systems concerning quantity, there are also numerous ‘vowel shifting rules’ which transform the quality of vowels. These explain the existence of different ‘versions’ of the same words, one in Scots and one in English, such as *stane/stone*, *blaw/blow*, or *spune/spoon* (Johnston 1997: 68).

One of these differences arises from what is known as Long Low Vowel Raising. In English, the Old English vowels /æ: α:/ are raised to the low-mid level, becoming /a/ and /ɔ:/ respectively. However, in Scots, this does not happen: /α:/ becomes /a:/. Thus, words like *stone* were pronounced [stɔ:n] in England, whereas in Scots they were pronounced [sta:ne]. This explains the differences in spelling between <stane> and <stone>. The same was true before the /u ~w/ sound so that words like *blow* were pronounced [blɔ:u] in the South, but [bla:u] in Scots (spellings <blow>/<blaw/> (Johnston 1997: 68).

The disparity between words like Scots *spune* and English *spoon* is explained by a phenomenon called Northern /o:-Fronting. The Old English vowel /o:/ was fronted in Scots to /ø:/ (similar to *ii*), while Southern English retained /o:/, which eventually became /u:/ due to the Great Vowel Shift (phonological chain of changes which moved all English long vowels to a higher position in the vowel space). Consequently, during Late Middle Scots the Scots pronunciation [spø:ne] would oppose the English [spu:n], and hence <spune> and <spoon> (Aitken 1985: xiv; Johnston 1997: 69).

In addition to the above-mentioned features, it is also necessary to comment on the Great Vowel Shift, which was much more conservative in Scotland than in England; or the Short Vowel Shifts, which established, among other differences, the linguistic boundary between southern /ʌ/ and northern /ʊ/ in words like *strut* (Johnston 1997: 70, 71). Another salient feature is the tendency of Scots dialects to resist weakening to schwa, typical of English

unstressed vowels. Scots typically preserves the strong variant of the vowel in all positions (Ford 2004: 11).

4.1.2. The Consonant System

From the beginning of the language until 1700 (Older Scots), the consonant inventory of Scots was very similar to that of English, with a few exceptions mentioned below. However, as the centuries progressed, changes took place which differentiate proper Scots features from its southern neighbouring language. Between the 16th and 17th centuries, the most noteworthy characteristics (among many others) are the following:

1) Rhoticity (vs. non-rhotic British English)

One of the most recognisable features of Scots throughout the stages of the language is rhoticity. Rhoticity refers to the preservation and pronunciation of the /r/ sound in certain contexts where sometimes it is omitted. While all Scots dialects exhibited rhoticity (Maguire 2012: 17), English of England was (and is) a non-rhotic variety, dropping the /r/ sound in post-vocalic position. Thus, words like *hair* or *care* would be pronounced [her] and [ker] instead of the expected [heə] and [keə] (McColl Millar 2016: 46).

2) Idiosyncratic sounds

Despite having a consonant inventory very similar to that of English, Scots retains some elements that have been lost in English and has two sounds that are unique and have never been part of the southern language inventory.

Firstly, due to its proximity to the territories of the Danelaw, Scots preserves many borrowings from Old Norse which contain the Germanic sounds /k/ and /g/. On the contrary, English prefers the OE palatalized counterparts with the affricate phonemes /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. For

example, while English has *church*, *chaff*, *bridge* or *ridge*, Scots selects *kirk*, *caff*, *brig* and *rig* (Johnston 1997: 54; Maguire 2012: 13).

Secondly, Scots has a phoneme /ʌ/ (original /hw/) in *wh*-words instead of the traditional English /w/. This is a very clear Scotticism which is reflected in the spelling of Late Middle Scots (and other periods), as it is common to find <qu> instead of <wh> in words such as *whom* or *what* (Scots *quom*, *quat*) (Ford 2004: 5).

In addition, Scots also retains the phoneme /x/ which has been lost in English. The sound appears in Scots in words where it previously appeared in English, such as *daughter* or *plough* (Maguire 2012: 7, 14). It is also reflected in the spelling, as <ch> is often used instead of the expected <gh>. Thus, words like *night* or *bright* are written <nicht> and <bricht> (Ford 2004: 5).

Finally, it is necessary to mention two elements, appearing in intervocalic position, which distinguish the Scots consonant system from the English one: the lateral palatal /ʎ/ and the nasal palatal /ɲ/ (Johnston 1997: 98). They appear frequently in French-origin words, and it is also considered that Gaelic influence may have helped to preserve them, along with the aforementioned /x/ (Maguire 2012: 11). These two sounds are also distinguished in spelling, often represented as <l3, ly, ll> and <n3, ny> in words such as *bailye* ‘baillie’, *lunze* ‘loin’, *cnye*, *linye*, etc. (Johnston 1997: 98, 106).

3) The Clusters

Another significant feature of Scots is the simplification of clusters ending in alveolar stop /t/ or /d/ such as /ft st xt kt pt ld nd/ which lose their second element at the end of the syllable. Although this is also common in English, it is much more widespread in Scots and is reflected in idiosyncratic spellings. The first to be simplified are those ending in /t/, giving

rise to spellings such as *contrak*, *prefek* or *suspeck*. With respect to the /ld/ cluster, there are words like *wile* for *wild* or *yeel* for *yield*, even in standardized documents. The simplification of /nd/ also leaves significant spellings like *winnow/wonnow* for *window* (Johnston 1997: 100-102).

In addition to simplifications, another peculiarity of Scots clusters is the introduction of an epenthetic vowel element in liquid or liquid + nasal clusters, especially /lm rm rn rl/. Thus, words like *arm*, *word* or *girl* would be pronounced [ˈɑrɫm], [ˈwɔrɫɔld], or [gɪrɫ]. (Maguire 2012: 11; Pukli 2004: 4).

All of the above constitute only a small part of all the features that differentiate the Scots consonant system from English, but there are many others such as vocalization of /l/ (*colt* [kɔɫt]), /s/ ~ /ʃ/-Interchange (*Scottish* vs. *Scottis*, *English* vs. *Inglis*) or numerous changes in the set of fricatives (Johnston 1997: 104, 105; Maguire 2012: 7).

4.2. Morphosyntax

In terms of morphology and syntax, Scots has evolved in much the same way as English over the centuries. However, some changes only affected Scotland and sometimes the northernmost parts of England, and many of these gave rise to characteristics unique to Scots. Much more information is available concerning the morphological development of the language than the syntactic.

The following constitute just a small sample of the wide-ranging morphosyntactic development of Scots, as well as the process of anglicization it underwent from Late Middle Scots onwards. This process is much more prominent in spelling and morphology, as syntactic change takes a long time to occur and consolidate (Aitken 1971: 179; King 1997: 158; Moessner 1997: 112).

4.2.1. Nouns

As far as the noun is concerned, the process of simplification from Old English is practically the same as that undergone by the English noun system. While Old English nouns indicated gender, number and case, only number and possession expression (genitive) remain.

In most nouns, the plural and genitive are expressed in Scots by a single inflexion *-s*, written <is>. Old English had <es> for genitive singular and <as> for nominative or accusative plural, which in English derived to <s>. Thus, from Old English *cýningas* arose the English form *kings* but Scots *kingis* (King 1997: 159). The expression of the English genitive with <'s> in, for example, *The King's book*, would be equivalent to the Scots *Kingis Quair*.

In addition to these general plurals in <is>, Scots also has, like English, weak, mutated and invariable plurals. Especially relevant in this case are weak nouns, which form their plural with <(i)n> instead of English <(e)n> (*oxin* vs. *oxen*) or the mutated plurals, which develop different forms in Scots than in English. The Scots mutated plurals for *cow* and *brother* were *ky/kye* and *brether*, while Southern English had *kine* and *breth(e)ren-* (Aitken 1985: XIV; King 1997: 162, 163), which, in addition to i-mutation, also show the weak ending *-en*.

Texts of the late 16th century, and especially those of the seventeenth century show a process of anglicization through which, for example, English forms of plurals begin to be preferred: *eyes* instead of *een*, *calves* instead of *caur*, etc. Similarly, writers also begin to mark the genitive with a periphrastic construction using the preposition *of*: *ye seel of ye saide katerine* 'the said Katherine's seal' (King 1997: 165, 166).

4.2.2. Pronouns

One of the most characteristic elements of the Scots pronominal system is that the distinction also existing in English between the second person pronoun *thou* and *ye/you* is maintained for much longer than in the South, where it was lost in the 18th century (King 1997: 171).

Furthermore, Scots also had its own pronominal forms, which do not exist in English. Some of these were, for example, the relative pronouns *quhilk* ‘which’, *quha* (nominative singular), *quham* (dative), *quhase/quhais* (genitive). Scots also had a threefold demonstrative pronoun system, with the forms *this* (proximity) and its plural *thir*, *that* (distance) and its plural *tha(e)* and *yon* or *yonder* (further away than *that*). Nevertheless, by the mid-16th century, these elements begin to compete with the English version of the same pronouns: *thir* and *tha* coexist with *these* or *those*; while the *quh*-forms are progressively replaced by English *wh*-forms (Aitken 1971: 179; King 1997: 172, 173; McColl Millar 2016: 47).

4.2.3. Verbs

In both Scots and Northern English, changes in the verb system are characterized by being much more innovative or one step ahead of Southern English (King 1997: 174).

In the present tense, verbs in Scots were marked with the inflexion <(i)s>, regardless of their number. However, when the subject of the verb was an immediately adjacent personal pronoun in the first person singular or first, second and third person plural, the verb was unmarked. This is what is known as the Northern Present Tense Rule: *they say he’s owre auld* but *they that says he’s owre auld* or *thir laddies says he’s owre auld* (Aitken 1985: XV; King 1997: 175, 176).

Regarding past tense, Scots also made a distinction between strong and weak verbs. Strong verbs formed their past tense by modifying the root vowel of the present form (King 1997:

177). Weak verbs, which were the majority, formed the past and past participle with the inflexion *-(i)t* or *-(i)d*: *biggit* ‘built’, *killt* ‘killed’ (King 1997: 162, 177).

Similarly to nouns and pronouns, verbs also underwent a process of anglicization that began to be noticeable in the second half of the 16th century. The inflexion *-(i)s* of the third person singular present tense was progressively replaced by the English *-(e)th*; while the English past tense suffix *-ed* for weak verbs gained predominance at the expense of the native *-(i)t* (King 1997: 180).

Syntactically, the Scots verbal system is characterized by extensive use of passive constructions (with the verbs *be/becum*), impersonal sentences, and the progressive aspect (of possible Gaelic influence) (Aitken 1971: 178; McColl Millar 2012a: 12, Moessner 1997: 116). Moreover, the basic constructions of the active voice can be expanded in many ways, one of the most notorious being auxiliary verbs. As far as these are concerned, idiosyncratic Scots forms such as *mote*, *thar* or *dought* are displaced by the 17th-century preference for the English forms *must*, *need* and *could*. Likewise, the auxiliary *do* was not used in Scots until its appearance in the 16th century (Moessner 1997: 113, 115).

4.2.4. Negation and Negative Constructions

Finally, another area in which Scots develops idiosyncratic forms is in the field of negation. Instead of the English form *no*, Scots has reduced forms of the negative adverb *noch* which arise around Early Middle Scots (1450-1150) such as *nae*, *na*, *ne*, *ny* or *non* (Aitken 1985: XV; Aitken 1971: 180; Ford 2004: 5).

4.3. Lexis: Main Sources

As anticipated in Chapter 3, Scots is a language whose vocabulary is made up of words from a wide variety of sources. Over the years, its lexical repertoire has increased and decreased

with the addition and disappearance of words from all those languages which in one way or another coexisted with Scots and its speakers. Among the main sources of Scots vocabulary are the following:

1) Native Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary

Much of the vocabulary of Scots comes directly from Old English, more specifically from the 'Northumbrian dialect of the Anglian dialect group' (*vid.* Chapters 2, 3). Logically, a considerable amount of this vocabulary is shared with Standard English, albeit with some differences. On many occasions, English and Scots take the same word from Old English, but with different forms or meanings: *grieve* 'an overseer' (<Old Northumbrian *græfa* = West Saxon *zerefa*, which gives *reeve*) (Macafee 1997: 195). Likewise, some Old English words that have been lost in English have been preserved in Scots, such as *bairn*, *haus*, *reek* 'smoke' or *gloming* 'twilight' (Aitken 1954: 7).

2) Scandinavian (Old Norse)

The percentage of Scots words coming from Old Norse is very high, and many of them are shared with Northern Middle English. This is due to the proximity of both territories to the Danelaw, as well as to the Anglo-Danish immigrants living in Scotland. Some of these words belong to the semantic field of law, such as the word *law* itself, which comes from <**lagu* (Macafee 1997: 204). However, most of them refer to everyday activities in the lives of farmers, such as *gimmer* 'a young sheep', *nout* 'cattle', *gowk* 'cuckoo' or *lass* 'a girl' (Aitken 1954: 3,4).

3) Gaelic

Despite the close coexistence of the two languages, not many borrowings from Gaelic are found in Scots, due to the low prestige of the former (Macafee 1997: 199). Among the few there are words of general meaning (*clachan* 'hamlet', *oy* 'grandchild'), topographical

elements (*bog, crag, loch*) or even terms related to everyday life in the Highlands, where Gaelic survived best (*bard, beltane, clan*) (Aitken 1954: 5, 6).

4) Old French

The borrowings from Old French into Scots come from two different sources. The first is Anglo-Norman, who reached Scotland after the Norman conquest of 1066 (*vid.* Chapter 2). Anglo-Norman terms cover a wide range of fields such as administration, law, church, food, clothing and trade. Some of them are, for example, *disjune* ‘breakfast’, *famyle* ‘family’, *ladron* ‘a rascal’, etc. (Aitken 1954: 1, 2). The other source is Central French, which entered the language later, from the 16th century onwards, especially through the Scots who went to study in France. Some of the words include *Hogmanay* ‘New Year's Eve’, *flash* ‘annoy’ or *victuals* (<*vivres*) (Macafee 1997: 207, 208).

5) Dutch, Flemish and Low German

Between the 12th and 18th centuries, Scots borrowed many words from the languages of the Low Countries. Scotland had many trade relations with them, and there were a large number of workers in the *burghs* who came from these places (*vid.* Chapter 3) (Aitken 1985: XV). It is not surprising that most of the borrowings are names and words of everyday life, such as *craig* ‘neck’, *cute* ‘ankle’, *loun* ‘fellow’, etc. (Aitken 1954: 5, 8; Macafee 1997: 206). Others belong to the semantic fields of commerce, shipping and seafaring (*callant* ‘a chap, a lad; orig. a tradesman’s customer’) and others to the world of sports, new inventions, discoveries, etc.: *golf, cachepell*, etc. (Aitken 1954: 9; Aitken 1985: XV).

6) Latin

Latin is the language in which Scots and English borrowings significantly differ. The two languages borrowed different words, at different times and with different meanings: *liquid* vs. *liquidate*, *local* vs. *locality*, etc. In addition, many of the Latin words entered Scots through French, so it is difficult to separate their etymology. Most of the terms that survived from

Latin belong to the field of Scots law: *executor-dative*, *homologate*, *hypothec*, *nimious*, etc. (Aitken 1985: XV).

7) Unknown origin

Finally, it is noteworthy that many words that form part of the common Scots vocabulary are of unknown origin. Most of these appear in literary texts of the 15th and 16th centuries and have vulgar or colloquial connotations. Some of them include *gully* (a large knife), *bonny* ‘beautiful’, *canny* ‘cautious’, *gukkit* ‘foolish’, *glaiokit* ‘foolish’ or *cufe* ‘a fool’ (Aitken 1954: 6).

5. Scots Illustrated: Late Middle Scots (1550-1700)

As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, the *Basilicon Doron* or *Basilikon Doron* (*The Kingly Gift* in English) is a book James VI wrote in 1598 for his son Prince Henry. It was conceived as a kind of will, and it intended to advise the future monarch on how to be a good Christian and king and how to behave appropriately in daily life.

There are three main versions of this work which are the most widely recognized: the original manuscript called *MS. Royal 18. B. xv* and two editions printed by Waldegrave, one in 1599 and the other in 1603 (Craigie 1950: 88). Of the 1599 edition, only seven copies were printed, as the writing was not originally intended for public use. However, after the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 (*vid.* Chapters 2, 3), the book achieved great fame throughout Europe and the first editions available to the general public were published.

Linguistically, it is necessary to note that the second half of the 16th century is a moment of great variation between the use of the Scots norms and the anglicization of the texts. This is why the analysis of this work is especially relevant, since, as Craigie (1950: 177) states, it is

“practically the last serious piece of prose writing [...] conceived and written down in Scots while that was still a national literary language”. The manuscript perfectly shows the state of the Scots language before English completely dominated the written sphere. The other two editions are already written in English and exhibit the high degree of revision and anglicization to which the original manuscript was subjected to adapt it to the demands of the time. The editing was so considerable that “hardly a sentence, and certainly not a page, remained wholly unchanged” (Craigie 1950: 105-108).

Of the three mentioned editions, this chapter will use the original manuscript *MS. Royal 18. B. xv* and *Waldegrave* 1603, as the 1599 edition is very similar to the first one. Attention will be paid to the main linguistic characteristics of the manuscript, comparing them with the 1603 anglicized version. The referred fragments are compiled in the Appendix at the end of the dissertation. In the text of the Appendix, the main characteristics discussed in the chapter are also highlighted.

5.1. Spelling

Of all the possible areas of analysis, spelling is probably the most evident and the most example-providing one regarding the comparison of the differences between both versions of the text. As Scots never had a consolidated standard variety, the spelling of the end of the 16th century was not regulated by any norm. Nevertheless, the spellings used by James VI are quite regular, and allow establishing common patterns (Craigie 1950: 118).

5.1.1. Consonants

Regarding consonants, it is necessary to note the following characteristics:

- 1) Doubled consonants (Craigie 1950: 118, 119).

The whole manuscript contains numerous words which double the consonants in cases where Standard English would not do so. In the 1603 edition, some of them appear corrected, but others are maintained. For example, it is frequent to find final consonants doubled in monosyllabic words with short vowels (*godd* l.3 vs. *God* l. 23). In those cases, the consonant is doubled even when an inflectional syllable or a prefix are added, as in *choppis* (ll. 11, 17), *comittis* (l. 12) or *forgett(e)* (l. 16). Examples are also found of two-syllable words in which the consonant is doubled after the first one of them when it bears the main stress (*consider* l.13). Besides, many nouns and adjectives ending *-al* also double the final consonant, as in *tryall* (l. 18). This does not happen in Standard English, but the original spelling is maintained in *Waldegrave* 1603.

2) Writing <i> for <j> and <u> for <v> and <w>

Those spellings are consistent throughout the whole manuscript, and they can be observed in the fragment in words such as *ioyefullie* (l. 1), *otheruayes* (l. 1), *notuithstanding* (l. 3), *aduersities* (l.4), *ue* (ll. 13-17), etc. (Craigie 1950: 120). They also constitute an example of the influence English spelling already had in the first version of the book. Early Modern English (1500-1700) also wrote “<i> for both <i> and <j>, and <v> word-initially [*vnrighteous* l. 21)] and <u> [*euer* ll. 31, 33)] medially for both the vowel and the consonant” which does not correspond to the actual use of the graphemes (Nevalainen 2006: 35).

3) Writing <z> for <y> and <s> for <sh>

In the first case, already in the manuscript, a clear variation is observed between the use of the <z> and the <y> graphemes, the latter being the most anglicized. Words such as *ye*, *you* and their derivatives appear in the fragment sometimes as *ze*, *zou* and sometimes in their English form. However, in *Waldegrave* 1603 they always appear following the English

model. Regarding the use of <s> instead of <sh> (Craigie 1950: 121), alternating use of spellings is also observed, as can be illustrated by words such as *sall* (ll. 4,5) for *shall* (l. 24) but *shoure* (l. 7) and *showre* (l. 27).

4) Use of traditional Scots <ch> for the English equivalent <gh> (Craigie 1950: 120)

This is one of the most regular and consistent orthographic rules found in the manuscript, as it constitutes one of the main characteristics which differentiate Scots from English (*vid.* Chapter 4). In this fragment, the most explicit unequivocal examples are *licht* (l. 10) for *light* (l. 31), *altoch* (l. 7) for *thogh* (l. 28) or *throuch* (l. 8) for *through* (l. 28).

5) Use of traditional Scots <quh> for the English equivalent <wh> (Craigie 1950: 120)

Along with the previous one, this is probably another of the most evident features which differentiate one language from the other, as they are the direct reflection of the existence of certain sounds in Scots which do not exist or have disappeared in English (*vid.* Chapter 4). The appearance of this characteristic is certainly frequent, as it is present in the relative and interrogative pronouns system, as well as relative adverbs and the preposition and conjunction *quhill* (*while*): *quhen* (l. 1), *quilke* (l. 3), *quheneuer* (l. 12) etc.

6) Other differences

In addition to the previous differences and many others which are not present in the fragment, the use of <mp> (*compte*, l. 15) instead of <n> or <n> instead of <m> (*inportunitie*, l.2) are also noteworthy (Craigie 1950: 121).

5.1.2. Vowels

As far as vowels are concerned, certain differences need to be mentioned:

1) Spellings beginning <a>

In the Scots manuscript, the grapheme <a> is maintained in many words which had /a:/ <ā> in Old English but developed a /o/ sound in English (*knauledge* l. 11). Along this line, the grapheme <a> also appears on many occasions instead of English <ou> in words such as *fande* vs. *founde* (l. 8; l. 28) (Craigie 1950: 123).

2) Spellings with <e>

Within this group, the most representative is the consistent use James does in the manuscript of <ea>, which is an English convention, instead of Scots <ei, ey>. This is a clear indication that even when writing in Scots the influence of the neighbouring language was increasingly noticeable: *beare, learne, great, please*, etc. In addition to this, James also occasionally uses <ei> to represent what was initially a long slack vowel, written <ea> in English: *compeire* (l. 18), *ueill* (ll. 4, 8). <ei> is also used instead of the English <ai> in verbs derived from the Latin verb *teneo*, such as *obteine* (l. 1) (Craigie 1950: 129, 130).

3) Spellings with <o>

According to Craigie (1950: 130), James VI uses <o> almost always as it is used today. However, there are some special uses of this spelling. In this particular fragment, the use of <o> for an old <ū> in words like *compte* (l. 15) > *counte* (l. 36) and also in place of <ou>, as in the case of *althoch* (ll. 7, 12) are to be observed. Moreover, it should be noted that already in the manuscript itself, the author chooses to abandon the use of the idiosyncratic Scots spelling <u> in favour of the English <o> or <oo> in words like *booke* (l. 15), *bloode* (l. 19) etc. (Craigie 1950: 122).

4) Spellings with <u>

As in spellings with <o>, James VI also uses <u> in a fairly conventional way, except in cases such as writing <u> to represent an old <ū> that has been shortened. This is seen in the fragment in words like *truble* (l. 6), for English *trouble* (l. 25) (Craigie 1950: 131).

5.2. Grammar

5.2.1. Nouns

With regard to nouns, the most predominant characteristic throughout the whole fragment in particular and the manuscript in general is the alternation in the use of *-is* and *-es* endings for genitive singular and plural forms. In the 1603 edition, those are substituted by the anglicized version of the word. Some examples are *middis* (l. 5), *anis* (l. 7), *ellis* (l. 10) or *selfis* (l. 14) (Craigie 1950: 131, 132).

5.2.2. Pronouns

Within the inventory of pronouns, there are several characteristics observed in the fragment:

Firstly, the author does not employ at any moment in the manuscript the singular forms of the second person personal pronoun (*thou, thy, thine...*). This could be an influence from English, where the use of this pronoun was beginning to decline. In second person plural personal pronouns he uses the forms *ye* and *you*, for the nominative and accusative respectively (Craigie 1950: 132):

- 1) *quen ye obtaine youre prayer* (l. 1) // *When ye obtaine your prayer* (l. 20)
- 2) *the adversities that god sall send unto you* (ll. 4, 5) // *the aduersities that God shall send vnto you* (ll. 23, 24)

This is the historical use of the pronouns in English. By the 16th century in England, the subject form *ye* began to disappear and the form *you* was generalized and used both in

subject and object position. It started in informal contexts and it gradually spread to formal ones (Nevalainen 2006: 80). James VI's writings, however, do not implement this change and still preserve the historical distribution of the pronominal forms.

Secondly, in the 1598 manuscript, interrogative and relative pronouns always appear in their Scots form (*-quh*), whereas in the revised edition of 1603 they appear in English (*-wh*) (Craigie 1950: 132). In this fragment in particular this phenomenon is observed through the neuter form *quhilke* (ll. 3, 10, 11, 16), substituted in English by *whiche* (ll. 22, 30, 31, 37).

5.2.3. Verbs

The main difference in the verbal system between the manuscript and *Waldegrave* 1603 is the substitution of the Scots inflexion *-es/-is* for the present singular by the English ending *-eth*, showing the high degree of anglicization to which the manuscript was subjected for official distribution (Craigie 1950: 90). The form *forsees* (l. 3) is substituted by *foreseeth* (l. 22), *choppis* (l. 11) by *choppeth* (l. 32), *comittis* (l. 12) by *committeth* (l. 33), *sayes* (l. 19) by *saith* (l. 40), etc.

Besides the previous feature, the past and past participle endings of weak verbs alternate between *-d*, *-ed*, *-id*, *-it* and *-t* (Craigie 1950: 134). Precisely, the most predominant ones are *-d* and *-ed*, which are the English preferred forms, whereas Scots used mostly *-it*. In line 10 the form *called* appears, which is maintained in 1603. Contrarily, *plantid* in line 11 is anglicized to *planted* in the new edition (l. 31).

Another important aspect of the manuscript in which the influence English had over Scots is quite obvious is the progressive aspect. Older Scots shared with Northern English the ending *-and(e)*, which is believed to have originated from the Scandinavian inflection *-andi*. However, James VI already used the English ending *-ing* even when he wrote the first version

in Scots: *preassing* (l. 2). The English inflection is to be found from the Middle English period onwards, and comes from an OE verbal noun (*-ung* > *-ing*) (Horobin 2002: 117, 118).

Together with the previous ones, other particularities of the verbal system observed in the fragment are, for example, the use of obsolete plural preterite forms such as *fande* (l. 8) vs. *foude* (l. 28); or exceptions for the formation of the past participle of strong verbs such as *uashin* (l. 19) vs. *washed* (l. 40) (Craigie 1950: 133).

5.3. Vocabulary

All the contrastive studies that have been carried out comparing the three versions of the *Basilicon Doron* (the manuscript, 1599, 1603) at the vocabulary level, have concluded that the main aim of the revisions to which the original version was subjected was “to purify the text from an English point of view by removing from it whatever he [the editor] felt to be a Scotticism” (Craigie 1950: 111). Therefore, in terms of vocabulary, there are three types of modifications:

- 1) Scottish words which have been substituted for English ones. Although they are not shown in the fragment, some of them are *marrowes* (*fellowses*), *pose* (*treasure*), etc. (Craigie 1950: 113).
- 2) Forms which are not exclusively Scots and are also found in Elizabethan English, but which have been modified for what are considered stylistic purposes, such as *brewing* (*breeding*) or *learne* (*teache*) (Craigie 1950: 111, 114).
- 3) Finally, there are some Scotticisms which have been retained in both revisions, probably because they were covert and therefore the supervisors were not aware that they were Scotticisms. In the particular case of the fragment, words like *preasse* (*preassing* ll. 2, 21) would be familiar to the English reader but with a different

spelling; while others like *choppe* or *choppis* (ll. 11, 17, 32, 38) would be strange or unknown to them (Craigie 1950: 115).

Furthermore, the modification was such that it did not occur only in isolated words. As can be seen in the text, there are numerous words that were replaced by more elaborate expressions, or even whole fragments that do not appear in the original manuscript and were added later. For example, the word *chryste* in line 2 is replaced in the 1603 version by *the vnrighteous ludge* (l. 21). Fragments such as *with the experience... assuring your selfe* (ll. 26, 27) or *euer watching ouer... he does right* (ll. 31, 32) appear exclusively in *Waldegrave* 1603, but not in the 1598 version.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has attempted to provide an overview of the origin, evolution and sociolinguistic status of Scots over the years. The focus has been on the main extra-linguistic factors involved in its history and on how and to what extent they have affected the language and brought it to its present state. From all this, it has been confirmed that it is impossible to trace or understand the development and situation of a language without taking into account everything that surrounds it. Historical events such as the Protestant Reformation and the Union of the Crowns or contact with other languages such as French or Old Norse have been decisive in the evolution of Scots. Moreover, these factors directly influence the internal structure of the language: its phonology, grammar and vocabulary. All the changes experienced by Scots, as well as its linguistic characteristics and even the attitudes of the speakers, are best reflected in the texts preserved from its different periods.

The history of Scots is characterized by continuous variation and relatively rapid changes in status. Furthermore, it is impossible to study it without paying attention to the decisive role played by English and the socio-political relations between Scotland and England. The origins of Scots are complex and date back to the 7th century, to the Old English dialects spoken by the Angles of the kingdom of Northumbria. Between the 8th and 11th centuries, the contact between these dialects, Old Norse and Norman French constitutes the initial skeleton of the language, which was still in the process of formation. The actual birth of Scots is placed at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century when the first written records appeared. In the course of the 14th century, the language began its process of consolidation and differentiation from English. It developed as the national language of Scotland, increased its use in official domains, and enjoyed the protection of nobles and monarchs. Scots reached its greatest prestige in the 15th and first half of the 16th century, and even began the process of creating a standard variety on the model of Edinburgh. The

Protestant Reformation of the second half of the 16th century, however, would usher in a period of variation between the use of Scots and English, which entered Scotland through religion. In the 17th century, the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England through the figure of James VI (James I of England) signals the beginning of the decline of the language, with a massive abandonment of its use in all areas in favour of English. The Union of Parliaments in the 18th century would be the decisive political factor in the disappearance of what little prestige Scots still possessed. In addition, the creation of SSE as a result of Scots interference in Scottish English would be responsible for the dialectalization of Scots. This process has continued to the present day and has given rise to the debate about the sociolinguistic status of the language, which continues to decline.

Relations between Scotland and England between the 1550s and 1700s made English and Scots closer than ever. The difficulty of separating the Scots from the English part of the language makes Late Middle Scots the most linguistically complex period. Among some of the features in which Scots differs from English during this period are rhoticity, the Scots vowel length rule, special endings for the plural and genitive of nouns, the inflexion <is> for the present tense of verbs, or an idiosyncratic relative pronoun system. Besides, the Scots vocabulary contains elements from various languages such as Gaelic, Dutch and Low German which are not part of the English lexicon.

However, despite these differentiating features, most texts of the period reflect a clear interference of English in Scots. The contrastive analysis of two editions of James VI's *Basilicon Doron*, one published before and one after the Union of the Crowns, has shown how decisive this historical event was for the decline of the language. The editions published after 1603 are written in English, although the original manuscript was written in Scots. Notwithstanding, a detailed study of the manuscript already reveals a clear preference or

tendency to choose English features even before it was revised and translated for official distribution.

Finally, to deeply understand the complexity of Scots and the reasons why it is so difficult to assign a sociolinguistic status to it would require further study. Future research could carry out an exhaustive analysis of the different dialects of Scots, each with its particular features, evolution, and language contact situations. In addition, it would also be very interesting to analyse the linguistic characteristics of other stages of the language and to see how these are reflected in texts of the time (e.g. *The Brus*, the poetry of Robert Burns, etc.), something which has not been possible to accomplish in this dissertation due to space and time limitations.

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Appendix

Consonants Vowels Grammar Vocabulary

MS. Royal. 18. B. xv.

quhen ye obtaine youre prayer thanke him ioyefullie thairfore, gif otheruayes beare
patientlie, preassing to uinne him be inportunitie as the uiddou did chryste, & gif
notwithstanding thairof ze be not harde assure your self godd forsees that quhilke ze aske is
not for your ueill, and learne in tyme sa to interprete all the aduersities that godd sall send unto
5 you, sa sall ye in the middis of thame not only be armed with patience bot ioyfullie lifte up
youre eyes from the present trouble to the happie ende that godd uill turne it to, & quhen ye
finde it anis sa fall out be prooffe, / arme youre self althoch ye can not in tyme of the shoure
see through the cloude, yett in the ende ye will finde godd sent it for youre ueill as ye fande in
the former.

10 & as for consciencie quhilke I called the conseruer of religion, it is nathing ellis bot the licht
of knaulege that godd hes plantid in man, quhilke choppis him with a fealing that he hes
done wrong quheneuer he comittis any sinne, & surelie althoch this conscience be a grat
torturer to the uikked, yett is it als great a conforte to the godlie gif ue uill consider it
richtlie, for haue ue not a great aduantage that hes within oure selfis quhill ue liue heir a
15 compte booke, & inuentaire of all the crymes that ue uill be accused of, ather at the houre of
oure death, or at the great daye of iudgement, quhilke quhen ue please, yea gif ue forgett it
uill choppe & remember us to looke upon, that quhill ue haue laiser & are heir ue maye
remember to amende & sa at the daye of oure tryall compeire with neu & quhyte garments
uashin in the bloude of the lambe (as saint iohne sayes):

Waldegrave 1603

20 When ye obtaine your prayer, thanke him joyfully there-fore: if otherwaies, beare patiently,
preassing to winne him with importunitie, as the widow did the vnrighteous Iudge: & if
notwithstanding thereof ye be not heard, assure your self, God foreseeeth that whiche ye aske
is not for your weale: and learne in time, so to interprete all the aduersities that God shall
send vnto you; so shall ye in the midst of them, not onlie be armed with patience, but
25 joyfully lift vp your eyes from the present trouble, to the happie ende that God will / turne it
to. And when ye find it once to fall out by prooffe, arme your selfe with the experience thereof
against the next trouble, assuring your selfe, though ye can not in time of the showre see
through the cloud, yet in the end, shall ye find, God sent it for your weale, as ye founde in the
former.

30 And as for conscience, whiche I called the conseruer of Religion, It is nothing else, but the
light of knowledge that God hath planted in a man, whiche euer watching ouer all his actions,
as it beareth him a joyfull testimonie when he does right, so choppeth it him with a feeling
that he hath done wrong, when euer he committeth any sinne. And surely, althogh this
conscience be a great torture to the wicked, yet it is as great a comfote to the godlie, if we
35 will consider it rightly. For haue we not a great aduantage, that haue within our selues while
we liue heere, a counte booke & inuentarie of all the crymes that we shall be accused of,
either at / the houre of our death, or at the great day of judgement; whiche when we please
(yea though we forgette) will choppe, and remember vs to look vpon it; that while we haue
leasure & are heere, we may remember to amende; and so at the day of our tryall, compare
40 with new & whyte garments washed in the blood of the Lambe, as S. Iohn saith.

(Craigie 1944: 40-43)

